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## QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

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SULPICIUS SEVERUS.
Caelestem quodammodo lactitiam zulth pracforens. Vita Martini 27.

IN the Christian movement as in most other movements of mankind two tendencies display themselves in constant reaction and interaction, the tendencies to make the group and the indi, idual the unit of life. Great conceptions underlie them both. The one is that of a society ordered and organized, part answer-. ing to part, and all but parts of one stupendous whole, a majestic imperial system embracing mankind, every man in his proper sphere, star differing from star in glory but all moving harmoniously on their several orbits. The other is that of a life resting on communion with God, a life each man must live for himself. for in this relation no intermediary is tolerable or possible, a life dependent on no system or organization but above and beyond the reach and scope of systems and their makers, for the wind bloweth where it listeth and so is every one that is born of the spirit. Both conceptions, it may be said, can be held by the same mind at once, and perhaps under ideal circumstances they are not incompatible, but where the circumstances are not ideal there is apt to be a preference given to one as against the other, and the result is apt to be extravagance and reaction.

The story of the Church is full of these alternate reactions. St. Paul, if any man, stood for the freedom of the individual to live his own spiritual life, and St. Panl wrote the Epistles to the Corinthians, for he could not love an individualism run mad and mushackled. Ignatius to correct the disorders of Docetism laid stress on episcopal order, and thence came the Catholic Church, and within
a century reaction came under Montanus who pled for the emancipation of the Holy Spirit from the yoke of the bishop. Half a century later, when the Roman bishops had denounced Montanism and the Church system was crystallizing, the persecution of Decius started the same conflict over again between the order of the Church and the purity of Christian life, and Novatianus made a stand for holiness, though here the Catholic principle asserted itself and he organized the great Puritan Church of the Novatians. With the triumph of Constantine came the triumph of the Church, the Nicene and the following Councils, and the age of Court bishops and metropolitans, when the Church was deluged by a secular society, when bishops fought for creeds and richer sees, when spiritual arms were abandoned for bludgeons and the victories of faith were changed for those of George and Damasus, whose followers made him Pope at the cost of one hundred and thirty-seven lives. Reaction might have been expected and it duly came. It was at this time, we are told, that the monastic communities of the Egyptian god Serapis were converted to Christianity, and simultaneously there appeared in the same regions and among men of the same race, the Coptic race, the earliest Christian monachism. Anthony and Paul are nowadays dismissed very properly from history to the realm of fiction. But at all events now was the day when Christians began to take to the desert to seek there that perfection and holy living they found impossible in the Church life of the cities. If the movement began with the Copts, it did not end with them. It spread the world over. And then reaction, for the monks, the individualists of the Church of the day, and wild and extreme ones too, began very soon to organize, and we read that in the Egyptian deserts the first of virtues was obedience to the Abbot under any and every circumstance-a virtue, experience would shew, of somewhat doubtful worth. Later on St. Benedict organized the monks of the West. With each fresh outburst of spiritual life there followed a new order. Friars were the sign of a revolt against the monasteries, as they had been and were against the bishops, for the religious orders were subject to the Pope and independent of the local episcopate. The Reformation was a great revolt of the individual against bishop and monk and friar, and when it imposed English prelate and Scotch presbyter
on the Church，George Fox led a great revolt against both，as later on John Wesley did likewise in spite of himself．Both or－ ganized fresh societies，with very different degrees of individual freedom in thought and worship．Here it would be well to halt， though it should be remarked in the case of all these movements that，while they represent the desire for higher life，there are rarely wanting men whose character might give ground for be－ lieving that revolts and secessions are unnecessary for the main－ tenance of Christian piety，or，at all events，that nowhere is there a monopoly in holy living．

The fourth century witnessed a great change，startling and almost dramatic，but yet neither so astonishing nor so great as might seem at first sight．It was，at least to those who can look back upon it and what preceded it，inevitable．Persecution is a clumsy method，and it had failed to crush Christianity，which，it was also clear，was proof against all the social，moral and intel－ lectual attacks the old world conld bring against it，and possessed too of an assimilative force which drew to it steadily，if slowly， the best minds and hearts．The change was inevitable，and yet it was by no means so great or complete as it looked．A great many among the millions of the Empire were not keenly inter－ ested in the question of cult，where conduct was free from inter－ ference，and a conventional and occasional settlement of accounts might be made as conveniently with the God of the Christians as with any other，provided He，like the other gods，would leave his worshipper free in the intervals．When all is said，the re－ ligions of the ancient world were largely，were chiefly，external－ sacrifices，lustrations，purifications and other magical rites，and to change from them to a magical Christianity meant not very much after all．The change to spiritual Christianity was a very different matter，but that was not always consequent upon the other．Beside these nominal Christians，there were many more honest heathen who went their quict way，bowing to the storm and content if allowed to walk in the old paths without let or hindrance．

If the world was more Christian，the Church was certainly more heathen．It had lost many of its best spirits in the perse－ cution of Diocletian，and the new recruits by no means made good the loss．The laity were more pagan，and the clergy and
bishops were pagan too in heart, more worldly and less spiritual. While the Church, particularly in the East, was busying itself about the definition of its fundamental truth, less attention was paid to the common virtues, and the bishops rivalled the eunuchs and the freedmen of the palace in love of power and wealth and in the questionable means they took to secure them. The episcopal office suffered for not being the post of peril. The protest of the laity was monachism. While their guides in things spiritual fought for pomp and place, they looked after their own spiritual interests, and found, as we read in Sulpicius Severus, that in general they had most to fear (after the Devil and his more invisible legions) from the bishops. Ammianus, the fairest of historians, had hard things to say of the great bishops, yet his charges are more than confirmed by the devout Churchman. One Athanasius, one Ambrose, and one Augustine mark the century, while there were many of the type of Damasus, Ursacius and George.

Beside the desire to satisfy spiritual cravings, there was perhaps another inducement to embrace the monastic life in that praesentium fastidium we find in Sulpicius. The Roman power in the West was nearing its end. Taxation, war, rebellion, extravagance and slavery had exhausted the Empire, and men turned from the City of Destruction to realize the City of God in the desert and the cell. In such times of stress the common expressions of the religious instinct are felt to fail and men crave for closer access to the divine.

St. Martin, (c. 336-c. 400) was a Pannonian who entered the army at the early age of fifteen, was baptized at eighteen, and at twenty got his discharge from Julian, then Cæsar, and betook himself to the monastic life. He was not an educated man, and, as we may see, he was terribly credulous and superstitious, but he was a great force in Gaul, his adopted country. His kindness, his dignity, enhanced rather than lessened by his mean garb and humble ways, his shrewdness, his language, his seriousness, and the awful gravity and the quiet joy* he drew from communion witl: Christ in a life of prayer and imitation, gave him an influ-
*Nemo unquam. illum vidit. . maerentem, nemo ridentem; unns idemque fuit semper caclestem quodammodo lactitiam vultu pracforcns. (Vita Mart, 27). We read very much the same account of Marcus Aurelius :-Erat enim ipse tamtae tranquillitatis ut vultum nunquam mutaverit matrore vel gaudio, philosophiae deditus Stoicae. (Hist August M. Autonin. 16.) The last word suggests a good deal.
ence and a charm which drew to him the suffering and the sinful, and a power that on more than one occasion proved more imperial than an Emperor's. He became bishop of Tours, though against his will, for it had not been his purpose to be ordained. But Hilary of Poictiers, to whom he at first attached himself, failing to make him a deacon, made him an exorcist, and later on he was captured by a stratagem and consecrated whether he would or no. The bishops were unwilling to do it, but the laity would not be denied and an accidental sors Biblicia clinched the matter. The most strenuous of the bishops was one Defensor, and a mistake was made in the lesson whereby the words were read, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise, because of thane enemies, that thou mayest destroy the enemy et defcnsorem." There was a dash of the democratic in Martin, as M. Boissier says, aud he ended, as he began, the poor man's bishop.

Such a man was magnetic, and amongst others he drew to him Sulpicius Severus, the subject of this essay. We do not know much of Sulpicius' life, probably because there is little to know. Gennadius, who includes him in his list of ninety-nine famous men which he made to supplement St. Jerome's, only gives us one fact which we could not gather from his own writings and the thirteen letters addressed to him by Paulinus of Nola, and to that fact I shall have to return.

Sulpicius was born in Aquitaine about the year 363 , (according to Reinkens), probably of grood family, for he had at Bordeaux the best education his times could give, he became a pleader and he made a great marriage.t His wife was of a wealthy family which could boast a consul. Of her we know nothing. unless from his grief at her early death and his lifelong affection for her mother Bassula, evidently a woman of fine character and kindly nature, we may conjecture, " like mother, like daughter." Ilis wife's death, while he was still a young man with a father living, altered the current of his life. He had given signs of rising in
*For an interesting account of thic reluctance to be ordained, stll a formality in the Coptic Church, see Stanley, Eastorn (Murch, Lect. vii.
$\dagger$ See Paulinus Ef. v. 5 (to Severas) in ipso adhac mundi thatro, id rat. fori celcbritate diversans, et facundi nominis folmam tim'ns ...dimitate de matrimomio familiac consularis aggestac.. post coujugiom fecandi libertas at caclebs jumentas. So ib 6, 7, references to eloquence. All of which may ithminate his comparison of his friend to the Queen of Sheba.
his profession, but "from his Tullian letters," to borrow a phrase of Paulinus,* he turned to " the preachings of the fishermen," and "the silence of piety." In less extraordinary language, he turned to St. Martin for advice, and the Saint advised him to quit the world.t This he did, as Paulinus also had done, cheerfully, gladly, and without regret. He settled down (about 393) to the life of a monk on some land of his at Toulouse, selling all else. $\ddagger$ We need not expect much incident in such a life, but one or two little details appear. As M. Boissier remarks, "daus le dévot et le moine le littré survivait." The man of letters had necessities the illiterate among the monks knew not, and we read of amanuenses, whom he owed to the kindness of his mother-inlaw, § and who, he playfully insinuates, as if in private duty bound supplied her with advance copies of whatever he wrote. His phrase implies these men were slaves, and, in the Dialogue, $\mathbb{I}$ Gallus who has been "teased" (fatigarc) by him on "Gallic edacity" retorts with some good-humoured banter about "somebody" whose ungrateful freedman ran off without however making his master very angry, and Sulpicius replies that but for so and so "I should be very angry." It is an interesting sidelight on monastic life, but no one who has read his delightful works will grudge Sulpicius his amanuenses.|l

He was the literary exponent of the movement of which St. Martin was the prophet, and he shared in the ill will that attended his master. More than once we hear of episcopal dislike and perhaps a little mild persecution. At the beginning of the Dialogue, Postumian asks after some years of absence whether the bishops are still the men they were when he went

[^0]away.* Sulpicius bids him not ask, for they are no better, and his one friend among them, who was his one relief from their vexatiousness, is rougher than he should be. We get another glimpse at this unpopularity of Sulpicius in one of Paulinus' letters, where the writer presses Sulpicius to come and visit him, for one reason urging that by being absent for a while he will still the voice of jealousy. +

The same letters cast some little light 'on Sulpicius' life. The earlier ones repeatedly invite him to Nola, but he never went. Twice, he writes to Paulinus, he meant to come but was stopped by illness. $\ddagger$ By and by it is pretty clear he does not intend to visit his friend at all. He jokingly wrote that he was afraid Paulinus' generosity would soon leave him too poor to repeat the invitations-a jest which plunged Paulinus into a flood of declanation about faith, ending in the happy thought that perhaps after all Sulpicius had been playful rather than faithless. Sulpicius did a good deal of travelling, it would appear, in Gaul, but he was content to be represented in Italy by his servants and his annual letters.

When engaged on his Chronicle, Sulpicius wrote in 403 to Paulinus for aid, particularly on some points of doubtful chronology,** but Paulinus had to confess he was unable to help him. History was seemingly too solid a study for the pupil of Ausonius, but he did the best he could and passed on his friend's letter to Rufinus. In place of information he sends a declamation on the Emperor Theodosius and some hymns he had written to St. Felix.

Over and above the letters, other courtesies passed between them. Sulpicius sends a camel's hair cloth to Paulinus, who acknowledges it in a rambling lettertt about camels and the
*Dial I. 2-3. an isti umnes quos hic reliqucram sacerdotes tales siat quates cos antcquam proficiscerer novicamus?
$\dagger$ Paulinus Ep. v. 13. well fuga qui maxime conspectu ant vicinia acmulac conver sationis accenditur.
$\ddagger$ Paulinus Ep. v. 8 .
§Paulinus $E p$. xi. 12
Paulinus Ep. xvii. 4.

- Paulinus $E p$. xxiii. 2, xxviii I
**Paulinus Ep. xxviii,
$++E p$. xxix.
analogy of the camel and the needle's eye to salvation by the cross of Christ, and returns a tunic of lamb's wool made by a saintly lady, Melania, and presented to Paulinus by her on her return from a twenty-five years' residence at Jerusalem. He hoped Sulpicius would value it the more for his having worn it a little first. By and by* Sulpicius asks for a portrait of Paulinus, who is very reluctant (or would have it seem so) to send it, but we may surmise it was sent, for a little later we read that in a baptistery Sulpicius has been building he has painted on the walls St. Martin and Paulinust. His correspondent is obviously highly pleased, but feels it his duty to make a long and rhetorical protest. At Sulpicius' request he sends him a series of verses to inscribe on the walls and something far more precious-part of a fragment of the True Cross brought home by St. Sylvia of Aquitaine. $\ddagger$ The Cross, he explains, permitted these souvenirs to be taken from it without suffering a loss of bulk. Melania appears again as sending a choice selection of ashes and other relics.

Paulinus' letters are insufferably long and trivial, with one or two exceptions. While here and there amid his endless moralizings we find a stray fact of interest, the correspondence has this value that, beside showing the respect men had for Sulpicius' character, it brings out by contrast his brilliance and worth as a man of letters. The two men had had much the same training, had made the same surrender and lived the same life; but there the likeness ends.

Sulpicius lets us see himself. Writing to one Aurelius, a deacon,§ he speaks of himself sitting alone in his little cell, "and the line of thought came to me which so often occupies me, the hope of things to come and disgust for the present, the fear of judgment and the terror of punishment ; and what follows these thoughts and is their cause, the recollection of my sins made me sad and weary." His story of Martin's discourse and his obvious approval of it shew his own temper. "His talk was ever, how we should leave the seductions of the world and the burdens of the age to follow the Lord Jesus free and unhampered: he

[^1]+1'aulinus $E p$. xxxii.
${ }_{\dagger}{ }^{\prime}$ 'aulinus $E p$. xxx, .
\$Sulp. Sev. Ep. ii. r,
would instance the most splendid example of the present day set by the famous Paulinus, who by abandoning great wealth and following Christ had been almost unique in these times in fultilling the gospel precepts. He was the man we should follow! he was the man to imitate! he would exclaim ; and the present age was happy in possessing such a pattern of faith and virtue, since, as the Lord advised, he, though rich and possessing much, had by selling all and giving to the poor, made possible by his example what was impossible." ${ }^{*}$ We have seen Sulpicius did as much, and most people will prefer him at once as a robust character and a pleasant writer.

For this brings us to his literary work, and throughout it runs the glad note. Sin might sadden him, and bishops worry him, but the domina!!t character of his work is its joyousness and brightness. A gentle humour plays about it ever and again, and grace and delicacy are its constant marks. For it seems established that the cheerfullest and summiest of men are those who for a great cause make a great renunciation. So through Sulpicius, as through Prudentius, we find a vein of guiet happiness, whatever their subject, in striking contrast with the unhappiness and violence of so much of the heathen literature of the Empire. In the pages of Montalembert's Monks of the West we find very much the same glowing joyousness, for the author, it largely devoid of the critical qualities that make a historian, was in love with his subject and has caught the spirit of the early Gallic monasticism.

Sulpicius' prose style is admirable for its ease and fibret. The schools had taught him Cicero and Virgil, and he had assimilated more than their roll and cadence. Ausonius, Paulinus and Symmachus had had the same training, had learnt and loved the same authors, and they wrote smoothly and fluently enough, but tineir work is very bloodless-they say nothing, and they say it with infinite meandering. Sulpicius is the wellgirt writer ; his style follows his theme, is earnest, playful or im-
*V. Mart 25. It was polite of Sulpicius to write this of his friend, who returns the compliment by perpetually professing to be a very poor creature by comparison. E.g. Ep. v. 7: Sulpicius blazes scptenat Domin candetabra. white Panlining

Herome (Ep. 125,6 ) speaks of the high state of education in (anal. His correspondent, Rusticus, was, however, sent on to Rome uf wherfaten Girlici nitorcmque sermonis gravitas Romana comdiret.
passioned with his thought, never draggles, never wearies. Here and there slips in a happy phrase from Virgil, with the utmost aptness and naturalness-the snake charmed by the lads of an Egyptian monastery quasi incantata carminibus cærula colla deposuit (Dial. i. ro, cf Anneid ii. 38r). Of Martin's preaching we read that he groaned in spirit, infromuit nec mortale sonans praedicabat (Dial. ii. 4, cf Eineid vi. 50). Once more, he bids Postumian on his return to Egypt to find somewhere on the shore the grave of Pomponius ac licet inani munere solum ipsum flore purpureo et suave redolentibus sparge graminibus (Dial. iii. I8. Cf Aineid vi. 885)*. Once he quotes a line of Statius without precisely naming him-utimur enim versu scholastico, quia inter scholasticos fabulamur $\dagger$-much as a modern might in conversation quote a line of Shakespeare more for playfulness than because of a rigid relevance. Remarkable too, as instancing his care for the purity of his vocabulary, is his apology for the verb exsufflare, which he must use though parum Latinum to express his thought. $\ddagger$

The excellence of his style is remarked by most of his critics, M. Boissier finding in him the typical charm of French literature, but the criticism of Gibbon will help us best to the next point for consideration. He alludes to the narration of "facts adapted to the grossest barbarism in a style not unworthy of the Augustan age. So natural," he continues, "is the alliance between good taste and good sense that I am always astonished by the contrast." Sulpicius has indeed an almost unbounded credulity, beyond even that of many of his contemporaries. It must be recognized, before we judge him, that modern science is, after all, very modern, and that while we are emancipated from much crude superstition to-day, much still remains in odd corners of by no means uncultured minds, and that after all it is possible to pay too high a price for the extinction of superstition. At all events we must judge Sulpicius by the standard of his time, and, not to go back to Tacitus and his phoenix and Vespasian's
*Cf also.V. Mart 22 and AEneid vii. 338.
$\dagger$ Dial. ii. 1o. Does he mean an "example" from a grammar?
In one of his letters (xxii.) Paulinus rallies him about Virgil, citing a letter of his ending with a Virgilian quotation (Aen. iii.) and giving at length another, a very racy one about a cook for the monastery, where he uses the Plautine lar for " home."
${ }_{\dagger}^{+}$Deal, iii. 8.
$\$$ Decline and Fall, iii. p. 376 n .
miracle, so sane a man as Ammianus has a wistful regret for portents "which occur still but are not noted," while a century or so later Zosimus, the bitter critic of Christianity, can seriously attribute the decay and decrepitude of the Empire to the neglect of Constantine to hold the secular games. These men were heathens.

There are not wanting signs that men of his day found some of Sulpicius' stories hard to believe. We have one notice of a man who told St. Martin himself that " what with empty superstitions and ridiculous delusions he had come to dotage and madness," but as a brace of devils were seen chuckling and ejaculating "Go it! Brictio!" to encourage him, we may discount this critic's views.* More important is another passage in the third book of the Dialogiu, + where Sulpicius interrupts his narrative with a little piece of apologia, which, if it somewhat mars the art and verisimilitude of the piece, illuminates the character of the author. A good many (plurimi) are said to shake their heads (nutarc) about what has been said in the second book. "Let them accept the evidence of men still living and believe them, seeing they doubt my good faith. But if they are so very sceptical, I protest they will not even believe them. Yet I am astonished that anyone who has even a faint idea of religion would be willing to commit such a sin as to think any one could lie about Martin. Far be such a suspicion from any who lives under God; for Martin does not need the support of falsehood. But the truth of the whole story, Oh Christ! I pledge with thee, that I have not said nor will say anything but what I have either seen myself or learnt on good authority, generally from Martin himself. But even if I have adopted the form of a dialogue, that variety in my story may prevent monotony, I profess I am religiously making truth the foundation of my history. I have been obliged at the cost of some pain to make this insertion on account of the incredulity of some people ......Believe me, I am quite unstrung and beside myself for pain - will not Christians believe in those powers of Martin which devils acknowledged?" This inset makes the conclusion of the piece remind us a little of Virgil's wounded snake in its rather unsuccessful attempt to proceed as if nothing had happened,
but it has its value. With other passages it establishes Sulpicius' honesty. It is therefore worth while to consider how it is he can believe so much that is incredible to us.

I have said, we must allow for his living in a very unscientific age, an age, too, when the refined scepticism of Roman society in Cicero's day and the blatant atheism of Lucian and his kind had been made well-nigh impossible by that reaction toward faith, which is seen in Neo-Platonism, in the rapid spread of Christianity and the general revival of religion which began in the second century and was so pronounced in the third. Men were ready to believe much, and where this is the case, there is actually less tax upon credulity. For there is a certain amount of evidence that some diseases, mainly of the mental or hysterical order, may be cured by the exercise of faith in the sufferer. Nothing helps a patient very much who firmly believes he is going to die, whose mind is made up to it, and the converse is true too. Let the sick man conceive the belief that the practitioner or the saint can cure him and is doing it, and in some cases this belief will cure him. But for this Notre Dame de Lourdes and Ste. Anne de Beaupré in Quebec might earn less gratitude. Now Martin was an ignorant man, if a man who had great power with men in virtue of his character and personality, and he believed he could heal disease by prayer and faith, and that this faculty was but the fulfilment of Christ's promises. Sulpicius says, and it is not improbable he is presenting Martin's view, as well as his own, that to doubt these miracles of healing, etc., is to diminish the credibility of the gospel, "for when the Lord himself testified that such works as Martin did were to be done by all the faithful, he who does not believe Martin did them, does not believe Christ said so."** Perhaps the logic is not above suspicion, but it is clear that it was held Martin's miracles were proven no less by the words of the gospel than by ocular evidence. Thus Martin believed he could work miracles, and no doubt he did effect cures, and he had a strange influence over men and animals, which to-day might be called hypnotism, or some such fine name, and was then called miracle. If Martin's evidence was not enough, there was the witness of the people healed. While we may admit they were

[^2]the better for his treatment, we have no kind of guarantee that their diagnosis of their own maladies was at all more likely to be sound than the pronouncements of ignorant people on their complaints to-day. To an untrained observer, however, the evidence of the worker of the miracle and the subject of it, supported by the inherent probability of its happening in view of what the gospel said and the reflexion that it might very well happen in any case, would be overwhelming. We may then pronounce some of the miracles to be actual instances of cures effected, and some to be cures of imaginary diseases, some the results of mere coincidence, some the ordinary everyday order of events, and all greatly coloured by ignorance and childlike faith.

Visions* are more easily explained as they depend on the evidence of an individual and neither require nor obtain corroboration. Ignorance again will explain some, and overstrung nerves others, while emotion and a touch of poetry or a tendency to imagery will help in nearly every case. In many of Martin's visions fine spiritual insight is implied. For example, on one occasion the devil appeared to Martin at prayer, attired in purple with diadem of gold and gems, and boots wrought with gold, with serene countenance and glad mien, and proclaimed himself to be Christ descended from heaven and rewarding Martin with the first sight of himself. The Saint was silent. "Martin, why hesitate to believe when you see? I am Christ." "No," said Martin, "the Lord Jesus did not say he would come with purple or diadem. I will not believe Christ has come, unless it be in the garb and form under which he suffered, unless he bear upon him the marks of the cross (stigmata crucis)." Whereupon the devil vanished. Here it should be remembered that the millennium and the second advent were much in the thoughts of Martin and his school. To this, however, we must recur.

It may be regretted that Sulpicius on turning to the religious life should have taken as his guide so rude and untrained a thinker as Martin, rather than some more cultured man like Augustine. But we must realize that it is by mo means unusual for men of refinement and education to be fascinated by the unpolished directness and rough vigour of a leader, a prophet, from amoug the people. Apart from this however, there is little doubt that

[^3]Martin with all his limitations was the best and most spiritual, the most practically and consistently holy, of the Christian leaders of Gaul ; and manliness and godliness are perhaps after all not outweighed by ignorance of physical science.

If Sulpicius is not to be followed in his opinions on medicine and nature, in his judgments of men he is sterling and sound. He saw the great man under the uncouthness of Martin, and he realized terribly how lacking were others among the bishops of Gaul. Like his master, he is fair-minded and fearless. Let us take three examples. Into the great controversy about Origen and his orthodoxy, we need not go. It was in the East one of the burning questions of the day, utilized for political ends by the unscrupulous Theophilus, a successor to Athanasius in the see of Alexandria. It crops up in Postumian's account of his Eastern travels in the Dialogue, and whether we say Sulpicius is putting his own views into Postumian's mouth or publishing Postumian's idea in his own work, the conclusion, which is reached after independent study of the books in question, is that, whatever the authorities may say, while there is some doubtful teaching in them, there is undoubtedly much that is good and useful.

Again, when he reviews the life and character of Maximus the British usurper who slew Gratian, and after some five years of Empire ( $383-388$ ) was overthrown by Theodosius, Sulpicius is remarkably careful to give him credit for good qualities which men were not concerned to discover in a fallen rebel. He was "a man whose whole life deserved honour, had it been possible for him to refuse the diadem set upon his head by the soldiers in mutiny, or to abstain from civil war ; but Imperial power (magnum imperium) cannot be refused without danger nor upheld without arms."* This is a most just criticism and in it is the explanation of much of the history of the third and fourth centuries. Many a man had in self-defence to embark on civil war. It was a necessity of military despotism.

Elsewheret he says, that while Maximus " had done many fine acts he was not enough on his guard against avarice, except

[^4]that the necessities of monarchy, in the exhaustion of the treasury by former rulers and his own immediate expectation of civil war ever impending, afford an easy excuse for his providing support for his power in any and every way."

Maximus had a great regard for Martin, and his queen was really extravagant in her admiration of him. This was seen in the strange affair of Priscillian, where once more the fairness and reasonableness of Sulpicius appear. Priscillian was the founder of a small sect, of a Gnostic type men said. Two bishops had joined him and had consecrated him. But the bishops of Spain and Gaul set themselves to bring about the extinction of the sect by persecution and the sword. The case came to Maximus and the bishops cried for the surety of blood. Here Martin inter-vened-it was enough, he said, and more than enough that they had been pronounced heretics by the bishops and driven from the churches: it was a cruel and unheard of sin that a secular judge should hear an ecclesiastical case.* He won a promise from Maximus that no blood should be shed, "but afterwards the Emperor was depraved by the bishops and turned away from milder councils," and Priscillian and others were put to death. That some of these people, the earliest examples of Christians slain by Christians for opinion's sake, were women, a professor's widow and daughter from Bordeaux, excited great indignation. It would seem that Maximus, like another usurper in France, was bidding for the support of the Church. $\dagger$

The bishops were successful and now thought of going further and having a commission sent to Spain to arrest and try heretics. The assize would have been a bloody one, for their leader Ithacius was a man, says Sulpicius, with no moderation and nothing of the saint about him, extravagant, talkative and gluttonous. "He had reached such a pitch of folly as to be ready to include under the charge of Priscillianism all holy men, who had either a love of reading or a habit of fasting." The studium lectionis as a mark of heresy might seem a phrase of Erasmus. Elsewhere he says, it was clear that scant distinctions would be made, as the eye was a good enough judge

[^5]in such cases, for a man was proved a heretic rather by his pale cheeks and his poor raiment than by his belief.

Martin once more appeared-deeply grieved for the crime committed, anxious for the crime preparing. He would not at first communicate with the bishops, whom he not unjustly regarded as guilty of Priscillian's murder, but when Maximus made his communion the price of the stoppage of persecution he gave way. But he felt he had lost spiritual power by so doing, as he had previously done by being consecrated bishop, and thereafter he kept studiously away from every gathering of bishops.

Now throughout this strange story it is remarkable how clear and definite is Sulpicius' judgment. He has no sympathy with Priscillian's views, far from it, but he is moved to horror and indignation by the conduct of the bishops. Maximus in some measure he excuses, and he points out that " not only was the heresy not crushed by the killing of Priscillian, but strengthened and spread further. For his followers, who had formerly honoured him as a saint, afterwards began to worship (colere) him as a martyr. The bodies of the slain were taken back to Spain, and their burial celebrated with great pomp, and to swear ' by Priscillian' was counted the most binding of oaths. But amongst the orthodox (nostros) there blazed a ceaseless war of quarrels, which after fifteen years of dissensions could not yet be ended." All, he says, is confusion as a result of the quarrelling, the lust and the greed of the bishops, and "meanwhile the people of God and every good man are treated with shame and mockery." $\dagger$

We may now pass to a short review of the works of Sulpicius, which fall into two divisions-his writings on St. Martin and his Chronicle.

The Chronicle $\ddagger$ is an epitome of Scripture history, supplemented by a rapid survey of the ten persecutions of the Church (a numeration for which he is one of the earliest authorities), a

[^6]glance over the Arian controversy and a rather fuller account of the Priscillianist troubles. It is plain that the interest of the work grows greater toward the end, for an epitome will generally lack freshness. But in this case there are one or two things to be said. First of all, the epitome is written in Sulpicius' usual style. It is clear and lucid, and though short and concise does not give too strong an impression of scrappiness. There is something of a classical flavour here and there, and it strikes one as odd to read of Jacob's burial, funus magnifici curatum, or of Moses', de sepulcri loco parim compertum. The phrases somehow do not suggest the Pentateuch. He has a keen eye for chronology, on which he is at issue with Archbishop U'ssher to the extent of some sixteen centuries.* After repeated difficulties with one figure after another in his authorities he concludes: "I am sure that it is more likely that the truth has been lost by the carelessness of copyists, especially when so many centuries have intervened, than that the prophet should lave erred. Just as in the case of my own little book I expect it will befall that, by the carelessness of those who transcribe it, things will be spoiled about which I have not been careless." He keeps his story wonderfully clear of typology, only once, I think, going so far as to remark a type, Deborah, it seems, being a prefigurement of the Church. Where necessary, he reinforces his story with material from secular historians, though he is careful to explain he regards their standing as very different. In this way he has preserved for us a passage of Tacitus, otherwise lost, on the destruction of the temple by Titus. He makes some shrewd remarks on the effect on Christianity of the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian, and the resultant removal of the servitude of the Law from the freedom of the faith and of the Church.

It is remarkable how abruptly he passes from Isaiah, $\dagger$ merely mentioning his name, while he recommends the careful study of Ezekiel, whose prophecy is "magnificent, for the mystery of things to come and of the resurrection was revealed to him." : But when he comes to Daniel he devotes to him a number

[^7]of chapters and gives an interesting interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. In the feet of iron and clay was foretold the Roman Empire which is to be divided (dividendum) so as never to cohere again. "This has even so come to pass, for the Roman world is not administered by one Emperor, but by several who are always quarrelling by war or faction. Finally the mixture of clay and iron, whose substances can never cohere, signifies the destined incompatible intermixtures of mankind, for the Roman territory is held by foreign tribes or rebels, or is handed over to them when they surrender and make what passes for peace, and we see in our armies, our cities and provinces admixtures of barbarous nations, chiefly Jews, who dwell among us but do not however adopt our ways. And the prophets tell us that this is the end." He complains that men will not believe in those parts of the vision which still remain to be fulfilled, in spite of the fulfilment of it all so far. I have spoken before of the millenarism of the school of Martin and this is one more instance of it.

The Chronicle had a curious fate, 'for after the invention of printing it was used as a manual of history in schools for a century and a half, and at one time incurred the ignorant suspicions of the authorities of the Index.

His other writings deal mainly with St. Martin. His Life of Martin is a model of biography though it has too many marvels for the taste of to-day.* He supplemented it with three letters on his great leader, and from these we learn that it was written before Martin's death, which comes upon as a surprise ; for one would never judge from its style that its subject was living. It may indeed have been revised, but this is mere conjecture.

In the Dialogue he continues the same subject, though le prefixes to it an account of the monks of Upper Egypt. The interlocutors are three-himself, Gallus, a Gaul from the North, and Postumian, like himself an Aquitanian. Postumian begins with the story of his travels, how he sailed to Carthage and worslipped at St. Cyprian's tomb, how bad weather gave him a glimpse of a curious little Christian community of shepherds in
*iven Paulinus deviates into relevance, (Ep. xi. ri) to say of this $L i f e$ : historiam tam digno sermone quam justo affectu percensuisti. Beatus et ille pro meritis qui dignum fide et vita sua meruit historicum. The Life was done into hexameters in the 5 th century by Paulinus of Perigueux, and in the 7 th by Venantius Fortunatus. Probably the original prose will be preferred by most readers.
the desert, how he went to Alexandria when the famous quarrel about the Tall Brothers was at its height, and thence how he went to Bethlehem and stayed with St. Jerome, and to the deserts of the Thebaid and saw all manner of holy men. Some of his tales are a littie saddening. When obedience is carried to such a pitch that one foolish man at the bidding of another will spend two years in carrying water a mile to water a walkingstick, one feels there is some fundamental error in the system. The holy man, who lived alone on Mt. Sinai for years and years, and by God's blessing did not know he was naked, who ran from his fellow-men, and when at last he deigned a word to one explained that angels will not visit him who dwells with other men, might, I am afraid, to-day be counted as merely insane. The pleasanter tales tell of wild beasts tamed and making friends with solitary hermits, though one fears that the tale of the grateful lioness who sought a holy man's aid to give sight to her blind cubs, and presented him a day or two later with the skin of some rare animal, may seem to fall short of probability.

When Postumian's travels are told, Gallus tells of St. Martin and manages to eclipse point by point the marvels of the desert with the miracles of Gaul. It has been remarked that these stories are put by Sulpicius into the mouth of his Celtic friend as if with the intention of suggesting that they are not to be taken quite literally, but his digression in the third book (to which I have alluded) seems to make this view impossible.

One of the most interesting things in the Dialogue is the naive account of the wonderful success of the Lifc of Martin.* It was Postumian's "companion by land and sea, his fellow and comforter in all his pilgrimage," and he found it before him wherever he went. Paulinus had introduced it to Rome, where it sold like wild fire to the vast delight of the booksellers. It was already the talk of Carthage when Postumian got there. At Alexandria nearly everybody knew it better than Sulpicius himself. It was spread all over Egypt, and Postumian brought a request from the desert for a sequel. Sulpicius hopes that the Dialogue may do as well as the Lifc.t
*Dial. i. 23. Vaulinus in one his letters (xxix. 14 ) tells how he read the Lific to the very saintly lady Melania and others. The lady was much interested in lives of holy men- a prevalent if poor taste in literature.
tlial. iii. 17.

Several general features remain to be remarked in the works of Sulpicius. To his belief in miracles and visions I have already referred. With this, I think, we should associate his millenarian views. They too seem to be due to St. Martin. It is a curious thing how often a belief in the speedy return of Christ goes with a revival of the religious life, a Nemesis one might perhaps say of literalism, almost of materialism, shadowing the development of the spiritual.

His earliest reference to the subject is in the Life of Martin. A false prophet, Anatolius by name, appeared in Gaul,* and another simultaneously in Spain. The latter began by being Elias and then proceeded to be Christ, and actually got a Spanish bishop to admit his claim and worship him as God. $\dagger$ Sulpicius continues, "A good many brethren also told us that at the same time there had risen in the East a person who proclaimed that he was John. From all this we may conjecture, when so many false prophets appear, that the coming of Antichrist is at hand, and that he is already working in them the mystery of iniquity." Other Elijahs have since appeared.

The whole of this line of thought betrays at this early date as ever since the influence of the books of Daniel and Revelation, and in point of fact Martin and Sulpicius were nearer the original than their successors, for they realized that Nero was portended by the latter book. Martin said that Nero would subdue ten kings and become Emperor in the West, Antichrist in the East. Each would start persecution, Nero in the interests of idolatry, Antichrist seemingly of Judaism, for he was to rebuild the Temple, $\ddagger$ enjoin circumcision and claim worship as Christ. There was to be civil war between them, as so often between West and East, and Nero should fall and Antichrist reign, till the man of sin should be crushed by Christ's coming. Antichrist was in fact already born, had reached boyhood even, at the time of Martin's speaking, eight years before Sulpicius wrote his Dialogue, "so take thought how near at hand are the things men dread as still in the future."§

[^8]In the Chronicle, Sulpicius says less, perhaps because more was unfitting in hoc tam praeciso opere. All he says is that Nero was "a very fitting person to inaugurate the persecution of Christians,* and perhaps he will yet be the last to carry it out, for it is believed by many that he will come in person before Antichrist." $\dagger$ But we need not go further into the subject, for the dangers of the interpretation of prophecy are obvious, and there is but little pleasure to be derived from the contemplation of the errors and eccentricities of good men.

I have alluded more than once to the ill will between the monks and the bishops which was not lessened with time, though ever and again a monk was made bishop. Sometimes like St. Martin he would remember his calling, but not always, for Sulpicius has much to say about monks losing their heads on being ordained or consecrated, and conceiving passions for building, for maintaining great establishments and travelling with ease and magnificence with multitudes of horses and servants. $\ddagger$ Again and again he protests against luxury and display and more serious vices among the bishops and clergy. They have forgotten, if they ever knew, that Levi received no share in the land of Canaan, at least one would suppose so from their eagerness for acquiring property in land.s Prudentius says much the same, only more ingeniously, for by a little anachronism, involving a century and a half, he puts into the mouth of a dead and gone persecutor the words
et summa pietas creditur
nudare dulces liberos.
But worse than land grabbing was their habit of consorting with spiritual sisters. IT This was no new story, and perhaps it will never be old. Cyprian long ago had written against the practice, and Jerome fulminated against it still. He was him-
*Cf Tertullian on Nero. Apology 5. Sid tali dedicatore damationis nos/rae ctiam gloriamur, etc.
+Chron. ii. 28.
$\dagger$ Dial $\mathbf{i}$. 21. Non solum immemores sed ctiam ignari. Note his conclusion as to
§Chron. i. 23. Non solum immonsi venalem pracforunt sanctitatom.
the meaning of their rapacity ; quasi venalem
Stcph. 2. 83.4 .
-Two Councils at least in the 4 th canon of the Council of Nicaea, and the syneisaktoi and agapetae. The 3 rd Canon of "'spiritual brothers" and 'sons'" are mentioned by 27 th of Elvira both forbid it. "Spiritual broth Council of Elvira, p. 200.
Gregory of Nazianzus and Jerome. See Dale
self less indiscreet in his intercourse with his women friends, but many of his letters to the nun Eustochium and other ladies survive.* There seems to be a perennial fascination about the clergy for spiritually-minded women, but surely, felt Sulpicius, monks have renounced feminine society and nuns masculine. Scandals occurred oftener than so strait a school cared to see them, and we find it told with pride how Martin but once in his life allowed a woman to minister to him. But " as the grammarians do, we must consider place, time and person," $\dagger$ and it was the queen of Maximus and her husband was present. One very scrupulous virgin point-blank refused to see Martin himself, for though thaumaturge and bishop it could not be disguised that he was after all a man ; ; and Martin praised her for her modesty. Well indeed might Gallus say that if we were all like Martin, we should not so much discuss the causas de osculo:-" But after all we are Gauls."§

One mark of the monastic movement was its new relation with nature, a new interest in birds and beasts, a new love for them. Pet birds and dogs the old heathen world had known, but now man and animal met on more equal terms of freedom, and we read already of wolves and lions who were friends of the Egyptian monks. Martin, himself, does not seem to have been intimate with any animal, still we hear of him saving a hare from some hounds, and there is a curious parable from nature recorded, not, it must be said, a very happy one. The seagulls that flew up the Loire and caught the fish were, he said, a type of the powers of evil seeking the human scul. It reminds one of Bunyan's Book for Boys and Girls, and its odd expositions of natural things. On the sacred trees of the heathen Gauls Martin waged relentless war, hewing them down by grace of miracle in spite of protest.

We now come to the last story told of Sulpicius, which, I should say, I find strong reason for doubting. Sulpicius, as we

[^9]have seen, renounced the world and its allurements to become a monk, to live the life best adapted, as men thought then, to the quest of holiness. The thought of $\sin$ was often in his mind, his life in fact was a hand to hand battle with sin. Now in the west, among men of his own blood, rose a teacher with a new doctrine of $\sin$-Pelagius. It may seem odd to find a Celt, a British Celt, with a Greek name, but we find quite a number of Greek names among the Gallic and Spanish monks in Sulpicius' pages*-Eucherius, Euanthius, Aetherius and Potamius, and a Briton Pelagius was. Into Pelagianism we need not enter, but certain features should be remarked. Faith is not enough to save a man; it must be reinforced by works, by conduct, by watchfulness ; and a man's will power, aided by grace (which is won by his good inclinations), and supported by good works, may secure him a pure life, not indeed free from temptation, but from sin. Underlying all this there was to begin with a protest against the worldliness and evil living of professing Christians, though the logical outcome of the system was really to underestimate $\sin$. But for the time it was urged that a low standard was not inevitable ; the highest was attainable, if proper means were taken. The proper means meant the monastic life generally.

This view of the possibilities of Christian living was a monk's, a Celtic monk's, and from what we have seen of Sulpicius, it will not be altogether surprising to read in Gennadius that he adopted Pelagius' position. $\dagger$ Millenarism and an overhasty idea of achieving sinlessness not uncommonly go together and it may be that Sulpicius became a Pelagian. Gennadius wrote a refutation of the heresy, which is lost, and he might be supposed to know who were its leading adherents. He adds, however, that Sulpicius ultimately realized he had made a mistake and renounced his error, and in his repentance abjured speech for ever, "to expiate by silence the sin he had contracted by speech." Whether we believe all this to be true or not $\ddagger$ de-

[^10]pends on whether we accept Gennadius' story, but it must be admitted it is not inherently impossible. It would be sad to think of this most genial and gentle of men ending his days in the agony of remorse and silence, but even if he did, it does not lessen the value of his delightful works. Probably, however, the story is a mistake, the invention of stupidity.

Reviewing the life of Sulpicius, it may seem to us strange that a man of good family and culture should so surrender himself to the guidance of a man his inferior in everything society valued, should surrender above all his judgment and accept so much that would appear contrary to reason, to sense and to experience. Yet, after all, it is not a rare phenomenon. Our own day has seen a similar renunciation of everything by a man of letters, a member of the English House of Commons, who at the word of one he believed inspired of God, left all to work on a farm and sell strawberries on a train, still retaining a buoyant and joyous cheerfulness. He parted, it is true, from his prophet at last, but through life his steps were led by devotion to the highest and truest, in a word, by the vision of the unseen. Whatever we may make of his teaching, we cannot but respect the spirit of Lawrence Oliphant.

It may, however, be said, and perhaps not unjustly, that while Sulpicius' problem is the constant problem of mankind, his solution is not satistactory. Time has shewn that monasticism does not allow enough for one instinct at least of our nature, which cannot be satisfied except in the family. It was a criticism of our composition, which it found faulty and tried to alter. Such attempts seem foredoomed to failure. But if the monastic solution of the problem of holy living will not satisfy mankind in the long run, it must not be forgotten that a debt of gratitude is due to the men who had the nobility of character to venture all on the experiment. That it failed proves their judgment was unsound, but it does not affect the fact that they thought such an experiment worth while.
T. R. Glover.

[^11]COME time before his death Mr. Spurgeon made sweeping representations or misrepresentations regarding the Nouconformist Churches in England. According to him, they were on what he called "the down grade." They had opened their gates to the historical criticism of the Scriptures, with the result that young ministers did not preach as he preached. Their sermons dealt less with "the plan of salvation," and more with the actual facts of life ; and this, he alleged, implied unbelief on their part in the atonement and a Socinian view of the person of Christ. From time to time a similar cry has been raised in Scotland; and therefore while there last autumn I made observations and inquiries, with the object of ascertaining what, if any, foundation exists for the alarm which some excellent people undoubtedly feel. I had spent seven years in Scotland-from 1853 to 1860 and had heard during that time such men as Caird, Norman McLeod, Guthrie, Bonar, Candlish and John Ker. There are no such preachers now. Those were men of altogether exceptional pulpit and spiritual power. They were the real leaders of the Scottish people. Whether we are to seek the explanation in the fact that, for a generation or two previous, there were few avenues so open to young men as the Church, and consequently much of the best brains of the country studied for the ministry, whereas since that time commerce and industry have been offering more and more splendid prizes, while the Home and India Civil services have been thrown open to competition, and in other directions inviting avenues are tempting young men of ability to enter on promising careers; or whether Scotland shared in that religious revival which culminated in England in the High Church and Broad Church movements, the sequence of the Low Church quickening under Charles Simeon, and so gave birth to a race of spiritual giants, whose form was too often determined by the "ten years' conflict," or by theological controversies, which seem to us now as barren as that once celebrated conflict itself ; or some better explanation can be given, the fact is undoubted that not only had Scotland the galaxy of preachers mentioned above, but that others even greater had just passed
or were passing away,-Irving, John McLeod Campbell and Young expelled from the Churches, McCheyne, Morrison, and the greatest of all, Chalmers. If we were to judge the pulpit by half a dozen or a dozen specimens, it must be confessed that the present is not equal to the past. But, if we are to judge by the average pulpit, then-so far as my experience goes-the present is far in advance of the past. The change in the general tone and freshness of the pulpit amounts to a revolution, and though in revolutions something is apt to be lost, there has, in this case, been gain all along the line. For the gain has been not merely in the preaching, but in every part of the service, and in the architecture, the decent surroundings, and even the eleanliness and comfort of the buildings. Instead of the usually awkwardlooking precentor, with his pitch-pipe ostentatiously used, there is the choir, often sustained by an organ. The Scriptures are read with intelligence. And the prayers, though there is still the total silence on the part of the people, which is so appalling to those unaccustomed to it, are not so long, nor so rambling, nor so explanatory nor so doctrinal as they used to be. But, to my mind, the greatest gain has been in the sermon; and in order to prove this, as far as it can be proved by one man, I shall summarize my experiences in the sixth decade of the century and compare them with my more recent observations and inquiries. I may add that my knowledge of Scotland and its pulpit in the former period was not inconsiderable; for I had spent a good part of each summer wandering over almost every section of the land, with a lover's passionate enthusiasm for its history and scenery, and with eyes and ears wide open. The average sermon at that time was verbose, formal and official, and when it was otherwise, the spirit was sectarian and the range of thought limited. The most earnest preaching was generally to be heard in the Free Church, but too often it had features which repelled young men. In an introductory lecture delivered by the late Prof. W. G. Blaikie to his class of Pastoral Theology in New College, Edinburgh, 1889 , its defects were thus fairly and frankly set forth : "You may say, perhaps, the disruption pulpit was full of faults. It was a monotonous pulpit, always harping on the same string. It was a narrow pulpit, always insisting on its own one aspect of truth. It was an unscientific pulpit, not interpreting Scrip-
ture by approved canons, but just according to the fancy of the interpreter. It was a fantastic pulpit, allegorizing or spiritualizing many things, as if the Old Testament were an assortment of puzzles, and the great thing were to find out its mystical meaning. You may say it was a pulpit deficient in ethical teaching, deeming it enough to have taught doctrines and principles, and comparatively careless about their application to daily duty. Perhaps some may say it was not without a certain tendency to that fanaticism which separates religion from life, which encourages men to think of religion as a department by itself, and of business and social enjoyment as belonging to another sphere. And you may say, perhaps, that it was a cheerless pulpit ; it frowned on certain pleasures which are not only innocent, but necessary as relaxations from the strain and pressure of busy life." As against this terribly black list of its apparently admitted faults, he pleads that "it had this grand merit, that Jesus Christ crucified for sin was conspicuously its centre and its foundation, its crown and its glory." But, we may well ask, how a pulpit which is " monotonous," "narrow," "unscientific," "fantastic." "deficient in ethical teaching, "with a tendency to the fanaticism which separates religion from life," and "cheerless," could by any possibility preach Jesus Christ faithfully? The good Doctor pleaded that "if the disruption pulpit had these faults, the natural problem for the present age is to mend them." For, he says, "they are not essential faults; they are separable faults; let them therefore be lopped away." The gun which was supplied with new lock, stock and barrel was mended, the old parts being separated or lopped away; but how much of the old gun was left?

The complaint I had with the Scottish pulpit forty or fifty years ago was radical. It indentified religion with soundness of creed, its creed was narrow, and it dreaded departures from "the form of sound words" as certain to lead the vagrant into destructive heresy. It was therefore timid and dull, though the timidity and dulness were often hidden behind loud oratory and vehement gesticulation. "When the Professor gives you your text, how do you proceed to write a sermon on it," once asked a fellow-Divinity student, a junior who wished me give him some hints. I explained my method; a study of the book as a whole, then a
study of the passage and of the verse, then a grip of the main truth expressed, then reflection as freely and fully on that as possible, and then attempts to write, as I did not expect my first copy to satisfy me.-"But, man," he ejaculated, almost horrified gt such freedom on my part, "are you not afraid of writing some heresy or other?" Of course, men of genius were not under this bondage, but the average man is not strong. Men of spiritual natures, who had passed through conflict to peace, who had sounded the depths of $\sin$ in themselves and had found grace to be deeper far, men like Paul, Augustine and Luther, never wearied of preaching the cross, and the people never wearied of hearing them. But all the Apostles were not Pauls. All the Fathers were not Augustines. All Lutherans were not Luthers. And so the average man, not daring to be true to himself and to the Spirit of God which would have fitted him for his own honest work, sank down to be a mere imitator, a cuckoo instead of an independent witness to the truth. "No man," says Dr. Blaikie, "went into a disruption church without being sure to hear of Jesus Christ and Him crucified." That, he considered to be its glory; and yet in a subsequent part of his lecture he says that the following frame of a model discourse prescribed by a " moderate minister of last century " was, " scoffing;"-Ist, Show what is the natural state of man ; 2nd, Explain the scheme of redemption through Jesus Christ ; and 3rd, Conclude with a practical application." But, what other model could a youth take if he was expected to preach "Jesus Christ and Him crucified" in every sermon, on penalty of being considered unsound? In the very Epistle from which this expression is taken, Paul did not confine himself to the atonement, but treated a great variety of subjects with the utmost freedom, though always from the standpoint of Christian principle.

Mrs. Oliphant, in her "Life of Edward Irving," tells us how his generous impetuosity and fearless love of truth, qualities which should always be found in young men, led him to characterize the ordinary orthodoxy to which he had been accustomed. "While himself the sincerest son of his mother church, and loving her very standards with a love which never died out of him, he was always intolerant of the common stock of dry theology, and the certified somndness of dull men. 'You are
content to go back and forward on the same route, like this ferry boat,' he is reported to have said as his party were crossing the Gairloch ; 'but as for me, I hope yet to go deep into the ocean of truth.'" His fate may not be considered inspiring. But, who would not be Edward Irving, rather than any member of the presbytery which deposed him? And though some suffer shipwreck, no one shrinks now from crossing the Atlantic, or from exploring its depths.

A change has passed over the Scottish pulpit, which I found a change for the better and indicative of new and more promising points of view than the old. The present-day preaching is essentially Biblical, and the Bible is understood to be not so much a book as the purified essence of an extensive literature. It is no longer regarded as a catechism or even in Dr. Chalmer's words as " our great stutute-book," but rather as the poetry and prophesyings of inspired men to whom were given revelations of the deep things of God and man, and whose words still find echoes in all true hearts. The Rabbis considered "the Law"" to be the essence of revelation, and the prophets to be merely commentators on the law; but the Christian, to whom Jesus is the great prophet, utterly rejects such a view of the relative importance of the two great collections of O. T. sacred books.

The present-day preaching is historical, because biblical. Redemption, it understands, took the form of a long continued historical movement and therefore to interpret the different books or epochs aright, the principle of development is frankly accepted. Truths are seen in their proper perspective, instead of being on the sane plane, as in a Chinese picture; and Bible characters are understood, because seen in the light of their own times, and their words are not fitted to the procrustean bed of any system of theology. The listorical spirit is the gift of God to our century and-although it imposes earnest study on the preacher-it has worked wonders on the exposition of the Scriptures.

The present-day preaching is practical rather than doctrinal. Doctrine is of course implied, but it is presented to the people in its relation to life and not as the contents of a museum. This requires something more than the easy going method of making every sermon revolve round the three R's, of Ruin, Redemption and Regeneration. It calls for hard work ; much and wide read-
ing, close observation and thinking, and study of the actual social and industrial conditions of our complex civilization. All the sermons I heard both in city and country gave evidence, sometimes very remarkable evidence, of the careful thought which had been bestowed on them; and visitors to Scotland with whom I conversed had had similar experiences. In a recent number of the Free Church Missionary Record, is an editorial notice of Mr. Rider Haggard's impressions. He had spent part of last summer in Scotland and published his opinion of the preaching he heard.
"At one time or another," he says, " I have attended various Scotch churches, and never yet did I hear a bad sermon ; indeed, one or two of those addresses struck me as masterly. I doubt whether the haphazard visitor to English village churches would be able to say as much. It is obvious, too, that the general intelligence of the average country church-goers in Scotland must be much higher than that of the corresponding class in England. I am convinced that few members of an agricultural congregation in the eastern counties would follow the closely-reasoned and often recondite arguments of the preacher with so much zest and understanding as do his hearers in the most out-of-the-world parts of Scotland."

Present-day preaching does not divide the congregation into two distinct classes of the converted and the unconverted, but rather treats all as imperfect Christians, who burdened with many sins and short-comings show by their presence in Church that they desire to grow in grace and in the knowledge of the Lord. This is the view which should be taken of them, according to the standards of the Scottish Church. The Shorter Catechism teaches that children by their baptism are grafted into Christ and therefore that they are members of the Church or immature Christians and not young pagans.

Dr. Blaikie, in the lecture from which I have already quoted, gives as fair a description of the modern preacher as he gave of the defects of the old pulpit. "He strives in his sermons to deal with things as they are. He speaks in plain English, avoids theological abstractions and theological formulas, for he believes that these have lost all their brightness and force, and that more harm than good is done by making use of them; he holds that what the preacher has to do is to lay himself alongside of his
people, appeal to whatever is best in them---to their inborn aspirations after God, to their consciousness of infirmity, their inability to realize their own aspirations, their sense of how they are driven and hustled by the cares of business and the forces of the world, and turned away from the paths they fain would follow; to appeal to them not to allow themselves to drift away with these currents, not to sacrifice their lives, not to become thorns and briars in society; but clinging to Jesus Christ as their life and their strength, turn their helm stiffly and firmly in the true direction, and make right for the kingdom of heaven in spite of all. He holds that it is his part to furnish them with all manner of inducements and helps to follow this course. And in order to do this he dwells on the importance of fellowship with Christ." Concerning this kind of preaching, Dr. Blaikie says, "The complaint that I hear against it is, that there is not much of Christ in it ; or if he be set forth, it is His Person and personal influence that are dwelt on ; but there is not much of His atonement, nor of the plan of salvation for lost sinners." What an extraordinary complaint! Read the description again, and see how full of Christ it is. But the Person of Christ and His personal influence are apparently thought to be of less consequence than that part of His work which is seen in His death. Surely a person is always greater than any part of his work or his whole work. Why separate a person from his work? And how can lost man be saved at any time but by being brought into fellowship with God his Saviour? As to "the plan of salvation," the phrase savours of the factory rather than of that living union with Christ and the powers of the world to come, with which I trust every Christian is less or more familiar.

To what or whom has this change-brought about over the whole country-been due? There have been many causes, two of which-one general and the other personal-may be mentioned. The disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, lamentable as it seemed to be and lamentable as it was in some of its results, led to a notable weakening of the ecclesiastical tyranny and heresy-hunting which had been dominant previously, and which had smothered free thought or diverted it into agitation for external reforms having little to do with the higher things of the spirit. The great development of modern industry and com-
merce, consequent on the adoption of Free Trade, which swept Scotland into the currents of the wider life of the world, coincided with the ecclesiastical upheaval ; and both influences not only made for healthy freedom on the part of the laity, but created a demand for preaching dealing with the realities of life. The principal personal cause has been the influence of Dr. A. B. Davidson, Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the New College, Edinburgh. His real work is not seen in what he writes. He has published comparatively little, for as a LiberalConservative in Theology he always sees both sides of the question, and the difficulties of both. He shrinks from dogmatizing until he is quite certain of his conclusions, and in the region of criticism certainty is seldom attainable. But he has gradually formed a school of the sanest and most reverent critics of the Old Testament to be found in any Church, and the influence of these on the general tone of the pulpit is marked and in my opinion steadily increasing. Few men in Scotland now doubt the value of the results which have flowed from the application of the methods of modern criticism to the study of Holy Scripture.

G. M. Grant.

EARLY VOYAGE ON THE UPPER ST. LAWRENCE.

I$T$ was in 1613 that Champlain first explored a portion of the Ottawa, above Montreal. In 16I4 the first priests came to Canada, being sent out at the expense of the commercial company which controlled it. These were four Recollet fathers whose duty it was to minister to the religious needs of the colonists, and establish missions for the conversion of the Indians. In 1615 Father Joseph Caron accompanied a band of Hurons to their homes in the West. A little later in the same summer he was followed by Champlain, who went with the Huron Indians on an expedition against the Iroquois into what is now northern New York State. On returning to Canada, both Champlain and the priest remained with the Indians the following winter. Champlain had reached the Huron country by means of the Ot-
tawa route, and in going to the Iroquois territory he followed the Trent river system down to the bay of Quinte, and from that across to the south side of the lake past Amherst, Wolfe, and the smaller islands. He returned by the same route, making no attempt to try the upper St. Lawrence, reaching Lower Canada by the Ottawa as before.

Immediately after this the Iroquois, taking the aggressive, successfully encroached upon the territory of the Hurons and threatened the extermination of the French, their allies. What with the difficulties of the rapids, and the dangers from the Iroquois who sat by them, the French long found that route closed to them. Thus the St. Lawrence from Lake St. Louis to Lake Ontario remained unknown to the French, except from Indian herasay, for nearly half a century after they had penetrated to the Georgian bay and Lake Huron. By $164^{2}$ the French had reached Lake Superior, and had explored Lake Michigan. In 1646 the first Jesuit missionary, Pere Isaac Jogues, went to the Iroquois settlements to the south of the lakes. He went, however, by way of the Lake Champlain route. The following year, on his return to the Iroquois, he was put to death on the charge, it is said, of having raised the devil among them.

This incident, followed by other acts of aggression on the part of the Iroquois, suspended friendly intercourse between the French and these tribes for some time. But in 1654, on petition of one of the chiefs to have the French make a settlement among them, Father Simon Lemoine went to Onondaga. Being assured safe conduct, he went by way of the St . Lawrence route ; the first Frenchman, not a captive, to make that trip.

In explanation of the friendly overtures of the western Iroquois, we find that at this time they were threatened by other Indian nations to the west and south of them. To the south they were in conflict with the Andastogues, who had already driven some of the Cayugas out of their country, and compelled them to take refuge on Lake Ontario, in the neighbourhood of the bay of Quinte. From the west the Cat and Neutral Indians were on the eve of attacking them. The Iroquois, therefore, not only desired to make peace with the French, but to obtain their assistance against their nearer enemies. Under these circumstances Lemoine made his journey. From his journal, given in
the Jesuit Relation for that year, we obtain a short account of his trip up the river.*
"On the r7th day of July, 1654 , St. Alexis day, we set out from home with that great saint of many travels, toward a land unknown to us." Thus while the ancestors of most of us were eagerly following the first movements of Cromwell's Protectorate, while that great man was preparing to meet his first Parliament, in the wilds of America a French Jesuit missionary was making the first ascent of the Upper St. Lawrence.
"On the 18 th, following constantly the course of the river St. Lawrence, we encountered nothing but breakers and impetuous falls, thickly strewn with rocks and shoals." This refers to the region of the Cascades, Cedars, and Cotean rapids, between Lake St. Louis and Lake St. Francis. "The igth. The river continues to increase in width and forms a lake, pleasant to the sight and eight or twelve leagues in length." "The 2oth. We see nothing but islands of the most beautiful appearance in the world, intercepting here and there the course of this most peaceful river. The land toward the north appears to us excellent. Toward the rising sun is a chain of high mountains, which we named after Saint Margaret." Those who know the western end of lake St. Francis will recognize this as a charmingly simple and accurate description of that portion of the river. As yet, none of the lakes or rapids on the course is given a name. Only the chastely blue mountains, which form so fitting a background for the peaceful beauties of water and island, are named after St. Margaret. But the name is given at too long a range. Even that of 'St. Mary,' bestowed later, will not endure. Those nearer to them, doubtless finding them less etherial and saintly, will name them later the Adirondacs. On the 22nd they encountered the Long Sault rapids, though yet unnamed, and these he says "compel us to shoulder our little baggage, and the canoe that bore us." "On the other side of the rapids, I caught sight of a herd of wild cows, pasturing in a very calm and leisurely manner. Sometimes there are seen four or five hundred of them together in these regions." These were evidently not buffaloes, but caribou deer, because, as described later, they would not answer to the

The quotations from the Jesuit Relations are from the newly published edition, edited by R. G. Thwaites, and published by Burrows Bros., of Cleveland,
Ohio.
buffalo, and almost all the other early voyagers speak of the caribou and other deer as being very plentiful in this region. They came to be regularly counted upon as a supply of food, being easily killed as they swam from the islands to the mainland.

Another species of wild animal, whose aggressive enterprise has secured for it a prominent place in the early annals of America, also abounded in this region. Wherever they halted they became a prey to the mosquitos, who are represented by the pious father as resting not day and night, and as more terrible to face than death itself. They continued to have difficulty with the rapids between the Long Sault and the Thousand Islands. On the evening of the 25 th, "we arrived at the mouth of lake Saint Ignace, where eels abound in prodigious numbers." This is that region of the lake of the Thousand Islands, between the Brockville Narrows, or Chippewa Point, and Wellesley Island. In the large stretches of shallow, muddy-bottomed water, on the north and south sides of the river and off the lower end of Wellesley Island, there was a perfect paradise for eels, of which they took full advantage, leading, in turn, to the Indians taking much advantage of them. Thus this eel fishery was famous among the Indians for hundreds of miles around, and during the season the neighboring islands and shores were seldom without their Indian camps.

Lemoine and his band evidently took the southern or American channel through the islands. He notes the rocky cliffs along the route, but rather exaggerates their height and grandeur, as he speaks of being "everywhere confronted with towering rocks, now appalling and now pleasing to the eye." Noting the scantiness of the soil in many places, he says, "It is wonderful how large trees can find root among so many rocks."

Here they encountered for some days thunder storms accompanied with heavy winds. "On the 29th and 3nth of July, the wind storm continues, and checks our progress at the month of a great lake called Ontario: we call it the lake of the Iroquois, because they have their villages on its southern side. The Hurons are at the other side farther inland." But at this very period the Iroquois were passing over to the northern shore, making war upon the Hurons, driving them back, killing many and making captives of others, especially the women and children. Hence,
before long, both sides of the lake were in the possession of the Iroquois, and the first mission established on the northern shore, the Kenté mission, was among a branch of the Iroquois, the Cayugas.

Having reached Lake Ontario, we need not follow the worthy father in his subsequent adventures among the Onondaga Indians. His stay was short ; for by the middle of August he was on his way back, and once he and his companions reach the river they have an easy voyage, broken only by the irresistible pursuit of game, everywhere abundant and easy of capture. Almost no particulars are given of this return trip. On the 6 th of September, he is put ashore on Lake St. Louis, about twelve miles above Montreal, his Indians being afraid to run the Sault St. Louis, now the Lachine rapids.

This trip of Lemoine's to the Onondagas having roused the jealousy of the Mohawks, he had to promise to visit them also. This he accomplished in the following year 1655. He left Montreal on the 17 th of August, with twelve Iroquois and two Frenchmen, and a month later he had reached the Mohawk village of Agnie. Few details are given of this voyage. In the Relation for the year the summary runs thus. "The route is one of precipices, lakes and rivers, of hunting and fishing, of weariness and recreation, varying in different parts. Soon after their departure our travellers killed eighteen wild cows, within less than an hour, on prairies prepared by nature alone for those ownerless herds. They were wrecked a little farther on, in an impetuous torrent which carried them into a bay where they found the gentlest calm in the world." As usual when they got beyond the river they found game much scarcer, and they were almost starved before they reached their destination. Owing to troubles between the Iroquois and the Algonquins, they could not return by way of the St. Lawrence, but were compelled to make a very fatiguing overland journey to the south.

This same year another journey up the St. Lawrence was made by Fathers Joseph Chaumont and Claude Dablon, on their way to the Onondaga settlement. They left Montreal on the 8 th of October, 1655, and the details of the trip are recorded in Father Dablon's journal. After making the portage of the St. Louis, or Lachine rapids, they crossed Lake St. Louis on the

9th. The roth being Sunday, they rested. "On the rath we ascended many rapids by dint of hard paddling." Having caught sight of some Mohawks, they had to spend the night on guard for fear of their attacking the Huron portion of the band. On the $3^{\text {th }}$ and 54 th, their provisions failing, and having no luck either in fishing or hunting, they were reduced to the extremity of eating a wild cow which had been drowned. The wild cow he describes as a "species of hind-these animals having horns like the stag's, and not like those of our European bull."
"The I5th. God made us pass from scarcity to abundance by giving our hunters eight bears." Next day it rained, and they feasted and rested. On the 17 th they killed thirty bears and had another great feast, after which they drank bear's grease and rubbed their bodies over with it. Strange to say, only one of the band suffered from nightmare in consequence. But he had such a realistic attack of that malady that he could not get over it when wakened; and the whole company spent a day and a half in reducing him to a normal condition. The places are yet unnamed, but it appears that this incident occurred in the neighborhood of Lake St. Francis, for, on the 20th, they "passed the falls of the lake after dragging our canoes through four or five rapids in the space of half a league." This evidently refers to the Long Sault. "Early on the 24 th we reached Lake Ontario, at the entrance to which five stags were killed toward evening." What he calls Lake Ontario is what Lemoine called Lake St. Ignace, being the lower part of the Lake of the Thousand Islands. For Dablon the lake evidently extends below Brockville, for, he says, "furious rapids must be passed, which serve as the outlet of the lake : then one enters a beautiful sheet of water, sown with various islands, distant hardly a quarter of a league from one another. It is pleasant to see the herds of cows or deer swimming from isle to isle. Our hunters cut them off on their return to the mainland, and lined the entire shore with them, leading them to death whithersoever they chose. On the 25 th we advanced eight leagues up the lake's mouth, which is barely three-quarters of a league wide. We entered the lake itself on the 26 th, proceeding seven or eight leagues. Such a scene of awe-inspiring beauty I have never beheld; nothing but
islands and huge masses of rock, as large as cities, all covered with cedars and firs. The lake itself is lined with crags fearful to behold, for the most part overgrown with cedars. Toward evening we crossed from the north to the south side." This was evidently across to Alexandria Bay, by the foot of Wellesley Island, for he continues: "On the 27th we proceeded twelve good leagues through a multitude of islands, large and small, after which we saw nothing but water on all sides." From this and other accounts we learn that the route to the Iroquois country followed the Canadian shore up to the neighborhood of Grenadier Island, then crossed over to the American shore in the neighborhood of Alexandria Bay, thence following the American channel through the Thousand Islands, and up between Wolfe Island and the southern shore, into Lake Ontario. More than ten years were yet to pass before any Frenchman should take the northern route and look upon the site of Kingston.

The Onondagas remained steadfast in their purpose of having the French establish a regular settlement among them. They continued, with some impatience, to press the matter upon the two Fathers during the winter which they spent with them. Hence it was deemed expedient that one of them should return to Quebec to explain the situation to the Governor. The journey was undertaken by Father Dablon, who left Onondaga on the 2nd of March, 1656. The season was exceedingly unpropitious for such a journey, hence the sufferings of the Father and his band of about twenty Indians, were very great. The continued rains, in addition to the extreme discomfort which they afforded, weakened without removing the ice on the lake, while they opened up many of the streams. Thus they could proceed by neither winter nor summer modes of travel.

By the 37 th of the month they seem to have reached the Lake of the Thousand Islands, though, as in his previous account, he regards Lake Ontario as reaching below Brockville. In going down the American channel from the head of Wolfe Island, partly on the river and partly on shore, he describes their progress as follows: "We passed all the seventeenth with feet in the water, weather rough and road frightful. At times we had to climb with feet and hands over mountains of snow; again, to walk over great ice-blocks; and again, to pass over marshes;
plunge into thickets, fell trees for bridging rivers, cross streams, and avoid precipices; while at the day's end we had made barely four short leagues. On the eighteenth we proceeded six leagues. On the nineteenth, St. Joseph's day, as we were pursuing our course over the ice of the great lake, it opened under one of my feet. I came off better than a poor Onnontaguehromon hunter, who, after a long struggle with the ice, which had given way under him, was swallowed up and lost in the water beyond the possibility of rescue. Having escaped these dangers, we entered a road of extreme difficulty, beset with rocks as high as towers, and so steep that one makes his way over them with hands as well as feet. After this we were again forced to run three leagues over the ice, never stopping for fear of breaking through, and then to pass the night on a rock opposite Otondiata, which is on the route commonly taken by beaver hunters." This is the earliest mention of Otondiata, a famous indian stopping place on the highway of war and the chase, between the Irocyuois settlements to the south of the lake and the Huron territory and beaver grounds, reached by the Gananoque river and the Rideau lakes. The St. Lawrence river was commonly attained by way of the Oswegatche. Otondiata, which means, it is said, the "stone stairs," was the chief camping place in the neighbourhood of the eel fishery. In various references to the place, from this time on, the name is applied to different localities, both among the islands and on the mainland, from Brockville to Grenadier Island. In the present account it is probably Grenadier Island, or one in its vicinity, which is intended, that being the locality where the crossing was made from one shore to the other, in going and coming from the western Iroquois country. Thus the narrative continues: "We made a canoe for crossing the lake; and, as we were a company of twenty, a part went first. On nearing the other shore they struck their prow against an ice-floe; and there they were all in the water, some catching at the battered canoe, and others at the ice that had wrecked it. They all succeeded in saving themselves, and after repairing their boat of bark sent it back to us that we might follow them. We did so on the night of the twenty-first of March We had eaten for dinner only a very few roots boiled in clean water, yet we were forced to lie down supperless on a bed of
pebbles, at the sign of the Stars and under shelter of an icy north wind. On the following night we lay more softly, but not more comfortably, our bed being of snow, and the day after rain attended us on a frightful road over rocks fearful to behold, both for their height and for their size, and as dangerous to descend as they were difficult to climb. In order to scale them we lent one another a hand. They border the lake ; and, as it was not yet wholly free from ice, we were forced to undergo this labor."
"On the morning of the twenty-fifth a deer delayed us until noon. We made three leagues, in pleasant weather, and over a tolerable road, finding very seasonably, at our halting place, a canoe or rather whole tree-trunk hollowed out, which God seems to have put into our hands for completing the passage of the lake without fear of the ice."
"On the morrow seven of us embarked in this dugout, and in the evening reached the mouth of the lake, which ends in a waterfall and turbulent rapids. Here God showed us still another favour, for, on leaving our dugout, we found a fairly good bark canoe, with which we accomplished forty leagues in a day and a half, not having made more than that on foot during the three preceding weeks, owing both to the severe weather and the bad roads."
"Finally on the thirtieth of March we arrived at Montreal, having left Onnontague on the second. Our hearts found here the joy felt by pilgrims on reaching their own country."

On learning of the attitude of the Onondagas, and of their menacing anxiety to have the French accept their invitation to make a considerable establishment in their midst, the Quebec authorities found themselves in a very perplexing situation. If they declined the proffered hospitality and friendship, they were threatened with an Iroquois invasion. To accept the invitation, however, was to put their heads into the lion's mouth, and no lion's moods were ever more difficult to forecast, than those of the Iroquois. The faith of the Jesuits, not in the Indians, but in God, carried the day, and it was decided to accept the invitation.

This Jesuit faith was of the most unquenchable kind. Failure in missionary enterprise was taken to be no less an indication of Divine guidance, than the greatest success. With all their faith, experience had taught them to expect but slow progress.

Hence, every success was regarded as a more or less miraculous intervention of the Divine Spirit, while failure merely meant the preparation of the soil for a glorious harvest by and by. Even extremities of torture and death represented but the crowning favour of Heaven in selecting the victim for the supreme honour of martyrdom. The inspiring words, "Sanguis martyrum semen est Christianorum" were ever on their lips. Where every defeat was a victory, and every victory a triumphant miracle, we have the conditions which go a very long way towards making possible the impossible.

The company which left Quebec on this enterprise consisted of about forty Frenchmen, a party of Onondagas who had come down for them, some Senecas who had also come seeking an alliance, and a party of Hurons. The whole company left Quebec, on the seventh of May, $\mathbf{1} 656$, in two large shallops and several canoes. On the 8 th of June they left Montreal in twenty canoes.

From the journal of one of the missionaries we learn some particulars of the journey from Montreal. "We had not proceeded two leagues when a band of Agnieronon Iroquois (MOhawks) saw us from afar. Mistaking us for Algonquins and Hurons, they were seized with fear and fled into the woods, but when they recognized us, on seeing our flag-which bore the name of Jesus in large letters, painted on fine white taffetaflying in the air, they approached us. Our Onnontaeronnon Americans received them with a thousand insults, reproaching them with their treachery and brigandage; they then fell upon their canoes, stole their arms and took the best of all their equipment. They said that they did this by way of reprisal, for they themselves had been pillaged a few days before by the same tribe. That was all the consolation gained by those poor wretches in coming to greet us."
"Entering Lake St. Louis, one of our canoes was broken, an accident which happened several times during our voyage. We landed and our ship carpenters found everywhere material enough wherewith to build a vessel in less than a day-that is, our savages had no difficulty in procuring what was needed to make the gondolas which carried our baggage and ourselves."
"We killed a number of elk, and of the deer which our French
call ' wild cows.' On the 13 th of June, and the three following days, we found ourselves in currents of water so rapid and so strong that we were at times compelled to get into the water in order to drag behind us, or carry on our shoulders, our boats and all our baggage. We were wet through and through; for, while one half of our bodies was in the water, the sky saturated the other with a heavy rain. We exerted all our strength against the wind and the torrents with even more joy of heart than fatigue of body."
"On the rith of the same month we found ourselves at one end of a lake which some confound with Lake St. Louis. We gave it the name of St. Francis to distinquish it from the one which precedes it. It is fully ten leagues long and three or four leagues wide, in some places, and contains many beautiful islands at its mouths. The great river Saint Lawrence, widening and spreading its waters at various points, forms those beautiful lakes, and then narrowing its course it once more assumes the - name of river."
"On the zoth of June we passed the grand sault. Five fawns killed by our hunters, and a hundred catfish taken by our fishermen, made our troubles easier to bear. Our larder was as well stocked with meat and fish at that time, as it was deficient in everything at the end of our journey."
"Toward evening some hunters perceived us, and on seeing so many canoes in our company they fled, leaving behind them some booty for our people, who seized their weapons, their beaver skins and all their baggage. But, capturing one of those hunters, we found that he belonged to a tribe of the Andastaeronnons, with whom we were not at war. Our French, therefore, gave back to them what they had plundered; this, however, did not induce our savages to display the same civility."
"On the 27 th of June, we passed the last rapid which is half way between Montreal and Onnontage-that is a distance of forty or fifty leagues from both places."
"On the 29th, after travelling night and day because our stock of provisions was getting very low, we met three canoes of Annieronnons returning from man-hunting, who brought back with them the scalps of four savages of the Neds-percez nation, and a woman and two children as captives."
"On the first of July we perceived and gave chase to a canoe ; when we overtook it we found that it belonged to the village of Onnontaghe. We were told that we were expected there, and that Father Joseph Chaumont, who had remained there alone, was in good health."

Arriving at Onondaga in due course the French established themselves there, but being threatened with a general massacre two years later, they had to abandon the place in 1658 . In 1660, desiring to restore friendly relations with the French, the Onondagas and the Cayugas sent back four French prisoners and desired a Jesuit missionary to return to them. Father Simon Lemoine went in 166 r .

Relations with the Iroguois in general, and the Mohawks in particular, continued to be very unpleasant and uncertain, until after M. de Tracy's celebrated winter expedition against the Mohawks in 1666, by way of the Champlain route. This thoroughly alarmed all the nations of the Iroquois leaguc, causing them to make and maintain for a number of years a peace with the French.

These years of peace gave opportunity for an immense development of French enterprise, alike in the line of establishing missions, and making those celebrated exploring expeditions, which extended from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. As giving direction and encouragement to this golden age of French colonial expansion in America, we find in Canada the greatest of the Intendants, Talon, and the most celebrated of the Governors, Frontenac ; while in France itself there was the greatest of French ministers, Colbert, representing the most powerful of French monarchs, Louis XIV.

By fostering the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal, securing them the privilege of establishing missions among the western Indians, and stimulating a friendly rivalry in such enterprises between the Jesuits and the Sulpicians, Talon sought to encourage the expansion of French power and control over the various Indian nations. As part of this movement we have the establishment, by the Seminary of St. Sulpice, of the Kentè mission among a branch of the Cayugas in 1668, M. Trouve and M. Fenelon, a near relative of the celebrated Bishop of Cambray, being the pioneer missionaries in that region.

An account of the establishing of the mission is given in an appendix to the History of Montreal, attributed to Dollier de Casson. The account consists mainly of a letter from M. Trouvè, one of the nissionaries. He says they set out from Lachine on October 2nd, r668, accompanied by two Indians from the village of Kentè. They surmounted safely the obstacles between Lakes St. Louis and St. Francis, partly by portaging and partly by dragging their canoes up the river. On Lake St. Francis they discovered two famished Indian women and a child, fleeing from captivity among the Iroquois. Instead of allowing them to go on to Montreal, the two Indians who were with the missionaries insisted on takıng the women and child with them. After Lake St. Francis they spent four days in overcoming the most difficult rapids on the whole river, referring to the Long Sault. They rested from their exertions on one of the larger islands in the river. While there one of the savages, seeking comfort from a small keg of brandy which he had brought with him, became intoxicated and at once irresponsible and uncontrollable. He sought to kill one of the captives, but she took to the woods, escaping the fury of the Indian, but facing starvation on an island from which there was no means of egress. The other woman and her child were finally permitted to seek safety in the direction of Montreal, which they eventually reached. Even the lost woman, after being five or six days a prisoner on the island, was discovered and taken to Montreal by a band of Hurons. No further details are given of the journey except that they reached Kentè on the day of the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, and were well received.

This was the beginning of the settlements on the Canadian side of the lake. Soon after this Cataraqui was visited, and an establishment begun there. But that marks the opening of a new era of exploration.

Adam Shortt.

## THE ETHICS OF PLATO.

ARISTOTLE was the first to grasp the great truth that in Philosophy and Science, as in Statecraft, our motto must be " divide et impera;" he mapped out the field of knowledge into what are still recognized as its main departments, and Philosophy has not been slow to recognize his merits. The thought of Plato, on the other hand, is permeated with the idea of the essential unity of all truth, an idea which in these days of specialisation is perhaps even more valuable. The Aristotelian method, when carried to excess, leads to the turning of more or less arbitrary lines of division into impassable gulfs, across which Metaphysics and Ethics, Science and Theology, stretch wistful hands in vain ; while the Platonic has often caused men to ignore fundamental differences, and to hide great gaps in their systems by the use of vague generalisations, leaping to first principles from a few isolated instances, forgetting that Plato himself has insisted as strongly as Bacon on the importance of the media axiomata (e.g. Philebus 17 A).

No part of the philosophy of Aristotle has been more fully accepted as the embodiment of the Greek ideal in its fullest and most complete form than his Ethics; but this work, in spite of extraordinary flashes of insight, in the main represents rather the limitations of the Hellenic spirit than those permanent and universal features which give tlee Greek ideal its value. In his grasp of the problems involved, and in his conception of the ethical ideal he falls far short of Plato, though it is sometimes a little difficult to separate the ethical speculations of the latter from the æsthetic and metaphysical ideas in which they are enwrapped. This entanglement, far from being a defect in Plato's art, is a necessary consequence of his unique manner of presenting his thought, and of his strong conviction of the essential unity of all truth; we must be careful lest in considering his ethics by themselves we act, in his own words, like unskilful carvers, and instead of following the natural joints, tear and mangle the helpless bird; yet, if in thus separating them from the body of his work, we are careful not to forget the fundamental unity of his thought, it may not be without interest to
inquire what were the conclusions of the greatest of Greek thinkers on subjects which are still of vital importance.

It is the great glory of Christian Ethics to have grasped firmly the kindred ideas that one of the main functions of the science is to investigate the nature of evil, and that the investigation of this problem concerns not only the sage, but also the ordinary man, the slave and the publican as well as the saint and the philosopher. In both these points it was anticipated by Plato. No other philosopher has ever touched life at points so many and so various. Tall, handsome, broad-shouldered, of noble descent, gifted with perfect health, a dashing cavalry leader, the friend of statesmen and of kings, in his youth the writer of delicate amoretti, some of them of very doubtful morality, he had mixed with the best society of the Hellenic world, had seen its apparent beauty, its dalliance and its wit, had known to the full its real grossness, and its inability to satisfy the cravings of man's deeper nature. Yet as the friend and companion of Socrates he had been present while that great teacher conversed with the traders and the carpenters, yes, and with the harlots, in the market place, and had doubtless shared in the reproach so often directed against his master that he consorted with low and vulgar persons, and was quite regardless of that sense of his own dignity which characterized the well-bred Athenian gentlemen; in this intercourse he had seen that the lower classes were as debased as the upper, their ideals as low and as sensual, and without any touch of that aesthetic refinement which the rich threw over their immorality, under the influence of which "vice itself lost half its evil by losing all its grossness." Gradually out of this varied intercourse there dawned on Plato the conviction, a conviction which widened until it took possession of his whole nature as completely as ever it did of that of Hebrew Prophet or mediæval Saint, that at the root of this misery, this sordid "striving and striving and ending in nothing" lay a single cause, which took many forms, but which was always of the same essential nature, and which we can only describe in a word which would have been meaningless to the ordinary Greek, as sin. The bright joyous nature of the typical Athenian gentleman never attained to the thought that the carnal mind is enmity against God, that the natural man must be crushed and broken and transformed
ere the new man, at harmony with himself and with his God, can be made manifest. To this conception Plato rose, and the great difference between his Ethics and that of Aristotle is that while the latter looks upon a good life as a scientific, or rather as an artistic achievement of which the artist has some reason to be proud, Plato considers the best we can do as fading to nothingness in the light of heaven ; the good man, though for a moment he may feel a pardonable pride as he gazes down upon the vulgar throng, " tearing each other in their slime" below, must yet, as he thinks of the perfect pattern laid up eternal in the heavens, count himself after all but an unprofitable servant.

When man has attained to the consciousness of imperfection, both in himself and in the world, he is apt to take council of despair. "I saw under the sun the place of judgment, that wickedness was there, and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there." "The just man perisheth in his righteousness, and the wicked man prolongeth his life in his wickedness." "I looked for righteousness and behold oppression, for judgment and behold a cry." "For the wickedness that is on earth exceeds far the good that is in it." (Plato, Repub. 379 C.) Looking into his own heart, he sees sin and evil desires, " the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life," and a faint flickering desire to do better which knows not how to realize itself. Whence comes this evil in the life of man, this baneful power which throttles his best endeavours? The answer of Plato is in effect one which has been given by many men in many ages, by the early Christian and by the modern Hindoo, and which will continue to be given so long as there exist tender hearted, sensitive mystics who, revolting against the tyranny of the flesh, try to free the pure spirit from its thraldom, and to take the Kingdom of Heaven by violence. The evil lies in matter.
"For I know that in my flesh dwelleth no good thing," says St. Paul. The mind of man, the spectator of all time and of all existence (Repub. 486 A ) is enclosed in this body of sin and death, and in the latter all things evil and base have their origin. "But if, my dear Glaucon, we desire to see the soul as it is in very truth, we must not look upon it maimed by its association with the body and by other evils, as now we see it; but as it is
when purified and as we can behold it with the eye of reason. -- For now when we look upon it, we are like those who caught sight of the sea-god Glaucus, whose original nature could with difficulty be discerned, since of the old members of his body some had been broken off and others crushed, and he was all battered by the waves, while new accretions had adhered to him, shells and seaweed and stones, so that he looked more like some evil beast than as he was in reality. So the soul, as now we see it, is disfigured by countless ills. We should fix our attention upon its love of reason, upon its strivings and upon the companionships for which its kinship to the divine and immortal and eternal impels it to seek; we should look on it as it would be if it strove with its whole being after such fellowship, and by the impulse thence derived brought itself up out of the sea in which it now is, and disencumbered itself of the stones and shells which now adhere to it, and of that uncouth multitude of earthy and rocky substances with which it is now overgrown, because of those earthy banquetings which are deemed so felicitous (Repub. x. 6ir C.sq). To say that the many ills to which man is heir, the sins which so easily beset him, are due to the association of his soul with the body which mars and stains all its beauty, is a conclusion against which many of our natural instincts revolt. Matter, even if the source of ill, is also the source of much good; through it the indwelling spirit can manifest itself, can mould it into shapes of beauty and of grace which are visible emanations of the God-head, God manifest to sense. This body of death can be so bsautiful and pure that we seem forced to agree with Swinburne when he cries passionately over the body of his dead mistress:
"Her mouth an alms-giving,
The glory of her garments charity,
The beauty of her bosom a good deed.
And all her body was more virtuous
Than souls of women fashioned otherwise."
And yet even beauty, radiant with the light from heaven, can lead astray; sin lieth ever at the door :

> " medio de fonte leporum
> surgit amari aliquid, atque ipsis in floribus angat."

History affords us all too many examples of the nameless orgies in which the worship of physical beauty culminates:"Nowhere in any age of Greek history, or in any part of Hellas, did the love of physical beauty, the sensibility to radiant scenes of nature, the consuming fervour of personal feeling, assume such grand proportions and receive so illustrious an expression as they did in Lesbos. At first this passion blossomed into the most exquisite lyrical poetry that the world has known : this was the flower-time of the Æolians, their brief and brilliant spring. But the fruit it bore was bitter and rotten. Lesbos became a by-word for corruption. The passions which for a moment had flamed into the gorgeousness of art, burning their envelope of words and images, remained a mere furnace of sensuality, from which no expression of the divine in human life could be extracted."* The Greek of the decadence has fully revealed himself in the Anthology, and the spectacle is not a pleasant one. The Italian of the Renascence, as portrayed in the Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, however fascinating to the umregenerate mind, cannot be considered as embodying a satisfactory ideal. In our revolt from the sensuality to which this worship of the physical leads, we fly to the other extreme and condemn even innocent beauty as sinful, and matter as the root of all evil. Thence arise austerities from which in the end there is a recoil, the austerities of St. Simeon Stylites, of St. Jerome and the monks of the Thebaid, or of the modern Indian fakir. Sometimes the same view leads to very different results. We cannot get away from our bodies; the taint of the physical is over our most spiritual actions; but if our bodies are inherently evil, then so long as we live our actions must also be so, whether we be rakes or anchorites. Now sensuality is undoubtedly pleasant, and by invincible logic no more sinful than any other line of action. Thus, as the history of the Albigenses shows, the doctrine of the sinfulness of matter ends logically not in self-denial, but in the grossest forms of excess. From this conclusion our better nature revolts ; there is a recoil to saner ideals, and the weary cycle begins anew, until, like Plato in the Meno, we despair of human aid, and wait with impatience or with resignation for "the spark from heaven to fall."
*J. A. Symonds: L.yric Poets of Greece.

The Meno begins with the question of the ardent young Thessalian : is Virtue teachable? Socrates, who throughout the dialogue is in a somewhat quizzical humour, declares his ignorance of the real nature of virtue, a preliminary question which must be settled before we can tell whether it is teachable. The first answer of Meno is that Virtue consists of Justice, Temperance, Chastity, or what you will. This enumeration of examples is soon shown to be no definition, and Meno, driven from one position to another, finally declares Virtue to be "to desire all such things as are fair and noble, and to be able to obtain them." But no one desires anything, Socrates forces him to admit, which does not seem to him good and noble and fair, and therefore we are all virtuous, a conclusion at variance with admitted facts. Furthermore, we must strive for even these good things in a just and temperate manner, and thus Virtue again breaks up. Meno now turns upon his tormentor. "What is the good of this search ?" he says. "How can we search for that of the nature of which we are ignorant ? We might find it and pass it by, or might pick up something else in full confidence that we had the genuine article." This dilemma Socrates solves by means of the celebrated doctrine of $\dot{\mu \nu \dot{\alpha} \mu \nu \eta \sigma \iota \zeta \text { (Recollection.) In a former world }}$ our souls lived in close contact with Beauty and Virtue and Knowledge as these are in their essential nature, and all our present knowledge consists in recalling more or less imperfectly some fragments of the divine ideals which we once knew so well. Recurring to the former statement that no man desires anything save that which seems to him noble and fair and good, the disputants decide that virtue is evidently that form of knowledge which will enable men to know whether what seems good to them is so in reality. But if knowledge, then teachable. But it is not so, as is proved by the very obvious fact that the best men often have bad sons, and that too though they took all manner of pains with their education. Therefore, virtue can only come by some


In the Phaedo, which tells of the last day in the life of Socrates, and of the comfort which he gave, not to himself-for he needed none-but to his sorrowing disciples, the two principles of the seen and the unseen, the temporal and the spiritual, body and soul, are set in direct opposition. The one soars ever up-
ward, seeking to attain to the divine to which it is akin, but falls back, shackled "to the earthly body and grievous growth of clay," which desires food and drink and carnal delights, in which like a beast in the mire it would fain wallow. To get rid of this foul companion by suicide would be easy, but we have been put here by wise and powerful Gods, and like soldiers given a position we must not quit the field. Yet the true philosopher will strive to keep the body under, knowing that from it come sin and misery and all that is evil, will use it and trust to it only in so far as is necessary, and will shrink with shuddering fear and loathing from "These prodigies of myriad nakednesses
And twisted shapes of lust, unspeakable,"
to which it ever invites him. Keeping his soul pure, he will endure until the long hoped for day of dissolution comes, when he will gladly go to the bright Gods from whom he has for a time been separated, there to find all his desires and aspirations free to fulfil themselves. Whereas the soul which has enslaved itself to the body, indulging in so called pleasures,
"Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
The divine property of her first being.
Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp
Oft seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres
Lingering, and sitting by a new-made grave,
As loth to leave the body that it loved,
And linked itself by carnal sensuality,
To a degenerate and degraded state."
(Milton "Comus." An almost literal translation of Plato, 'hardo. 8ı C-E )
For all the desires and aspirations of the natural man are sinful, connected with the world of Becoming, of fleeting change and phantasy; only the pure and enlightened soul is stable. Thus the true philosopher is good not from fear of Consequences, or in hope of them, not because it profits to be so or because it is pleasant, but because by so doing he will become more like to God in this world and in the next, more free from the torment of the flesh. All others are the slaves of their own hopes and fears, even when their slavery gives to their actions the appearance of virtue. We see then that the body can act upon the soul, and render it coarse and defiled; yet their connection is an external one, against which all the finer instincts of the philosopher revolt. The power of the good man to overcome his pas-
sions is not here discussed, and is indeed assumed to be easy, but a difficulty arises. The man chooses the course of action he intends to follow; with what part of his composite nature does he make the choice? Not with the body, which is sinful; not by the soul which cannot choose anything but good; not by any interaction between them, for then virtue would be merely a matter of the soul and body which we inherited, and Plato is resolute for the freedom of the will. Again we are at an impasse, for which the solution in the Meno of $\theta \tilde{\varepsilon} \tilde{\epsilon} \dot{\nu} \tau \varepsilon$ is somewhat inadequate and external.

It has been said that this rigid opposition between soul and body, between this world of separation from God, and a hereafter of union with Him, is a conception which in his later years Plato transcended. A quotation from the Theaetetus, certainly a late dialogue, is sufficient to disprove this: "For evil cannot be destroyed, Theodorus; it must needs be that to all eternity there exist a principle opposite to the good. Now evil cannot be situated in God, but must of necessity frequent our mortal nature and this earthly sphere. Therefore we should strive to flee.away from earth with all speed unto that other country; and we flee away by making ourselves in so far as we are able like unto God; and we are made like unto him when we become just and holy and wise." (Theaetetus 176.) But though Plato never lost sight of this divine element, without which no system of morality is complete, though he insisted, with a vehemence which recalls the kindred doctrine of mediæval Christianity, that we must imitate the divine, it is true that in his later writings he tends to lay stress on a different aspect of the problem, and to find the solution in a very diffegent direction.
"Heaven alone can help us now," said the storm-tossed mariner.
"Is it as bad as that ?" replied his wife, and we can trace in Plato something of the same thought. In his later work for the most part he devotes himself to finding a solution on the lines that in man's own nature lies the possibility of perfection. Man can rule himself, and only in so doing does he become truly man. We are not tempted above that we are able (Republic 6I3 A); we needs must love the highest when we see it, for man must cleave to that to which he is akin, and our closest kinship is with
the divine. In man's composite nature the later Psychology of Plato, as given in the Republic, recognizes three distinct ele-ments-(1) Reason, which though small in bulk as compared with the others, is the rightful king and lord of all; (2) The desires, forming by far the largest part of our nature ; and (.j) to $\theta u \mu o s \not \subset \grave{\partial} \zeta$, the descriptions of which are not wholly consistent with each other. Pure Reason by itself supplies no motive
 ple of "the spirited," or "righteous indignation," which seems to combine elements later known as Will, Conscience and Practical Reason. It is the rightful ally of reason, and carries out its behests, subjugating the passions and making use of such of them as are not utterly lawless. For he seems to recognize a dcscending scale in the appetites, some of them being amenable to reason, others more or less hostile, a few wholly lawless and fit only to be weeded out with remorseless severity. When each of the three parts does its work, reason issuing commands, "the spirited" acting as executive, and the desires acquiescing in its supremacy (an acquiescence which necessarily involves that a principle of reason is implicit in them, so that we are really flung back into the old vicious circle), when the whole man is fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working of every part in due proportion, then we have a good man. Similarly, the ideal bad man is produced not when the nobler elements are rooted out, but when they are made the slaves of our lower nature, and a sort of false harmony, or inverted pyramid with the desires at the top, is the result. In his attempt, as Aristotle would say, after excessive unification ( $k(\alpha \nu \nu \nu 0 \tilde{\nu} \nu)$, in his revolt against our fleshly grovellings in the mire of sin, against the sordid aims and sensual gratifications of his fellows, Plato sometimes tends to eliminate the desires altogether, without seeing what a blank negation of all life is therein involved; but usually his noble sanity, and his Greek love for the beautiful impel him to grant them a place in the perfect life, and to speak of harmony not of amihilation. (Repub. 431 D sq. 586 E sq. et passim.)

For to eliminate the passions from the life of man is to eliminate life itself, and this Plato came to see. In the Republic he had made an attempt to show their place in the good life,
and this attempt is carried out more consistently in the Philebus, a dialogue of great importance in an appreciation of Plato's later Ethical views; for though it is cumbrous in style, inartistic in structure, and lacking in unity, these very defects in so great an artist as Plato go to show the strenuous nature of the attempt which he was making to unite elements which he had torn asunder with all the fervour of his early genius. The solution given in this dialogue is briefly that feeling is in its very nature indeterminate ( $\dot{\alpha} \pi \varepsilon \varepsilon \rho o \nu)$; that before it becomes anything (i.e. anything real) the limiting and determining law ( $\pi \varepsilon, 0, \zeta$ ) of reason must be laid upon it. Reason stands as it were in the centre, gradually reducing to determinate being the vast and formless ocean of feeling which on every hand welters away out of sight. This theory comes out in the course of a discussion as to the respective claims of Wisdom and Pleasure to be the highest good; while Pleasure as such is dethroned, it is admitted that certain harmless and necessary pleasures have their place in the good life. But the two positions are really inconsistent. What of the pleasures-for Plato far the majority-which are neither necessary or harmless? If they are the same in kind as those which are admitted, then why may they also not be rationalised ? If they are different then again we have the old dualism reappearing, though our synthesis has certainly come nearer to being comprehensive than formerly. Indeed, many questions arise. Whence does Reason get its motive power ? If there is no absolute separation between reason and the passions, if as we are told, the words "pure reason" and "pure passion" are alike meaningless, for each is implicit in the other, then how does reason get its bias toward evil? Why do men turn their great faculties to base ends? If the cause lies in the passions, then how are they capable of being turned to good? What is there divine in this muddy vesture of decay? Neutral do you call it, mere indifferent matter to be worked up by the formative influence of the Spirit? Then how comes the active positive evil which there is in this world? How does the fleshly become wrought up into that which is hostile to Spirit? How does the Spirit itself become "procuress to the Lords of Hell ?" How does such a theory account for the sympathy which we feel for many forms of evil? How comes it that we do nat love the highest when we see it?
" Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor."
is a fact to be explained, not to be explained away. One modern theory speaks of an Eternal Self-Consciousness gradually revealing itself. But if an Eternal Self-Consciousness reveals itself in a perpetual process, every moment of which is filled with imperfections, must there not be a distorting medium which is not reasonable? The world is certainly reasonable in the sense of being knowable ; and a thing is only knowable by reference to the end in the light of which it is viewed ; but what of that end itself? Rational means a) understandable b) moral ; and to argue from one to the other is not so admissible as is sometimes supposed ; e.g., I understand perfectly-to use Conan Doyle's example-that the fall of a splinter from the roof of my skull upon a certain portion of my brain--a fall which I am powerless to prevent, and for which no conscious action of mine is in any way responsible-may in a moment change me from a more or less normal human being into a degraded idiot, with every obscene and vicious tendency; but I do not in the least understand what purpose is served by such a lowering of my nature. If I am told that I must look at such things in ordine ad universum, the case is made no better. Whence, to begin with, come the instincts which make such a point of view so difficult to attain? And even granted that I do rise to this lofty and impersonal height, I still find it impossible to conceive any way in which my suffering furthers progress towards any reasonable end. In the moral world the reason is compelled to realize itself through a medium which is always indifferent and sometimes hostile;-which is reasonable only in the barren sense of being understandable; yet if we fall back upon the other solution of an imperfect God gradually revealing himself because only gradually evolving himself, even setting aside the question of the end to which he is tending, we are at a loss to find an explanation for the ideas of perfection-ideas not purely negative-which we undoubtedly have. It may here be worth while to glance at a modern school which sometimes claims to have received the mantle of Plato, and which proves triumphantly that it is impossible to sin against reason by the following ingenious process :If a man's whole nature be turned in a certain direction, he can-
not proceed in any other ; but " knowing, feeling and willing are simply aspects of the one self-conscious subject;" therefore he must always act in the way in which his self-consciousness directs him ; therefore the dualism between Reason and Passion is transcended. In other words, we call the whole man by the name of "self-conscious subject," identify self-consciousness with Reason, prove that granting the truth of our premises and of our identification, it is impossible to act against reason, and then go on our way rejoicing. To the ordinary man it appears that this argument either involves a double begging of the question, or else amounts to the somewhat doubtful triumph that we are free, because we are conscious of our own slavery. While it is always difficult, and often impossible, to tell what was passing through the mind of Plato, it is certain that he was confronted by difficulties analogous to these. His final solution is given in the Philebus, and even here we see that there remains an ele-ment-for Plato a large element-alien and impervious to reason. For the presence of this, for the baneful influence which it exerts over man's life he has no explanation, save the myth of Er, the son of Armenius, with which the Republic closes. With this alien element, he seems to say, Philosophy has nothing to do; it remains outside the pale of reason; if you insist upon a solution I can only say that it must be along the lines, not of philosophy, but of religious mysticism.

The ideal which Plato holds up is a very noble one. His quarrel is not with the Sophists, for some of whom he has a very high regard, while for the rest his feeling is rather one of contemptuous indifference than of active dislike; that dislike, or rather noble indignation mingled with scorn and deep pity, is reserved for the ordinary mass of mankind with their low ideals and grovelling ambitions. For the Kingdom to which he calls them is so infinitely nobler and purer, so much more truly pleasant, if they would but lift up their eyes and see. It is the same note which centuries after, in a poet-philosopher of a very different school, gives poignancy to the lament of Lucretius over the caeca pectora of mankind. Why will ye die? There are realms of eternal bliss to which man can attain ; not by abstract contemplation, as Aristotle seems to say (Ethics, Bk X ad fin) ; not by a short cut through the kingdom of Sensuality (Gorgias
passim, and especially the concluding paragraph) or the Land of Mysticism (Repub. 519 C.)-those two roads which at first sight seem so alluring, and which so many ardent souls have ere now trodden in vain, but by a course of hard scientific and philosophic study, and of still harder - service of our fellow men, stooping the lofty spirit to the petty tasks of everyday life (Repub. 540), so at last, keeping the eye of the soul bright and clear, we shall attain unto the vision beatific, to that city laid up eternal in the heavens, to the perfect pattern in the mount to which all earthly beauty is a faint approximation. For the unjust man Plato can imagine no more dreadful condemnation than that he may continue on in its
 contented injustice, bereft of the higher joys which only the initiated know, is punishment enough.

It is a noble ideal ; can man attain to it ? Grant that he is free, that he is not tempted above that he is able, then the stern course of discipline prescribed by Plato has no terror for the earnest soul, however much the body shrinks from the prospect. But man's freedom is for Plato rather an article of faith than a reasoned conviction. His statement in the Timeus, that evil in nearly all cases is due to defective physique and faulty training, is in spite of its similarity in sound to certain modern theories really on the side of freedom; but his view is best summed up in the tremendous words of "the maiden daughter of Necessity,"
 $\theta$ éos d̀vaítoos. Repub. X.) It is an intuitive conviction, rooted in the deepest fibres of his being, that man is the author of his own destiny, and can work out his own salvation; but unlike the great modern teacher of Germany, whose deep moral carnestness verging on asceticism, so often recalls the pure spirit of Plato, he has not encumbered his conviction with a somewhat doubtful proof.
IV. I. Glint.

## RECENT THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity. By John Caird, D.D., LL. D., late Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. With a memoir by Edward Caird, D.C.L., LL. D., Master of Balliol. 2 Vols, Glasgow: James MacLehose \& Sons. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899.

T
HE hope held out in the Preface to the late Principal Caird's
University Sermons, that his Gifford Lectures would be shortly published, has been promptly fulfilled. The editor, who has discharged a difficult and delicate task with admirable discretion, tells us that, while his brother's "craving to make things clear and intelligible to himself was very deep in his nature," his faith "was too closely bound up with his life and wrought into all his habits of mind by years of pastoral work" to be seriously shaken. "I think that it may fairly be said," says the Master of Balliol, "that his philosophy, as it grew to clearness in his mind, seemed rather to confirm and deepen his faith in Christianity, by rendering its most mysterious doctrines luminous, and showing how its principles serve to explain the life of man and of the universe, than essentially to disturb or change it." Of his brother's noble and beautiful character the editor speaks with fine feeling. "He was, I think, the most modest man I ever knew in his estimate of his own abilities and acquirements; and his great power as a speaker never seemed to awake in him any feeling of self-satisfaction. It was, indeed, so habitual, and, I might say, natural to him to move men by his gift of speech, that he never seemed to attach any special importance to it. On the other hand, he was apt to idealize and over-estimate the gifts of others, especially if they had any knowledge or ability which he did not himself possess." How perfectly these words characterize the man, those who were so fortunate as to profit by his teaching when he was Professor of Divinity in Glasgow will at once recognize. It might be added that as a teacher his criticism was as candid as it was kind. While he was capable on occasion of very plain speech, he was never swayed by personal feeling, or by anything but the deepest regard for truth and for the good of his students.

In the two opening lectures the author urges that the content of Christianity is essentially rational, and therefore that
there can be no absolute opposition between faith and reason. The aim of the following lecture is to show that the doctrine of the Trinity, the distinctively Christian idea of God, is not an unintelligible dogma, but a profound truth. In the conception of the Logos or Son of God is expressed the only tenable conception of God, viz., that He is a spiritual being, or, in other words, that there is "a self-revealing principle or personality within the very essence of the Godhead." If God must for ever realize Himself in all the infinite riches of his nature, there must be something to call forth that wealth, something to be known and loved by God. "Nay, seeing that love reaches, and can only reach, its highest expression in suffering and sacrifice, and that the richest purest blessedness is that which comes through pain and sorrow, can it be wrong to ascribe to God a capacity of self-sacrifice, a giving up of Himself, a going forth of His own being for the redemption of the world from $\sin$ and sorrow?" To the objection that this seems to make God simply "the Spirit of the world, growing with its growth and partaking its incompleteness," it is answered that "we must think of all that unfolds itself progressively in the history of the world.......as already comprehended in the eternal self-revelation of God,"-as "only the temporal manifestation of what has existed ideally and eternally in the mind and purpose of God."

The next four lectures deal with the relation of God to the world. The inadequacy of the pantheistic and deistic views of this relation is exhibited with convincing force, and the attempt is made to make the Christian view intelligible. The only adequate conception must be " one which, without throwing doubt upon the absoluteness and infinitude of the divine nature, must yet be consistent with the reality of the outward world and the freedom and individuality of man." This conception involves (I) "that it is Infinite Mind or Intelligence which constitutes the reality of the world, not simply as its external Creator, but as the inward Spirit in and through which all things live and move and have their being; (2) that by its very nature, Infinite Mind or Spirit has in it a principle of self-revelation-a necessity of self-manifestation to and in a world of finite beings ; (3) that the infinitude of God, conceived of as Infinite Spirit, so far from involving the negation or suppression of the finite world, is
rather the principle of the individuality and independence of nature and man."

One of the difficulties in accepting this conception of man's nature, which is implied in its being made in the image of God, is connected with the problem of the origin and nature of evil. The Augustinian doctrine of " original sin" cannot be accepted in the hard and literal sense in which it has often been stated, but it points to a truth deeper than it expresses. The moral order under which we live is inexplicable, if looked at from a purely individualistic point of view, and can only be understood in the light of what has been termed the corporate or organic life of the race. There is a sense in which it may be said that society creates the individual rather than the individual society. The author therefore concludes that "whatever exception we may take to the Augustinian doctrine as an explanation of the origin of evil, yet in its recognition of the organic unity of the race, and of the consequent implication of every individual member of it with its past histofy and its present moral complexion and character, it far surpasses the shallow philosophy which seeks a solution of the problem only by ignoring the stern facts of human history and experience."

The next question is whether moral evil is irremediable, or, if not, whether moral remedy is possible in the way of selfreformation, or only through external, supernatural interposition. Now, "goodness or moral character is from its very nature a thing which cannot be directly or immediately created, neither can it be restored even by an Omnipotent power.........If we could conceive of a goodness created or restored by an external power apart from the activity of the subject, such goodness would in reality belong, not to the subject, but to the power that operated in it." We cannot therefore admit the "absolute depravity" of man. "There is a sense in which even in sin, in a life abandoned to sensual or selfish indulgence, there is to be discerned an indication of the latent presence of that which is the principle of all goodness." How, then, is the restoration to goodness to be effected? The answer is contained in "the personality and life of Christ and in the Christian doctrines of Redemption and Grace." We have therefore to deal with ( x ) the idea of the Incarnation, (2) the idea of the Atonement, (3) the kingdom of the Spirit.

Now (r) in any true theory of the Incarnation we must reject all attempts to explain away the unity of two natures, the divine and the human. The history of the doctrine of the Person of Christ is, for the most part, the history of expedients by which the impossible attempt was made to solve the problem of the union of divine and human in one self-conscious personality by modifying or tampering with either the one or the other side of the combination. The author refuses to accept any of these compromises, maintaining that the union of the human with the divine in the person and life of Christ can only be explained as the absolute identification of His human mind and will with the mind and will of God, a union which, in the best and holiest of other men, is intermittent and partial. "It is not merely theoretically, as a matter of speculation, that we can conceive of the absolute union of the human and divine, nor is the splendour of spiritual greatness, hid under this vesture of decay, only at best a dim forecast or far-off prevision. It is the very central fact of our Christian faith that once for all it has been realized, and that in the person and life of Christ we can recognize a nature from which every dividing, disturbing element has passed away-a mind that was the pure medium of Intinite Intelligence, a heart that throbbed in perfect union with the Infinite Love, a will that never vibrated by one faintest aberration from the Infinite Will, a human consciousness possessed and suffused by the very spirit and life of the Living God."
(2) What view of the Atonement must be held in consistency with this conception of the person and life of Christ? It is impossible to accept either the theory of Anselm or the substitutionary theory, based as they are on a forced interpretation of the figures or metaphors of scripture. The elements of a true theory may be obtained in an answer to these two questions: (a) What kind of suffering for $\sin$ can we ascribe to a being by supposition sinless? (b) Is there any sense in which the moral benefits of the sufferings of a sinless being can be transferred to the subject? As to the first point, it may be laid down as a principle that the sinless will suffer for $\sin$ in proportion to his goodness. "But what ordinary men, even the best, can only rarely and feebly experience, He in whom was no sin was called in fullest measure constantly to bear." But, secondly, can this ex-
piatory moral suffering be in any way transferred from the innocent to the guilty? It is not an adequate answer to say that we " live under a moral order, of which the suffering of the innocent for the guilty is one of the most unquestionable characteristics." It is true that we suffer for others, but we do not, and cannot, sin for them. Nevertheless, there is a profound meaning in the Christian doctrine of "justification by faith." "The essential principle of the life of Christ becomes by faith the essential principle of our own," and this "faith" cannot be purely passive in its character. "The faith that makes us participants in His perfect righteousness and His atoning sacrifice and death, so far from being an attitude of mind inert, unintelligent, passive, is one of the most intense moral activity ; so far from being destitute of moral value and significance, it may be said to be itself the principle of all moral excellence."
(3) The Christian theory of Redemption passes by a natural transition to the universal presence of God in the souls of individual believers and in the organic unity of the Church. It is not the view of the New Testament writers that the kingdom of the Spirit is a retrogression from the kingdom of the Son. "There is a presence of Christ with His believing followers, infinitely more intimate and profound than that of His outward contiguity as an individual person." The main idea thus suggested is that of "the organic unity of the Church, the idea, in other words, of all believers in Christ as not a mere collection of separate individualities, but as one corporate whole, of which Christ is the living Spirit or Head."

In the last lecture, on the Future Life, the author seems to me to have presented the only argument for Immortality which has any weight in the most convincing way. To give a mere summary of it would only spoil its force.

Even in the short account of this important work which has just been given, it will be evident that the late Principal of Glasgow University has added greatly to the debt we all owe him for his masterly Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion. It is too much to say that we have here the last word in the way of a much-needed philosophical System of Theology; and indeed the title of the work indicates that it is only an outline. A thoroughly satisfactory Theology can only be based upon a completely
reasoned Metaphysic, and such a Metaphysic is still a desideratum. On the other hand, it would be hard to find a work more full of sympathy with the living movement of the Christian consciousness, or so well fitted to pave the way for a philosophical interpretation of the main doctrines of the Church. No man who takes any interest in the philosophy of religion, and especially no Christian teacher, can afford to neglect this sympathetic, closely reasoned, and eloquent presentation of the fundamental ideas of Christianity.

The Thecetctus of Plato. A Translation with an Introduction. By S. W. Dyde, D.Sc., Professor of Mental Philosophy, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Glasgow: James MacLehose \& Sons. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899.

The teacher of philosophy meets with a peculiar difficulty in the practice of his art. The value of philosophical training lies, not so much in the acquirement of a definite set of ideas, as in the development of the faculty of philosophizing. It is quite possible to acquire a considerable amount of information about the history of philosophy and of current ideas in regard to its various branches without really entering into its inner spirit. Not that philosophy is merely a useful organ for the practice of a sort of intellectual gymnastic : if that were all, it would hardly be worthy of the attention of serious men, especially in an age when there is a widespread uncertainty in regard to the higher interests of the human spirit. Every philosophy worthy of the name has in view the discovery of truth, and even when it is in the main sceptical, it is so, as we may say, in spite of itself. Philosophy as a discipline must therefore be perfectly free in its method and yet it must be absolutely serious and sincere. How is this philosophic temper to be generated? One method obviously is to bring the mind of the pupil into direct contact with one of the masters of speculation. But to do this in an effective way, it is not enough simply to give a general statement of his doctrine. If the object were merely to enable the student to answer the questions of an examiner, histories of philosophy and lectures on the history of philosoply might be found sufficient ; but something more is needed, if the aim is to make men philosophize for themselves. As experience shows, the best way to effect this end is to begin with a first-hand study of some work
of reasonable length, in which the student has all the materials for forming an independent judgment of his own. This is the method which Dr. Dyde has adopted. The Theatetus of Plato is admirably adapted for the purpose in view : it is of moderate length, it raises the fundamental problems connected with the nature of knowledge, and it is a masterpiece of philosophic style. The editor las not only given an admirable translation, but he has prefixed an Introduction, in which Plato's relation to his predecessors and the connexion of the Theatetus with the more developed form of Platonic Idealism are brought out clearly and with adequate fulness. It may be safely said that the student who uses this edition of the Theatetus in a conscientious way, mastering the contents of the dialogue itself and viewing these in the light thrown upon them by the Introduction, will know more about the spirit of Plato's philosophy, and indeed of all philosophy, than he would obtain by getting up in an external way dozens of books on the history of philosophy.

Dr. Dyde's Introduction shows on every page the extreme care with which he has studied this and other dialogues of Plato, the diligence with which he has read what has been said by his predecessors, and his own faculty for entering sympathetically into the mind of the master. He has admirably described the aim of the Introduction in his Preface. 'It seeks to give Plato's portrait, account and criticism of Protagoras and his followers, and at the same time it serves as an outline of one large and important section of Plato's own philosophy. Indeed, owing to Plato's peculiar method, if it succeeds in the first it does the second also. In the closing pages of the Introduction reference is made to the final form of Plato's thought, with the view of indicating how far it was moulded by his long and arduous encounter with Sophistry." The Introduction is so condensed and yet clear that it would be hard to give a summary much shorter than itself. Attention may, however, be drawn to the light which it casts upon the distinction between the doctrine of Protagoras himself as compared with his followers, and to the highly suggestive treatment of the final form of Plato's Idealism. It is not too much to say that in these respects this unassuming little treatise is more suggestive than anything previously done. What is especially admirable in the treatment of the former point is
that the writer effects the separation of the doctrine of Protagoras from that of his followers by showing conclusively that Plato has bimself indicated the separation by a difference of phraseology (pp. 22-23). In his account of the final form of Plato's Idealism Dr. Dyde indirectly exhibits the inadequacy of the conventional view ; indeed his short statement is so admirable that one cannot restrain the wish that he may in some future work give us a thorough discussion of the whole philosophy of Plato, a task which he has shown himself to be eminently fitted to perform. It is to be hoped that this edition of the Thectetus will come into general use, as it well deserves to do, in all Eng-lish-speaking colleges.

John Watson.

## A NEW NOVEL.

(Gilian the Dreamer. By Neil Munro. Isbister \& Co., London.)
ПHE day of high romance and the grand historical novel seems to be almost done, in the English-speaking world at least. We still have work on those lines from not a not a few practised hands, Marion Crawford, Pakrer and others, work too, which finds a large circle of readers, but we have nothing which can be set for a moment beside the work of the older masters, Scott, or Thackeray, or Sand But in another field, we seem still to have masters, though they may be only 'The Little Masters.' The best of our contemporary novels, have largely the character of local history, a strong flavour of the soil, almost of the parish, very different from the more cosmopolitan art of the older school. The novelist of this type takes his stand on ground which is in the strictest sense native to him, where he is the sole and unique interpreter of local sentiment and character, where his knowledge is of that deep kind which is entwined with the memories of his boyhood and his whole family history. In such a case there is a real work of interpretation and the book which reveals to us some stratum of the national life, stratum not generally known and perhaps fast disappearing under the huge new alluvial deposits of our modern democracy, has something of the value of a historical document in addition to any charm of romance which it possesses. Who
knows how much America owes to Bret Harte for having taught it and the Engllsh speaking world generally to see something human and heroically capable in the rough exterior and camp dialect of the Californian miner? Barrie too, who has drawn the village life of the east coast of Scotland with such rare skill and fidelity bas deserved well of his country. Thrums is no longer what it was. For years it has been undergoing an insidious change at the hands of school-boards, new young ministers, and summer-visitors. But Barrie's books will always remain to illuminate much in the history, secular and religious, of the Lowland Scot which was dark to the Gentiles. Even Kipling, wide as his range seems to be, is really a sketcher of local character and traditions; only that his parish happens to be the Empire, especially that part of it which is Indian and represented by the bazaar, the bungalow and the barracks, all of which the world now knows as it never could have done but for him who has been their sacer vates.

Something of this solid merit belongs to Mr. Munro's book amongst the other merits which it possesses. It is a quite original picture of West Highland life in a small county town, perhaps Inverary (the author's birthplace), as it might be fifty or sixty years ago. That life, we can see, is drawn with the perfect knowledge of one who knows not only its present state and phenomena, but how these grew out of its past states and phenomena. There is a copiousness and ease in his delineations, a novelty and yet a universal truth in his representation of character which show that the writer draws from an inexhaustible first hand stock of impressions. Clearly the author has seen the men and things he paints with the all-seeing eye of boyhood, and there are headstones in "the burial ground of Kilmalieu" carved with the names of his forbears. It is a new world which he pictures for us, one not of much intrinsic importance perhaps, Highland gentility of the small burgh sort, Peninsular veterans, lairds and sheep-farmers with a commonalty in sympathetic relations with them; but he has succeeded in making it intelligible and interesting to us, a very homogeneous little world, essentially modern, yet just at that stage when its roots are still visible reaching away into the feudal or patriarchal past. That is new ground which we hope the author will continue to cultivate with at least not less success than he has done in Gilian the Dreamer.

But the main current of the story is psychological, even intensely psychological, being the inward history of Gilian, the dreamer, the artist or poet, a plastic, ultra-sensitive, imaginative nature in whom action is, as in Prince Hamlet, sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought. For practical affairs in any form he has the abnormal incapacity found in certain types (not the greater types) of the artist and poet. The sketch of the dreamer's boyhood is very skilful, full of fine insight into the opening sensitivities, the budding poetic and artistic instincts of such a nature. In this part Mr. Munro's work has often a strong flavour of Barrie's manner. The actors, the scenery, the draperies are all new and excellent of their kind, but the play is the same old play. Even the peculiar fondness which Mr. Barrie has for painting the excessive self-consciousness of the young artist nature and its first almost false instinct to study effect rather than truth has left a clear mark on the history of Gilian. The following, for example, might almost be a page out of the history of Sentimental Tommy, if that sublime artist in language (I mean Tommy) had known anything of Gaelic. It is the story of how Gilian brought the news of his foster-mother's death.

But in truth, as he went sobbing in his loneliness, down the river-side, a regard for the manner of his message busied him more than the matter of it. It was not every Friday a boy had a task so momentous, had the chance to come upon households with intelligence so unsettling. They would be sitting about the table, perpaps, or spinning by the fire, the good wife of Ladyfield still for them a living breathing body, home among her herds, and he would come in among them and in a word bring her to their notice in all death's great monopoly. It was a duty to be done with care if he would avail himself of the whole value of so rare a chance. A mere clod would be for entering with a weeping face, to blurt his secret in shaking sentences, or would let it slip cut in an indifferent tone, as one might speak of some common occurance. But Gilian, as he went, busied himself on how he should convey most tellingly the story he brought down the glen. Should he lead up to his news by gradual steps or give it forth like an alarum? It would be a fine and rare experience to watch them for a little, as they looked and spoke with common cheerfulness, never guessing why he was there, then shock them with the intelligence, but he dare not let them think he felt so little the weightiness of his message that his mind was ready to dwell on trivialities. Should it be in Gaclic or
in English he should tell them? Their first salutations would be in the speech of the glens; it would be, "Oh Gilian, little hero! fair fellow! there you are! sit down and have town bread, and sugar on its butter," and if he followed the usual custom he would answer in the same tongue. But between "Tha bean Lecknamban air falbh" and "The wife of Ladyfield is gone," there must be some careful choice. The Gaelic of it was closer on the feelings of the event, the words some way seemed to make plain the emptiness of the farmhouse. When he said them, the people would think all at once of the little brown wrinkled dame, no more to be bustling about the kitchen, of her wheel silent, of her boot no more upon the blue flagstones of the milk-house, of her voice no more in the chamber where they had so often known her hospitality. The English, indeed, when he thought of it with its phrase a mere borrowing from the Gaelic, seemed an affectation. No, it must be in the natural tongue his tidings should be told. He would rap at the door hurriedly, lift the sneck before any response came, go in with his bonnet in his hand, and say "Tha bean Lecknamban air falbh" with a great simplicity.

Unfortunately this imaginative literary Gilian, who under happier stars might have been a kind of lion in æsthetic circles, has to grow up in a very incongruous society, where he generally manages to cut an extremely poor figure. His very gifts and graces are misconstrued as faults and weaknesses, and indeed do become so from the total want of compatibility between him and his surroundings. A small Highland town living in the isolation of fifty or sixty years ago, where arts and letters barely exist, where at any rate they do not count as real elements in life, but only as remote, quasi-sacred traditions, represented say by Shakespeare and Macknight's Harmony of the Gospels, traditions to which no sound-minded person has any thought of adding; a home circle made up of veteran officers, old Peninsular heroes, whose one measure of man is that of the soldier ; that is a sphere where the shy literary graces of Gilian's spirit, accompanied as they are by a certain external awkwardness, a nervous sensitivity of speech and action, meet with a very poor welcome. What the veterans hoped for in their adopted son was a brisk, prompt, decided young man who would do them credit as a 'soger ;' what they have got is, to their scornful amazement, a sublime kind of simpleton, uncannily clever in his mental opera-
tions, but in their stern old eyes that saw the storming of Badajos and the squares at Waterloo, only half a man-and hardly that. The author has treated this situation with the quiet kind of humour which is characteristic of his work, a humour much leavened by pathos and a vein of sentinent which inclines, though not obtrusively, to melancholy. The veterans themselves with their triple distilled pride as Gaels, as Campbells, and as soldiers, are delightful portraits, decidedly fine types of national life which Mr. Munro has rescued from oblivion. They represent the old duine-wasail in his first transformation into a "soldier of the queen," or as it then was, of the king. They are not precisely heroic figures, one of them indeed, the Paymaster, is decidedly unheroic, but about the other two there is a simple, old-fashioned valour, a passionate devotion to the vocation of the sword, which warms their old hearts and gilds with a ray of glory their old, faded, bachelor pensioner lives now wearing to the socket.

Some of the subordinate figures, too, are well worth noting, quite remarkable creations and done, as is often the case in Scott also, with a freer and bolder hand even than the principal characters; Black Duncan, for example, the sailor from Skye; externally, a dark, gloomy-eyed seaman with a mahogany visage and the rude appearance of a coasting skipper ; internally, sensitive as a woman and quite as subtle and delicate in his wonderful converse with friends; with a mind, too, as full of fancy and fable as Shakespeare's. "The world," he says to Gilian, in his grave queer Highland-English, "is a very grand place to such as understand and allow." Such it certainly is to Duncan, who has the feeling of a poet for its roaring sea-winds and soft dawns, for its Highland traditions and songs, the Rover and Lochaher No More. A very Celtic world, my masters! in which the note of ideal reverie and sadness is as persistent as the wail of a bagpipe. That national instrument, I believe, is capable of producing merry music ; men are said to dance to it ; but to my affectionate memory it suggests always two notes only in which I think it perfect and unsurpassable, its note of wailing lament and its note of warlike clangour. That is why I always ask any wandering Highland piper I meet to play Cha til mi tulidh (We return no more), but he never understands me. Perhaps in his wanderings he has forgotten his Gaelic.

On the whole there is a fair union of higher elements with solid materials, solid basis of fact or experience in Mr. Munro's book; and a high degree of literary skill is evident in every department of his art. His style, as is generally the case with the psychological school, is singularly refined and select in phrase, while not at all wanting in idiomatic vigour and natural force. At times in passages of eloquent description it is perhaps overwrought, too deeply embroidered with poetic metaphor and similitude and even with occasional preciosities in the use of words after the fashion of the Bibelot school; but on the whole it is an excellent union of strength and grace. In narration too, and the grand art of evolving his story clearly and attractively with its fit apparatus of connections, transitions and resumings, he is no mean master. It is perhaps in dramatic dialogue that he is,-not by any means weak, but not at his best. Something of the racy vigour, that indubitable flavour of reality which belongs to Barrie, is wanting to him here. And yet when I think of the speech of Miss Mary and Black Duncan I waver on this point.

The weak side of the book is the tragic moral failure presented in the career of its hero. The picture of the dreamer in his struggle with a hard uncomprehending world, seemingly adamantine, inexpugnable to the shivering young aspirant is one which has its truth, yet as represented in the case of Gilian, it is somewhat morbid and overdone. Gilian's incapacity for action in the common and the critical situations of life alike amounts to positive disease, and towards the end the tale becomes a mere study in pathology. And the evil here is not on the surface but at the very centre. Mr. Munro, like Barrie in his greatest book, is too much inclined to gnaw at his own heart, he puts the interest of his work too exclusively in the dissection of the neuropathic weaknesses of the artistic temperament and in a morbid kind of analysis which traces the power and grace of imaginative art to a weak and even false sensitivity instead of to the strength of a superior truth and directness. It is true that in this lies the difference between the art of a Baudelaire and that of a Wordsworth. I hope that Mr. Munro will in his future works steer clear of a psychology which can certainly promise nothing great, and which has some clear kinship to what in France M. Coppée calls, between a shrug and a sigh, the poison of the decadence.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

Christian Unity. By Rev. Herbert Symonds, M.A. William Briggs, Toronto.
We are glad that Mr. Symonds has put lis thoughts about Christian unity into this convenient form. The modest volume now under review consists of six lectures which grew out of what was originally one lecture. The book, however, has not attained its present size by the merely mechanical process of padding, but by a healthy expansion. The lecturer discusses the history and meaning of the movement towards Christian union which has manifested itself in varied ways during recent years, and seeks to relate it to the general features of our recent social and political life. He deals with the difficult question of the true conception of "the Church," and examines in scholarly style and catholic spirit the vexed subject of "the historic episcopate." The reasoning of the book is clear and fair, and its temper is admirable. The effort to magnify the things that are common to all Christian communions and to prepare the way for larger and more cordial co-operation which may lead to a fuller manifestation of visible unity is one with which all intelligent Christians should sympathize, and in this volume they will find the subject viewed in a broad, instructive fashion. We are afraid that many of the hindrances to Christian unity are matters of tradition, habit or prejudice, that do not easily yield to reasoning however clear and cogent, but Mr. Symonds has shown the true Christian temper which is the only atmosphere in which such a subject can be discussed without increasing bitterness instead of decreasing it. The author does not mean by unity the absorption of all other Communions in his own but a union which would preserve the really essential testimony and true individuality of the different churches. He admits that at present this is " an ideal" which does not seem capable of speedy realization but one which may certainly be used to stimulate our faith and increase our charity. Our space does not allow of an examination in detail of the positions taken but we can recommend the book as a whole to those interested in the problems of church life and history. As a specimen of the fairness to which reference has been made we quote these few sensible words on the sin of "Schism," a subject which is often treated in a foolish one-sided way. After saying that, in many of the Reformed Churches the idea of "the church sinks into an altogether subordinate place" he adds"on the other hand, Roman Catholic and Anglo-Catholic are not to be held without responsibility for this view of the visible church. They have regarded the visible as the exact equivalent of the kingdom of heaven, whereas the visible church is the ideal kingdom of
heaven in course of realization but not perfectly realized. The Anglo-Catholic sometimes forgets that the visible church may become corrupted, may depart from the architect's plan, and that protest against corruption if ineffectual must result in Schism and the sin of Schism rests with the corrupt."

A Group of Old Authors. By Clyde Furst. Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs \& Co. $\$$ r.o.
The author in a brief preface explains the evolution of this modest but attractive volume. The five chapters that make up the book " were prepared originally as academic studies, then adapted and used as lectures before popular audiences, and finally recast into their present form ;" they represent " an endeavour to add to popular knowledge of older European literature by giving detailed illustrations of its condition at several periods between the sixth and the sixteenth centuries." Mr. Furst, who is a Lecturer for the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, has succeeded in producing a book which is both interesting and instructive. He takes us into the by-paths of history and literature without causing us to be lost in dry details, or bewildering us with too much speculative criticism. The first chapter, which presents the varied career of Dr. John Donne as a gentleman of King James's day, is specially good.

The Arithmetic of Chemistry. By John Waddell, Ph.D., D.Sc. New York: The Macmillan Co. London: Macmillan \& Co. 1899.
Dr. Waddell's book is severely scientific and specialized, and will therefore have little attraction for teachers who fancy that they are physicists or competent to teach Chemistry, because they can astonish a popular audience with experiments that appeal to the eyes and ears; but it will be welcomed by those who take Chemistry seriously and intend to teach it in the same spirit. Already, it is used as a text-book in Yale and Queen's, and in view of the general interest in the subject and the equipment of our best High Schools and Collegiate Institues, it should certainly find a place in their libraries for the purpose of reference, even though it may be considered too specialized for use as a textbook. Principal Ellis of the Kingston Collegiate Institute, goes farther, and says, "Many years experience of teaching Chemistry has convinced me of the necessity for doing such work as is covered by Dr. Waddell's book." The Director of the School of Mining is to be congratulated on having secured a man of such scientific spirit as instructor in the Quantitative and Qualitative laboratories of the institution.

## EARLY RECORDS OF ONTARIO.

(Continued from October number.)
Philip Pember, Isaac Secord and Reuben Beedle having applied to the Magistrates in Sessions,-It is ordered that the Clerk give them a certificate to obtain Licence on filing their recognizance, agreeable to law. ${ }^{1}$
[Four cases disposed of.]
A SPECIAL SESSIONS, KINGSTON, MONDAY, I 2 TH SEPT., I7g6.
Present:-Thomas Markland and Wm. Atkinson, Esqrs.
The average price of flour being 20 shillings, it is ordered that the assize of bread for a +lb . loaf of fine wheaten flour be 9 d ., and that a brown loaf, weighing 6 lbs , be gd. currency. The bakers are ordered to mark their loaves with the initial letters of their names. ${ }^{2}$
court of guarter sessions held at kingston, ith oct., if96.
Present :-Alex. Fisher, Peter Vanalstine, Thomas Markland, Wm. Atkinson, John Peters, Alex. Chisholm.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read-The sheriff returned the Precept-The Grand Jury were called and sworn. Elisha Philips, Jacob Ferguson, Peter Detlor, Gilbert Harris, Abram Defoe, Guysbard Sharp, Wm. Rambach, James Cotter, John Richards, Henry Simmonds Foreman, Iuncan Bell, John Sharp, Ebenezer Washburn, Luke Carscallen, C. Parker.
${ }^{1}$ Up to 1794 the retailing of liquors had been regulated by an ordinance, of the old Province of Quebec, of 1788 . In 1794 this ordinance was repealed by 34 th (ieo. III. Cap. XII, which required that, after March 20 th 1795 , no licences to keep public houses for the sale of liquors shonld be granted to any one who had not obtained from the Magistrates of the Division of the District public house. 'The Ma certificate of his being a proper person to keep an inn or trates also determined the number of public houses which meded to enter into District. The applicant on receiving his certificate was required fore in forl, the bond, or recognizance of for for himself, together waving complied with these conditions. bond to be filed with the Clerk of the Yeace. Havy, who issued the necessary licence the candidate applied to the Provincial By the act $3^{\text {oth (ieo. III. Cap) MI, the former }}$ on payment of the fees appointed. act was amended to the extent of permions. It is in accordance with this amendment the regular Court of $Q$ in the above and subsequent cases.
${ }_{2}$ In the Commission of the Peace under which the Magistrates exercised their powers, the authority to regulate the assize of bread, one of the most ancient of the powers of an English Magistrate, was specifically assigned to the Magistrates of the Midland District.

Wm. Good and John Most constables were sworn to attend the Grand Jury.

All persons bound in recognizances were called.
Amos Ainslie, absent. Amos Ainslie, upon a second recognizance, absent. John Campbell, Royal Canadian Volunteers, absent.

Alex. McDonald being set to the Bar, and having informed the Court he had made up the matter for which he was complained against, was discharged by proclamation on his paying the costs of Court.

David Bradshaw was set to the Bar and arraigned upon the indictment found against him last July Sessions at Adolphus Town, C. T. Peters Esq., attorney for defendants, having pleaded several irregularities in the indictment, the Court has taken till to-mbrrow to consider them. [Was found not guilty.]

It is ordered by the Magistrates in open Sessions assembled that the sum of twenty nine pounds currency be levied from the Counties of Lenox, Hastings and Northumberland for member's wages for 1793 .

It is ordered that the sum of twenty five pounds currency be levied from the counties of Lenox, Hastings and Northumberland for member's wages for 1796.

It is likewise ordered that the sum of twenty six pounds currency be levied from the counties of Addington and Ontario for member's wages for 1794. Minute issued.

Kingston, Oct. 12th. The Ccurt met.
Present, the same Justices and Joshua Booth Esq.
Wm. Johnston and John Embree were sworn in as Magistrates.

Henry Simmonds was sworn in as Deputy-Lieut. of the county of Addington. ${ }^{1}$

[^12]Duncan Bell, Shadrach Huff and Andre Layst, having applied to the Magistrates in open sessions for leave to keep Public Houses of entertainment, and retail spiritous liquors. It is ordered that the Clerk give them each a certificate for obtaining a licence on their filing their recognizances, agreeable to law.

Lieut. Wm. Johnson was called and being set to the Bar was discharged from his recognizance by proclamation, there appearing no prosecution against him.

John Campbell being called, and not appearing, is ordered by the Magistrates that his recognizance escheated in the Court of King's Bench.
[Four other cases disposed of.]
The Court adjourned till Tuesday, 8th November next. Then to meet at the house of James Kemp in Fredericksburg. COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS HELI by ADJOURNMENT AT KEmp's tavern, at fredericksburg, nov. 8Th, 1796.
Present:-Alex. Fisher, Peter Vanalstine, Thos. Dorland, Wm. Atkinson, Alex. Chisholm, John Peters, Wm. Johnston, John Embree, Esqrs.

Alex. Clark, Jonathan Miller, and John Howell were sworn in as Magistrates and took their seats.

The Court proceeded to the examination of Rolls of Loyalists delivered from the different Townships and went through the same.

A petition from a number of Freeholders inhabiting the additional lands of Fredericksburg, praying they may be attached to the upper division of the District.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in Sessions assembled, that a line be struck between the additional lands of Fredericksburg and the old Township of Fredericksburg and that the inhabitants residing East of said line be liable to be summoned as jurors at Kingston only, and that the inhabitants west of said line be liable to serve as jurors at Adolphus Town only. It is not to be understood this regulation is to extend to the Circuit Court, \&c.

Whereas certain regulations were made by the Magistrates in Quarter sessions assembled at Kingston on the __ day of -....... for the purpose of preventing accidents by fire in the town of Kingston, it is deemed expedient by the Magistrates
now assembled, the better to carry the said purposes into effect, to order that from and after the publication of this order, every householder in the town of Kingston who shall suffer his or her. chimney to take fire shall forfeit and pay the sum of twenty shillings for every time his or her chimney shall take fire, the same to be levied by distress or sale of offender's goods on conviction before any Magistrate on the oath of one credible witness, one half of the said fine to be paid to the informer and the other half to His Majesty his Heirs and Successors. ${ }^{1}$

The Court adjourned to Tuesday the 15 th day of November then to meet at the town of Kingston.

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS HELD BY ADJOURNMENT AT Kingston I5TH NOV'R 1796.
Present:-Richard Cartwright, Thos. Markland, Wm. Atkinson, Esqs.

It appears to the Magistrates in Sessions assembled that on the I2th day of Oct last Allan McLean Esq entered into security himself in $£ 500$ and Richard Cartwright Esq and Peter Smith $£ 250$ each for the said Allen McLean Esq truly and faithfully performing the duty of Register for the Midland District, and that Alex. Fisher, Esq., Peter Vanalstine, Thomas Markland, Wm. Atkinson and John Peters, Esqrs., five of His Majesty's Justices assigned to keep the Peace in the said district, approved of the said security.

It appears to the Magistrates in sessions assembled that on the 12th of October last Mr. John McLeod entered into security himself in $£ 500$ and Joseph Forsyth and Thomas Markland $£^{2} 50$ each for the said John McLeod truly and faithfully performing the duty of deputy Register for the Midland District, and that Richard Cartwright, Alex. Fisher, Peter Vanalstine, Wm. Atkinson and John Peters, Esq., five of His Majesty's Justices assigned to keep the Peace in the said District, approved of the said security. ${ }^{\text {. }}$

[^13]Present:-Alex. Fisher, Thomas Markland, John Peters, Alex. Clark, Alex. Chisholm, John Blasker, Dan'l Wright, Sam'l Sherwood, Peter VanAlstine, Robt. Clark, Thos. Dorland, Caleb Gilbert, John Hewell, Esq's.

Robt. Young, Augustus Spencer and John Stinson were sworn in as Magistrates and took their seats.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read.
The Sheriff returned the precept.
The Grand Jury were called and sworn.
John Embury, Foreman ; Wm. R. Bowen, Alex. VanAlstine, Paul Trompeau, C. Hagerman jr, John Haugh, Tobias Myers, Reuben Beagle, Leonard Myers, Willet Casey, Solomon Haugh jr, John McIntosh, M. Ross, Ruloff Ostrum.

Constables were sworn to attend the Grand Jury.
John Cook, John Wiss and Ruloff Ostrum are excused from serving as Jurors in future on account of their age.

It is ordered by the Magistrates that the sum of $£ 26$ currency be levied by assessment from the Counties of Addington and Ontario for Members Wages for the year 1795, for Joshua Booth, Esq., Member for the said Counties.

Likewise $£ 25$ for the said Counties for 1796 .
AT a special sessions of the peace, held at kingiton the
18th march 1797, by the commissioners of the highways.
Present:-Thomas Markland and Wm. Atkinson, Esqrs.
Received the accounts and lists of the following overseers. [Rood work appartioned to various overseers.]
be made, or may affect any lands, tenements, or hereditaments within this Irovince." (35th Geo. III., Cap. V.) Under this Act registers were to be appointed for each District, who might hold other offices as well. On entering upon their duties, they were to be sworn before the Justices of the Peace more respective Districts, and were to enter into a recognizance bor more Justices of the Peace, fr,ooo. The sureties were to be appro to be registered at the next General Quarby writing, under their hands and seals, onditions were prescribed for the deputy ter Sessions of the Peace. Similar
register to be appointed by the register.
${ }^{1}$ By 36th Geo. III., Cap. IV., the time for holding the Quarter Sessions of the Midand District was changed from the second to the fourth Tuesday of January and April.

KINGSTON, 25 TH APRIL, I797. QUARTER SESSIONS HELD
THIS DAY.
Present:-Alex. Fisher, Thomas Markland, Wm. Atkinson, Joshua Booth and Robert Clark, Esqrs.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read.
The Sheriff returned the precept.
The Grand Jury were called and sworn.
Jos. Forsyth, Foreman ; P. Smith, B. Seymour, Wm. Robins, Jas. Anderson, D. Brass, R. Wilkins, J. Frazer, J. Hawley, P. Grass, N. Herkimer, S. McKay, J. Carscallen, J. Richards, S. Hawley.

Wm. Ashley and M. Dederick, Constables, were sworn to attend the Grand Jury.

APRIL 26 Th .
Present:-The same Justices and Peter VanAlstine and Alex. Clark, Esqrs.

The Magistrates in Sessions assembled ordered that a full rate be levied on the inhabitants of this District for the ensuing year.

The Magistrates in Sessions assembled recommend Joseph Anderson of Kingston and Alexander VanAlstine of Adolphus Town, as proper persons to be appointed Coroners for this District.

The Magistrates in Sessions assembled order that the sum of $£$ II 63 be paid by the Treasurer to Mr. R. Q. Short, being so much of his account allowed for his attendance on Terence Dunn.

Also the sum of $£^{2}$ to to Daniel Wright, Esq., being so much expended by him for Ann Merritt on account of the District.

Also the sum of $£ 723 \frac{1}{2}$ to Mr . Jos. Anderson, being the amount of his account as Church Warden.

Also the sum of $£ \mathrm{I}$ ro to the widow Angus Taylor being so much of her account allowed for boarding Terence Dunn.

Also the sum of $£$ ro 5 to John Cannon being, the amount of his two accounts.

Also the sum of $£^{6}$ I 8 to Philip Swick, being the amount of his account for Boarding David Vanderheyden. ${ }^{1}$ trict.
${ }^{1}$ These various accounts are connected with the relief of the poor of the Dis-

Also the sum of $£ 203$ to Poole England, being the balance of his account as Clerk of the Peace allowed.

Also the sum of $£ \circ$ If to Sheldon Hawley as Town Clerk of Ernest Town for the year 1797.

Also the sum of $£ \circ 15$ to Wm . Bell as Town Clerk of Fredericksburg for 1797.

Also the sum of $£ \circ$ io to Arch. Campbell as Town Clerk for Adolphus Town for 1797.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in Sessions assembled that John Ferguson be not assessed in the Township of Kingston for the year 1796 , as it appears to them that he had no property in the Township at that time and that he was assessed in the Township of Sidney.

On the petition of Andrew Loyst the Magistrates are pleased to allow him to keep an inn and house of public entertainment in the Township of Fredericksburg.

The Magistrates in Session assembled examined the Treasurer's accounts, which being approved of are ordered to be filed in the Clerk of the Peace's office.

Constables appointed for the year 1797-
Addington-D. Williams sen'r, Barnabas Huff.
Amherst-Colin McKenzie sen'r.
Thurlow-Jos. Walker.
Lower Part of Marysbury-Jas. Gerolomy, Wm. Harrison Jun'r.

Adolphus Town-Sam'l Brock, Jas. Cuniff.
Kingston-Jas. Dawson, Alex. McDonald.
Township of Kingston-Micajah Purdy, John Hominy.
Pittsburg-John Milton Sen'r.
Fredericksburg-Jacob Finkle, Jos. Kemp, Geo. Sills, Thos Richeson.

Richmond-Lambert Vanalstine.
ADOLPHUS TOWN JULY IITH I797. QUARTER SESSIONS held
Present:-Alex. Fisher, P. VanAlstine, T. Dorland, M. Pruyn, J. Peters, D. Wright, A. Chisholm, J. Miller, Esqs.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read. The sheriff returned the precept. The Grand Jury were called and sworn.

John Cuniff, foreman, D. Conger, T. Goldsmith, W. Smith, J. Ferguson, A. Campbell, W. Harrison, A. Maybe, C. Vanhorn, W. More, P. Huff, B. Clap, W. Hale, M. Slot, S. Huff sr., S. Conger, A. Defoe, J. Wright, W. Ross.

JULY I2TH.
Daniel Frazer, Esq., was sworn in as a Magistrate.
The Magistrates in Sessions assembled directed that the Township of Marysburg should be a division by itself, for the purpose of holding Courts of Request, and that the Townships of Sophiasburg and Ameliasburg, jointly, should form a division, and that the Magistrates within those Townships should preside in those Courts. ${ }^{1}$
court of guarter sessions, kingston, ioth oct. i797.
Present:-R. Cartwright, J. Peters, A. Fisher, A. McDonell, J. Booth, Wm. Atkinson, T. Markland, Esqrs.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read.
The Sheriff returned the precept.
R. Macaulay, Foreman ; J. Cumming, W. Robins, J. Russel, J. Franklin jr, J. Caldwell, J. Fraser, P. Daly, F. Prime, J. Miller, M. Clarke, S. McKay, H. Simmons, W. Cottier, P. Grass, S. Hawley, D. Hawley, R. Wilkins, A. McGuin, Geo. Murdoff.

The Magistrates in Sessions fined the following Constables Twenty Shillings each for non-attendance :-M. Purdy, T. Miller, C. McKenzie, J. Finkle, B. Huff.

ост. 12TH.
[The following sentence was given for petit larceny.]
The Court sentence Wm. Newberry and Caleb Williams to receive each Forty lashes, at the public whipping post in Kingston, on their bare backs.
[For misdemeanour.]
The Court sentence Nicholas Tudor to sit in the stocks for two hours.

It is ordered that the sum of Twenty-Two Pounds Ten Shillings be levied from the County of Prince Edward and the Township of Adolphus in the County of Lenox, for the payment of member's wages.
${ }^{1}$ This alters the arrangement made by the Court on April roth, 1794.

## CURRENT EVENTS.

THREE months ago the Transvaal issued the ultimatum, with its "forty-eight hours' notice to quit," which preceded the invasion of Natal, Bechuanaland and Cape Colony, and it is safe to say that both parties are disapThe War. pointed with the results so far. The Boers, knowing that they could mobilize their forces and march with a facility that no other army in the world can equal, expected to be in Durban before this, and to have as prisoners of war General White's command and the garrisons of Mafeking and Kimberley. The British expected that General Buller would have eaten his Christmas dinner in Pretoria, or at any rate would have gained admission to the enemy's country at some point or other. It is not wonderful that the Boers miscalculated. We have heard so much about their ignorance, their conceit, and their contempt for the "rooineks," that we ought to be prepared for one or two delusions on their part. But who was prepared for the ignorance of the London press and of the well-informed British public! Even Commander-in-chief, Lord Wolseley, at one time styled " Britain's only general," naively confesses that his eyes have been opened. Similar confessions would be much more in order from the newspapers which did their best, while negotiations were going on, to fan the flame of popular passion to fever heat. They marvelled every day at their own patience and magnanimity, and at the criminal forbearance of the Government, which at a word could blot out the two puny Republics from the map of the world. Scarcely had the war began when they plunged into the discussion of what was to be done with the wolf's skin when the animal was killed! Why not? Had not that great "Empirebuilder," Cecil Rhodes, declared that there would be no war, if only Mr. Chamberlain took a firm tone, or that if it did begin, the first fight in which a score or two of the burghers were killed would be the end of it? Had not our own " Bystander" said that when the first Canadian contingent landed in Capetown, they would find the war over? Evidently, the wisest may make mistakes. In 186 r , when Fort Sumter was fired on, did not President Lincoln call on the North to give him 75,000 volunteers, for three months, to make an end of the South! And which of President McKinley's cabinet dreaned of the struggle in Luzon lasting for a year!

To any one who knows the condition of South Africa, from within, the present war is heart-breaking. It is a fight to the finish between two ideals of life, which with patience and states-
manship might have existed side by side until they insensibly blended into a higher national unity. Faults there were on both sides, owing chiefly to racial peculiarities, but war will acerbate these, and as the real problem in South Africa is not the relation of Boer to Briton, but of white to black, the prospect for the future is as gloomy as it can well be. The comfort we take to our souls, while the conflict rages, is not only that the British ideal of civilization is the higher as well as in accordance with modern political principles, but that the appeal from moral forces to the God of battles was made not by us but by the Government and people of the Transvaal. They allege, it is true, that they did not make their appeal to force, until we had clearly shown our purpose to gather an irresistible army on their borders. None the less, it was their duty to trust to the reason and conscience of the British people, who would never have sanctioned a war of aggression upon them. They were utterly without warrant in staking the independence of their country on the hazard of a war against overwhelming odds, as long as any hope for peace remained. How much hope existed, even in the month of October, they could not possibly know, till the Imperial Parliament met. Declining to wait for its meeting, they issued an ultimatum, which rejoiced their enemies, silenced their friends, and rallied to the support of the Government every man in the British Empire who cared for its honour. Their mistake was irreparable. Who was responsible for it, we cannot tell. Some say that Dr. Leyds misled them with hopes of foreign intervention, if they gained striking successes at the outset. But even if Dr. Leyds were Mephistopheles and Macchiavelli combined, as his enemies allege, Kruger has a will of his own and so has his Secretary of State. Generals Joubert and Cronje and the burghers with scarce an exception, as far as we know, gave their voices for war ; and there can be no doubt that the active support of the Orange Free State, and the knowledge that their kinsfolk in the Old Colony sympathized with them, whereas they had ranged themselves in active opposition on the question of the "Drifts" and other disputed matters in previous years, made the Transvaalers feel that they had a fighting chance. Some indeed maintain that President Steyn is the real author of the war ; and that his ambition is to be Kruger's successor, as the head of a Dutch South Africa. Others throw the responsibility on Hofmyr and the Afrikander Bond; but these consist chiefly of Englishmen who know nothing of the real state of the case and who fancy that to be Afrikander is to be disloyal. They might as well consider us disloyal, when we say that we are Canadians first of all; or Australians when they say, as they one and all do say emphatically, that they are Australians before everything else. But the fact is that at present no one, outside of Mr. Kruger's innermost
circle, can tell with authority who is responsible for the substance or the form of the ultimatum. It is not of much consequence for us to know; the important point is that the Boers stood and stand by it, and until they acknowledge themselves beaten, discussion of old issues is a waste of time and strength.

The most important question for us to ask is, will there be
foreign intervention? Unless the unexpected happens,

Will other Powers interfere? there will not. France would like well to give us a Roland for our Fashoda Oliver ; but without Russia she will not move; and though Russia would have no objection to make trouble, she will not ; for she never acts on impulse, but on considerations of far-reaching policy. She is not ready. War would at once bring into the field against her in the East the formidable army and navy of Japan, and all that she has been preparing the way for there would be endangered. If Germany were willing to join a great continental alliance, the temptation might be irresistible; but though Germany is more incensed against Britain at present than even France or Russia, so far as we can judge from the press, it looks like a case of blowing off steam rather than of resolute purpose to provoke a quarrel. The Kaiser controls the foreign policy of his country, and he understands the plain facts of the situation perfectly well. Our Empire would fight all three Powers rather than tolerate interferencc., The British fleet could give a good account of the combined fleets; and the hostile coalition would bring about what Europe dreads most, an alliance of the English-speaking peoples that would never be broken. Very different would the situation have been but for the war between the United States and Spain. That revealed to the man on the street the truth regarding his national isolation, and his real danger had Britain been hostile or even indifferent ; and the claims of blood, of descent, of common interest, and common moral aims, ideals and hopes can now exert their legitimate influence. The price paid for such a result was by no means great ; for apparently there is no other way but war by which facts can be made to stand out clear to the vision of the common people.

Few members of the Parliament of Canada fancied that they Canada's share were sharing in the responsibility of war, when they in the war. controversy between Britain and the Transvaal. They passed them as lightly as they had passed another in favour of a separate Parliament for Ireland. What that would have meant is aboundantly clear now. In both cases they considere. 1 that they were exerting only " moral pressure;" but if our moral pressure has any force at all, and it would be an impertinence to say that a unanimous vote of the Parlinment of Canada means nothing,
then we committed ourselves to active participation in war, should that result, without the slightest discussion on the issues or on the supreme question of the principles according to which Canada should contribute to the war power of the Empire. That was surely unwise; and it is no wonder that the London Economist, sanest of all the British weeklies, deprecated our action and hinted that though our " members no doubt wished to show their affection for the Mother Country, they might perhaps be more usefully engaged in attending to Canadian business!" The Economist had some right to consider the resolutions as only rhetorical fireworks; but when Mr. Chamberlain informed us, three months later, that a Canadian force of 500 men (infantry preferred, save the mark!) would be an acceptable contribution, it was impossible to decline; and the Government acted rightly in sending double the number and offering as many more. The constitutional course would have been to summon a special session of Parliament before taking action; but that would have seemed ungracious, as he who gives quickly gives twice, and in view of the resolutions passed unanimously on the merits of the case it would have been an expensive and laborious superfluity- None the less, Canada has been stampeded into a war that it has never discussed, instead of entering upon it, like the people of the United Kingdom, with calmness and dignity and due regard to Parliamentary government; and when any one tried to raise the question of constitutional procedure, he was screamed at as disloyal, even though-as in the case of Mr. Tarte-he had been an earnest member of the Imperial Federation League, when those who are now among the loudest shouters sneered or kept aloof, because they were not sure which side of the fence was likely to be popular. Our national self-respect is lowered by dealing with the supreme and awful question of Peace or War in this tumultuous fashion. Other questions may be rushed in the same way; and liberty itself is imperilled. Already we see some of the baneful results. One school-board makes pnblic inquiry into the conduct of a teacher, who before the war prescribed to his pupils as the subject of an essay the South African controversy, along with a calm statement of the points at issue. Another board dismisses the principal of the public school for giving expression to his opinions on the subject. City fathers call a meeting to censure their mayor because he prayed that Her Majesty might have, among other blessings of the year, "peace with honour," just what the Queen prays for everyday, in common with all good women and all men who are not savages! If there is one thing more than another which a free people must preserve as the indispensable price of freedom, it is liberty of speech, and that means not liberty to echo the cries of the hour-any harsh-voiced parrot can do that
loudly enough-but liberty to dissent and to set forth with all the fulness and force that may be in the man his reasons for dissent. Think of the sermons we preached last year to the people of France because they listened impatiently to " the intellectuals " who spoke out for Dreyfus! Let us take some of our own medicine. It will do ourselves good, though poor stuff for others. Now that our participation in the present war has been settled by the logic of events, generally the way of introducing changes into the British Constitution, it remains to be determined to what extent we ought to offer contributions to the Imperial authorities? Is there any principle to guide us? This is the immediate practical question. For it is clear that the present is not the time to ask for a constitutional quid pro quo, in the form of a partnership in Imperial affairs with the Mother Country. That cannot even be discussed till the war is over, and perhaps all that need be said on the immediate question before us is that the more hearty and thorough-going our action now, the better our position shall be when readjustment of our political relations comes up for consideration. We have unmistakeably taken the position that the Empire is one, and that Britain's quarrel in South Africa is our quarrel. We must not fold our hands when the second contingent has sailed. The war must be pressed to a speedy conclusion, and we must prepare to assist in applying the needed pressure. The best, because most direct, steps for us to take next would be to release the two Imperial battalions now doing garrison duty in Halifax and the West Indies, by supplying their places with militia from the Maritime Provinces; and to proceed at once with the organization of the Regiment of Mounted Rifles in the North-West, advocated in General Hutton's report last year, generally approved at the time, and now seen to be the arm in which we are most deficient, as well as the one which is most needed in fighting with a people who are all "cowboys" and fairly good shots as well. What has been done, and what must still be done, means expenditure on our part, but having given our boys to the war, we have taken the leap, and compared to their lives money is the small dust of the balance. We aspire to be a nation, and how can we realise that high ideal save by doing the work and submitting to the sacrifices demanded by national life? The hour has come, and with it our responsibility. We have accepted it in the illogical and blundering way that is characteristic of our race, but there can be no doubt about our sincerity, and that is the main point for statesmen to recognize.

It is scarcely necessary to refer to another step which the Government will surely take at the fit moment. Hitherto they have acted in concert with the Imperial authorities, who arranged to defray all expenses of our contingents from the day of
their disembarkation at Capetown. That was all right. It would be as absurd to have different paymasters and different rates of pay for the men on the field as it would be to have different modes of transport, commissariat or generals. None the less it should be understood that a vote will be taken at the proper time to repay the Imperial Government all that they spend on our forces, and another vote to pay the men who return to us at a rate corresponding to what would be received for service in Canada. The price of labour is higher here than in Britain, and our boys who have volanteered for the country must not be skimped in their pay or in anything else. It would be scarcely necessary to refer to this, were it not for the almost incredible fact that because Sir Charles Tupper has said that he would support a vote to that effect, some of his organs are already taunting the Government that they will have to do it, but that all the credit will belong to the Opposition leader. He was by no means the first to make the suggestion ; but even if he had been, it required no brilliant or original stroke of genius to give utterance to the happy thought. Evidently, members of the Government are not free to give expression to it or to any other of their inspirations on the subject till the House meets. In Great Britain, party warfare is suspended when the country is engaged in deadly conflict. Support the Government, in order that it may prosecute the war to a successful issue, is the universal cry of the British public, and any party that disregarded the universal sentiment would not be easily forgiven. This noble tradition is even more imperative in our case than in the Mother Country. Our national life is in the making; and it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that it is composed of different strands which have not yet been completely woven together. It takes a long time to build a national structure; and the greater the variety in the materials the longer the time needed, though as a compensation the more beautiful will the structure eventually be. Every statesman recognizes our condition and what it imposes on us. He will therefore refuse his consent to every disintegrating cry or policy, knowing well that it will bring curses that may come home to roost to his own embarrassment and to the peril of the country; and he will also publicly warn the baser elements among his followers that in hitting below the belt they are imperilling their own chances with an electorate, which pardons much, but will never pardon attempts to make party capital at the expense of the national honour or at risk to the nation's life. Instead of wondering that French-speaking Canadians are not as enthusiastic in this war as their English-speaking countrymen, the marvel is that their representative men have as a rule spoken so warmly on behalf of the Empire, and that so few protests have been made against the flagrant violation of the Constitution in-
volved in sending the Contingents without sanction of Parliament. The practical manimity of Canadians in endorsing the new departure is gratifying to every one who believes in the unity of the Empire, and no word should be said that would lessen in the cyes of the world its dignity and significance.

Far too much has been made of our reverses. - The total Our repulses and number of killed, wounded and missing for the three the reason why. months does not amount to one-fourth of the number burg. Did we expect unbroken successes against a race whose mettle we had good cause to know from the 17 th century down to Majuba,? Considering that we have been outnumbered till now, the record is pretty fair. Talana and Elandslaaghte were victories. Methuen drove Cronje from three chosen positions before he was arrested for a time at Magersfontein. Mafeking, Kimberley and Ladysmith have held out against heavy odds. The Boers have had to put every man and horse in the field and they have no reserves. Mistakes, of course, have been made, and doubtless the strategists who scan the bulletin boards would not have made any, had the War Office sent them, instead of men like Buller, Clery, French and Baden-Powell. But, as wars go, we need not cry out yet, nor seek for occult reasons of special divine displeasure. A divine, eminent by his position, preaches that if Britain had no "rum traffic" or opium business she would have had no reverses. In that case, Boers, who know nothing of opium, would have been killed, instead of the gallant fellows who had nothing to do with the rum tratfic! The question has been asked, "Why do not men go to church ?" and it might be answered, "Why should they, if they must listen silently to crude paganism?" Our Lord, it is true, denounced doom on Jerusalem, but why? Religious insincerity and blatant pretension, priestly arrogance and greed, censoriousness, spiritual pride, religiosity and internal uncleanness, these were the sins which He denounced and against which we must be ever on our guard.

The war makes such demands on our attention that we have Events in no time to spare for events occurring elsewhere than in other countries. South Africa. It is a Presidential year in the States, but no one asks what the rival parties are doing, or whether there is any prospect of the Democrats ridding themselves of Bryan and his precious sliver craze. The Phillippines might be sunk in the sea for all that the world cares at present. The war there is still sputtering on. It is enough to know that. Even the victory gained by Sir F. Wingate, in which the oncedreaded Khalifa died heroically, surrounded by his Emirs, was simply recorded, and in the next day's papers no reference was made to it, though the subject lent itself well to homilies. We
are not quite sure whether Italy is still a member of the Dreibund, or whether anarchy reigns in the Austrian Parliament, or the Parliament is sitting. The Emperor Joseph still lives and the dual monarchy will worry on somehow as long as he is on the throne. There are rumours about Russian designs on Persia and Afghanistan, but no person's pulse is stirred. Two countries beside our own still excite a languid interest-France and Germany. France generally gives us the unexpected. A revolution was promised in connection with the Dreyfus case, or at the very least the defeat of the ministry which ordered his second trial and saw the affair through; but the Quarterly never gave credence to the predictions, and never despaired of France. Writers for the British press seldom do justice to France, and they are astonished that the Paris papers should pay them back in kind. France has astonishing staying and recuperative power, and the support given to her present strangely composite ministry shows how well able she is to recover herself at the last moment. The Premier keeps his team well in hand. The Foreign Minister tells the Chambers that the British fleet is superior to theirs at every point and in every respect, and consequently that it is idle and undignified to bluster. Instead of raging at him for his frankness, the Government's majority is at once increased. The Minister of War goes on quietly with his policy of making the army subordinate to the civil authority and of suppressing the enemies of order, and in a city supposed to be honey-combed with disaffection no one cheeps. What a lesson for politicians everywhere that nothing pays like fearless discharge of duty! No one need keep away from the Exhibition, for fear of "the red foot fury of the Seine."

The Kaiser is determined to have a fleet that will permit him to shake his mailed fist wherever he pleases, and though his wisest subjects disapprove, he is likely to get it. It seems madness to impose new burdens on a people who are as much compelled to have the finest army in the world, as Great Britain to have the finest fleet; but there is continuity as well as method in his madness. Britain need not object; for the more successful he is the more necessary will it be for him not to quarrel with the Mistress of the Seas. Whether he sees in the future an occupation of part of South America or of Syria and the Euphrates valley, so that Germany may colonize over seas without losing her overspill to rival powers, need not affect us, otherwise than to wish him well in either case. It would be a clear gain to the world, certainly, to have a German Dominion established in the East ; and it is gain to humanity about which we are concerned and not any mad idea of painting all the earth red. Russia might object, but that is her look-out. So far as her ambitions are legitimate, we can wish her, too, all success.

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[^0]:    *Ep. v. G. Piscatorum praedictiones Tullianis omnibus te! tuis litteris praetulisti. Confugisti ad pictatis silentium, ut cvadercs iniquitatis tumultum.
    $\dagger$ Was it a case of sudden conversion? Paulinus $E p$. v. 5 , says repentino impetu discussisti scrvile peccuti jugum, and if this is what he means, it fits in with much else we know of Severus, but Paulinus loves to shroud his meaning (when he has a meaning) in words-m (juvat indulgere scrmoni, he says).
    $\ddagger$ Paulinus Ep. xxiv. 3, nec in reservatis praedu possessor et perfectus in venditis.
    SEp, iii. 2. motarios meos..qui in jus nostrum ex tua potissimum liberalitate venermht. Cf Paulinus Ep. v. 6 for Bassula's generosity socrum sanctan omni liberaliorem parente.

    - Dial I. 12.
    $\| 1 \mathrm{From}$ the letters of Paulinus, it is clear Sulpicius had still pueri to carry letters etc., e.g. Ep. v. r. pueris tuis samcta in Domino tibi servitate concxis xxvii. 3. famalis conservus. Paulinus was rapturous about the loan of a cook, an expert in vegetarian cuisinc and an adept at the razor, ( $E p$. xxiii), a lad therefore very like Samson.

[^1]:    *Paulinus Ep. xxx.

[^2]:    ${ }^{*}$ Dial. i. 26.

[^3]:    - Vita Martini 24.

[^4]:    *Dial ii. 6. This judgment curiously coincides with that of Orosius vii, 34, 9 . Maximus vir quidem strentus et probus et Augusto dignus nisi contra sacramentum per tyrannidem emersisset.

    + Dial iii. If.

[^5]:    *Chron. ii. 50.

    + Richter writing in 1865 drew an elaborate parallel between Maximus and the eldest son of the Church. (See Hodgkin Italy and her Invaders i. 143).

[^6]:    *Dial. ii. 4.
    +Chron. ii. 5 I.
    This is the only work of Sulpicius precisely dated. He brings his work to a conclusion in Stilicho's consulship, 400 A. D. (ii. 9, omne enim tempus in Stiliconem direxi.) Martin's life and the first letter seem to have been written before Martin's death, which was sixteen years after his second visit to Maximus. Maximus reigned from 383-388, but must have left Gaul about 386 . Reinkens puts the publication of the Life after Martin's death, that of the Dialogwe, in the year 405, supposing Sulpicius to have died shortly after the year 406.

[^7]:    - Chron. i. 40.
    +St. Augustine confesses that he too, at least before his baptism, found Isaiah hard Conf. ix 5, 13. Vermm tamen ago primam hujus lictioncm nom mhtilliens. totumque talcm arbitraus, distali refcicndun cxarcitatior in dominico cloquiu.
    ${ }_{+}{ }^{\text {Chron. ii. }} 3$.

[^8]:    -V. Mart. 23.
    $\dagger$ V. Mart. 24.
    IIs this a far away memory of the Emperor Julian's attempt to rebuild it? Slial ii. 14.

[^9]:    * Nost pucllares animos his rebus pleramquc solidari, si se intelligant curac esse majoribus, he says (Ep. 7, 4)--a very worthy reason for very extraordinary letters to be written to a girl of seventeen or eighteen.
    $\dagger$ Dial ii. 7.
    \#On the other hand when Martin slept in a vestry of the church at Claudiomagus, on his departure there was a rush (inruerunt) of virgins into the room, to kiss the spots where he had sat or stood, and to divide up the straw on which he had lain. Dial ii. 8.
    §Dial ii. 8.

[^10]:    *The Celt carried his fancy for a little Greek so far, that in Irish MSS. we are apt to find stray Latin words written in Greck character. The Greek names may, perhaps, be illustrated by the habit the native converts in !ndia have of giving their children English names.
    $\dagger$ Gennadius Vir. Ill. Ig.
    ${ }^{+}$More and more I incline to think that this story--silcutium usque ad mortom tcuuit-is, after all, a mere misunderstanding of Paulinus' phrases confugisti ad

[^11]:    pictatis silentium. .mutescere voluisti mortalibus ut ore puro divina loquereris: et polIntam canina facundia linguam Christi laudibus et commemoratione ipsa pii nominis expiares (Ef. v. 6.) Gennadius mentions (c. 49) that Paulinus wrote ad Severum plures epistulat, nor is this his only allusion, and he obviously depends for all his other statements on these letters and on Sulpicius himself. List-making is a poor trade. and such a blunder is not very improbable. P'aulinus Petricordius (of Perigueux) a contemporary of Gennadius (469-490) who did Severus' Martin into an epic of six books, speaks of him with admiration, but no hint of this story. See Book V. (1052 C. Migne). Reinkens, without discussing the origin of Gennadius' story, dismisses it as untrue.

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ Simcoe, in a despatch to Dundas, the Colonial Secretary, dated Navy Hall, Nov. 4th 1792, states that "In order to promote an Aristocracy, most necessary in this country, I have appointed Lieutenants to the populous counties, which I mean to extend from time to time, and have given to them the recommendatory power for
    the Militia and Magistrates as is usual in England I. p. 85.) This was part of Simcoe's plan for the eradication of Archives, Q. 297 England system of local government. and the substitution of of the Old and New ic local administration. But, the Home Government discouraging trary aristocratsystem did not extend beyond the regulation of the Militiaging this project, the Geo. IIT. Cap. I. The Lieutenants of counties were authorized under this act to nominate Deputy Lieutenants, subject to the approval of the Governor, and ap-
    point the other officers necessary for the command and traing point the other officers necessary for the command and training of the Militia.

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ The authority to prescribe regulations for the prevention of fires, like that for determining the assize of bread, \&c., came under the general powers of the Magistrates, most of which have since been transferred to the separate municipalities. The previous regulations with reference to fires, here referred to, do not appear on the records of the Court. From the fact that no date could be given for them, it is probable that they had not been formally recorded.
    ${ }^{2}$ In 1795 the first Registry Act was passed under the title of "An Act for the public registering of deeds, conveyances, wills and other incumbrances which shall

