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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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JUNE, 1888.

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ART I.—THE CLERGY AND THE MASSES.—THE  
ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE CLERICAL PROFESSION.

FOR some time past there has existed amongst Churchmen a certain degree of misgiving as to whether the number of clergymen was increasing quite as fast as the multitude of people to whom they have to minister. It has been clearly seen that if this be not the case, then the work of the Church is likely in the long-run to suffer. On the one hand, the growth of our population is an unquestionable fact of modern times: it increases at the rate of about 300,000 every year. But, upon the other hand, the corresponding and continuous growth of the clergy who are to serve these ever-augmenting masses cannot be so easily and indisputably established. Even if the clergy remained stationary in number, perhaps some compensation may be found in the more advantageous distribution of them which has been thought to have occurred, many clergymen being drawn from less populous neighbourhoods into the larger centres of population. The extent of this transfer, if it exists, we have no means of estimating with any arithmetical precision. But when every concession has been granted in this direction which could be claimed, any want of elasticity in the supply of clergy could not be contemplated without dismay.

For the first time, however, in recent years, and perhaps for the first time since attention was given to the question, the figures which are before the world with regard to the past year—1887—furnish any substantial ground of anxiety. For many years past the number of clergymen annually ordained has been steadily increasing; increasing, not perhaps quite so fast as we might like, but still continuously increasing at the rate of (roughly speaking) about fifty in the year. Now, how-

ever, there is a drop; and the drop is no less than about a hundred in the year. In illustration of this it may suffice to cite the precise figures for the five years last past. Taking priests and deacons together, the deacons being about one half of the total, there were 1,512 candidates ordained in 1883; 1,514 in 1884; 1,546 in 1885; 1,605 in 1886; and only 1,501 in 1887. New sources from which clergy may be drawn are continually being opened in the form of colleges, examinations, and even foreign universities, so that only 58 per cent. of the year's candidates were in 1887 graduates of Oxford or Cambridge. But notwithstanding all facilities the fall has occurred. It is of course premature to assert positively that the change is anything more than momentary, accidental, casual. Time alone can show whether there is to be any recovery from the fall. But meantime the fall is too considerable to be left altogether out of our calculations for the proximate future. Figures do not generally move in this eccentric fashion without a cause. When a rising barometer suddenly falls, it is generally the symptom of disturbance to follow.

We must nevertheless be careful not to represent the position as worse than it really is. It has been calculated that in 1840 there were 1,137 people to every clergyman. In estimating the increment of to-day, there are so many qualifying circumstances—clergymen not engaged in parochial work, the supply of death vacancies and so forth—that an atmosphere of uncertainty threatens to gather around almost any calculation that could be made. It is therefore best to put our estimate in the simplest possible form. We have, then, this unquestionable fact, derived from counting the names one by one, that in 1887 there were 734 new deacons ordained. It has been estimated—but this is a matter of approximation—that 460 are required to fill death vacancies. Deduct 460 from 734 and we have a net gain for 1887 of 274 new clergymen. Distribute these over the 300,000 new people, and we have 1,094 people to each of the new clergymen. Set this against the figure for 1840 and it is quite clear that, even with last year's fall, the ranks of the clergy, judged by the 1840 standard, are still holding their own against the growth of population.

Where, then, it may be asked, lies the dread significance of the figures of 1887? It lies in this—that for several years before the profession had actually been gaining, at a tolerably steady rate, upon population; but last year the tendency was suddenly reversed, and the profession but just held its own.

We are considering the sacred profession for the moment not at all in its higher spiritual relations, but rather in its professional, its non-religious aspect. We are thinking of the parallels that might exist, or that ought to exist, between it

and other professions; thinking how far it is amenable to the same laws of supply and demand as they are with regard to surplusage or depletion in its ranks; and how far some special law of its own, having no application to other professions, may have been at work in producing the actual results in the clerical profession to which we are drawing attention.

In this direction there is a striking contrast between the profession of the clergyman and the sister learned professions. The universal complaint is that all professions are nowadays overcrowded. In the law it is perfectly well known that many more aspirants are called to the bar than ever are likely to make a living out of it. But there are several other avenues of employment which may be effectively occupied by members of the legal profession, and to which accordingly the surplusage of unemployed barristers is continually attracted. In the meantime there are great prizes open to the successful men in that profession, and a fresh recruit tempted into its overcrowded ranks is unable to say that one of these prizes will not in due time fall to him. The medical profession is so far sufficiently recruited that there is never a vacant post, however modest or obscure, but it can be immediately and suitably filled up. The army again, in the officers' department, is so far overcrowded that there are numbers of men who desire to be soldiers, and who are well fitted to be soldiers, but whom the existing limits of the army cannot receive. These men are actually seen at times (as in the case of the South African Cavalry) overflowing into the rank and file, when a suitable opportunity offers. Or, once more, if we look to the navy, the case is still the same. Continually we witness measures which are simply directed against overstocking the profession; and so one day we hear that the competition is severe, and that the examinations for entry become stiffer and stiffer, while the next day it is whispered that the authorities are racking their brains for a plan to accelerate promotion and to get rid of some of those who already occupy the ranks of the profession.

From all directions, then, the same cry arises with regard to those professions which can be adopted by men of that class of society from which the clergy have been mostly drawn. And the cry universally is that the professions are overcrowded. How comes it to pass, then, that the sacred profession forms the one exception to this complaint? The clerical profession is certainly not overcrowded. We may have, perhaps, even our little differences of opinion as to whether it is gaining or losing. But no one ever thought of maintaining that the market is overstocked. From all those who are conversant with the religious interests of the masses, the cry

invariably comes that men are wanted, even not less than money.

Yet there are some considerations which, it might be thought, would have a tendency to make it otherwise. There is absolutely no existing profession in which it is so easy to make some sort of an income immediately on starting. There is probably no other profession in which an ordinary recruit will find it even possible to make (say) £120 or £130 in the first year or two after entering his profession. Yet this is commonly done by a newly-ordained clergyman. True, there is not much to follow. But there is a certain class of minds upon which this initial fact would be likely to exercise considerable influence. There is a certain indolence of disposition, which is not suited to great enterprises of fortune, which cannot brace itself, and which in many cases cannot even afford, to make large ventures in the present for the sake of vaster prospective advantages in the future. Upon such characters, when in a mere worldly sense they are weighing the several professions open to them, the certainty of a present advantage, however modest, would be likely to exert an almost irresistible attraction.

Another fact which might be thought likely to have contributed to the overcrowding of the clerical profession is the social position occupied by the clergy. There probably never was a time, and there is perhaps no other country, in which the clergy have stood so high in social esteem as they do in the present era in England. There are scores of possible candidates for Holy Orders to whom it would be an unquestioned social gain if they could secure admission into the profession. Indeed, this has been sometimes reckoned a danger to the Church, as tending to invite the candidacy of unworthy men from low and improper motives. It is not necessary to estimate here the precise extent of this danger; but the very existence of such a fear is sufficient proof that there are some worldly considerations at work which *pro tanto* would tend to make the supply of clergy not only ample but superabundant.

How, then, it may be asked again, does it come to pass that the fact is the very reverse of this? Five-and-twenty years ago it used often to be said that the unsettlement of religious belief would certainly render men indisposed to enter the sacred profession. That was a prophecy frequently to be heard at the time of that movement of English religious thought of which the publication of *Essays and Reviews* might be taken as a symptom. It may be doubted, however, whether, after all, much influence can be ascribed to that cause. For notwithstanding all unsettlement there have been year by year more and more men taking upon them the obligations of clergy-

men until this last year, when the stream has been suddenly reversed.

Something, no doubt, must be set down to the account of a fact which all serious people heartily welcome, viz., the growth and spread of higher views of the responsibilities of clergymen. As a higher standard is realized, fewer men will feel themselves equal to attempting it. It is a fact that most of the younger clergy desire work. If rectors want assistant curates, the rector who stands the best chance of getting one is the rector who can plunge his assistant into the whirl of a severe, a taxing, an insatiable organization and can show him work.

When, however, all has been said and every allowance has been made, it must be feared that a very commonplace cause has been largely effective in producing the result which is being discussed. The result, it may be repeated, is new, and the cause must be new also. Have the financial difficulties of the clergy anything to do with it? This does not mean that men who seek or who decline the ministerial office are chiefly influenced by questions of income. But their parents cannot be always insensible to such questions; and it is the influence of parents which is often responsible either for guiding a young man into the sacred profession or deterring him from it. Perhaps there is no better type of clergyman and no more divinely assured "call" to be found than can be seen in the case of a man who seems to be "called from his mother's womb;" who from his earliest consciousness has always thought of himself as "going to be a clergyman," and who, when the hour of decision has come, has welcomed the sacred office with eager delight as the realization of all the dreams which had grown about him in his home. It was once said by a Bishop of old time that many of his best clergy were the sons of clergymen. But how many clergy of the present day can afford to bring up their sons to be clergymen? The patrimony has been divided and subdivided perhaps for two or three generations past; and though there has been a line of clergymen in the family, it becomes necessary that the sons should now go somewhere else, where an income can be made.

The sum of the matter is simply this: that at the present day the Church has not money enough to do her work properly. Sooner or later those who are in positions to make their voices heard will have to speak far more plainly upon the question than they have felt justified in doing yet. We have depended upon the possessions of the past, and those possessions are failing us. Already we hear of men being appointed to positions, not because they are most suitable, but simply because they are rich, and the position cannot be maintained without their wealth. It is a scandal that it should be so.

But the laws of tendency cannot be escaped; and if the people of this country continue in the same mind, if they expect their clergy to be, upon the whole, a married clergy, and moving in the full tide of such life as they live themselves, one or other of two alternatives must infallibly take place—either some vast and successful effort must be made, or, most disastrously and most paradoxically, the facts of modern life being what they are, the profession of a clergyman must in the future become a profession mainly for those who are rich.

H. T. ARMPFIELD.

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ART. II.—CLERICAL LIFE IN IRELAND A HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AGO.

SKETCHES of social life in the far past have always an interest for us. We propose in this and another article to furnish the readers of the *CHURCHMAN* with some outlines of clerical and church life in Ireland in the last century. In the present article we shall have space for but one record. We propose to sketch the life history of one of those ideal country parsons whom the brilliant author of the "Deserted Village" has immortalised. We rejoice in the conviction that there were not a few such men.

Philip Skelton graduated in Trinity College, Dublin, in 1728, the year of Goldsmith's birth. He came of farming parents in the County Antrim. His taste for books originally sprang from a device of his father's. The quaint farmer used to put Philip to all the most disagreeable farm duties, and at the same time to place books within his reach. Whether at first repelled by the drudgery of the hand-barrow, or attracted by the novelty of the books, it is certain that Skelton soon bade farewell to farming, and developed decided literary tastes.

A stormy undergraduate course was not uncommon in those days. Quarrels with the town and plots against the authorities were too frequent to be noteworthy. In all Skelton took his part. As he left college he is described as a man "of a figure somewhat odd and terrific, a large-sized man of a majestic appearance." He was an accomplished athlete in those days, and possessed great physical strength, which he found use for more than once in later years. There was no match for him in the game of "long bullets" in his native parish of Derriagh. On one occasion this game, which consisted in a contest as to who should "put" the bullet farthest along a country road, had nearly-proved fatal. On the first morning of his life on which he had omitted his prayers, he

was engaged in the game when a three-pound bullet struck a stone and, rebounding, hit him above the left eye, flattening in [the wall of the skull. The treatment for this dreadful wound was so severe that his constitution never recovered it.

Skelton was ordained in 1729 for the curacy of Newtown Butler. His clerical career was indeed a strange one, compounded of athletics, medicine and divinity, with a very large tincture of the love of controversy and of deep affection for his fellow-creatures who were exposed to any form of suffering.

It is related of him that the very evening of his ordination human nature was too much for the young divine. He and several other deacons "lay" at the Bishop's house, and one of them shared Skelton's bed. In the morning another came to these two as they lay in bed and "began lashing them in sport." So Skelton, rising of a sudden, caught this sportive deacon neck and crop and dropped him over the stairs. The Bishop, hearing the noise, emerged in his dressing-gown and slippers, and elicited, by his questions, from Skelton the information that the young deacon was so flushed with being ordained that he could not behave quietly, but must lash him, so he was forced to show him the shortest way downstairs. *The Bishop owned that he could not blame him.*

Another characteristic story of old-time ordination is related by Skelton himself. One candidate was asked how old the world was, and on receiving the answer that he could not tell, the Bishop declared he was of the same mind, and concluded the examination by asking how long it was since America was discovered. Coming into a room where the candidates were racking their brains for an answer to other eccentric questions, the Bishop observed: "Gentlemen, I have a piece of advice for you all relating to your clerical duties. You may think that good preaching will make you acceptable to your people. Not a bit of it. If you would please them well, keep a private jest-book; pick out all the drollest stories, and learn them by rote. Fix every witty remark you hear in your memory. Thus equipped, you will be fitted to go about in your parishes and be popular men. For when you go to christenings, wakes, or weddings, you may be the life of the party by your jokes. You will be sought for all over the parish. With respect to your conduct in church, I have a word for you. If ever you make a blunder, don't stop to rectify it, but go straight on. For 'tis ten to one if a single person in the church is listening to a word you say; but if you begin to hum and haw, your hearers will prick up their ears, and whisper to each other, 'The curate's out! the curate's out!' and thus you'll have yourselves to blame for your pains." What a picture of Bishop, curates, and congregations!



Mr. Skelton's first rector, on being presented to his living, was serving as a militia colonel in Dublin. Spite of this strange preparation for Holy Orders, we read that the Rev. Dr. Madden made an excellent incumbent of Drummully, and a most charitable one. Skelton lived in his rector's family as tutor to his sons. Three wild lads fell to him to teach. One was his mother's pet. These imps would give him no peace even while he wrote his sermons, and Skelton complains that he durst not look at any book but the Bible when preparing a sermon, or the boys would give it out in the parish that he stole his sermons. The country folk would never then listen to him again, for they would rather have any trash that was original than the finest divinity copied from a book.

We have said that a combination of charity and muscularity was a characteristic of Skelton. He was also as remarkable for his profound studies as for his prolonged devotions. Small as his stipend was, he began by making a rule of giving one half of it to the poor; of the remainder, the greater part went to his poor relations. Returning one evening from church, he reached the smoking ruins of a recently burned cabin. Three children had been burned, two fatally. The third survived in agonies. Touched with compassion, the curate stripped off his clothes on the road, and tearing his shirt to ribbons, gave it to the doctor who was dressing the burns.

An amusing story is told of a long correspondence which passed between the rector and his own curate living under his own roof. Skelton had published an anonymous pamphlet lauding a scheme of Dr. Madden's for the promotion of University Education. The doctor was so proud of the notice taken of him, that he sent a letter to the unknown author through the Dublin publishers, and received an answer through the same medium, and this correspondence continued for some time, the doctor never in the least guessing to the end who his correspondent was.

All was not, however, plain sailing here. The doctor's wife quarrelled often with Skelton, and finally drove him from the curacy. His next move was to Monaghan. Here he first displayed that genuine religious zeal which afterwards was so marked in a cold and worldly age. His labours, public and from house to house, never ceased, and "he ever mingled," says his biographer, "instruction and amusement." The children loved him as they did the typical parson of Goldsmith, and

. . . . . followed with endearing wile,  
And plucked his gown to share the good man's smile.

He catechised them publicly every Sunday evening in presence of the congregation, and when they knew the words of the Catechism perfectly, taught them its Scripture proofs. Every week he set apart one evening to receive at his lodgings all who came, for the purpose of direct spiritual instruction, and they thus "obtained a knowledge of their duty," which few of the clergy knew how to give. The Monaghan children in those days, it is said, knew more of the Christian faith than the adults of any of the parishes round.

"The preacher," says a contemporary, "placed, like a faithful servant of the Lord, heaven and hell before the eyes of the people." He stood in his pulpit a man of giant build, with "strong expressive action, clear distinct delivery, changing features and expression, and with a sincerity of manner which made an irresistible impression. His life," it is added, "was chaste, pious, humble, and abounding in charity. He held himself born to benefit the poor. His salary was at Monaghan literally that named by Goldsmith. Out of this £40 his aged mother received £10, the rest he divided as we have said. In Monaghan gaol lay many poor prisoners whom, though not the chaplain, he visited, and felt such an interest in their cases that once he saved the life of a convict in whom he was interested, by travelling to Dublin, and pushing his way into the Privy Council Chamber where the members were sitting. His eloquence prevailed, and his *protégé* received a free pardon.

About that time he helped a poor deaf and dumb man, by writing a little tale and giving it to the man to publish as his own. Whoever was most wretched or most wicked in the parish received from Skelton most attention. "One Craven, a notorious sinner, drove him out of his house with a kitchen spit on his first attempt to visit him; but Skelton, undeterred by this reception, went again and again, until after much danger, by long perseverance, by his awful lectures, and the Divine aid, he brought him to a sense of religion, and made him a good Christian." "He practised such a reformation in the manners of the Monaghan people that from thirty to forty attended daily prayers in church."

The divine, however, was ambitious also to be a healer of the body as well. He attended some medical lectures, and records that the doctor who taught him gave him advice never to prescribe anything unless he was sure he could do some good. "As for me," said this doctor, "I must prescribe something to every patient who comes, even though it be but brick-dust, to keep up my character; but you may use your good sense and do what you think best." In "doing what he thought best," Skelton's practice did not always follow the established customs. One old woman in Monaghan was per-

turbed in mind by visions of a little red demon in a hat and cloak, who paid her frequent visits. Skelton came to her cabin armed with a long pole, and wherever the tormentor was pointed out by the widow he made a vigorous stroke, until the illusion was finally chased out of the sufferer's mind. He thus won much distinction as being even better than a doctor.

He kept himself in robust health by exercise. He would lift and throw heavier weights than any man in the parish. He could wind a fifty-pound weight round his head, and could throw the sledge farther than any local competitor.

He has been known to resort, when trying to convince a sinner, to the argument of the fist. He beat a troop of tinkers who profaned Sunday with horrible oaths, and was complimented by a neighbouring squire for resorting to the only argument they could understand. In this function of the ministry he was no respecter of persons. A young officer, proud of his uniform, swore vigorously in his presence in some country inn parlour. Philip's gentle remonstrances proved vain, though he begged him to desist, as he was swearing in the presence of a clergyman. "You scoundrel curate!" was the reply, "what is it to you?" "Young man," quoth the parson, "this is not proper language to a man of my profession, merely for giving you good advice." "You puppy," replied the lieutenant, "you deserve to be kicked for your impertinence;" and then he blasphemed worse than ever. "Well, sir," says Skelton, "since fair means will not prevail, we'll see what foul can do," and so cuffed him through the hall and into the street, which soon cooled his courage, and kept him quiet for that evening at least.

Coming to more serious matters, we must refer to Skelton's picture of the condition of religion at the time. A thinly-veiled Deism, a real Arianism, prevailed on both sides of St. George's Channel. Against all forms of this heresy, so degrading to our Redeemer's Person and work, our divine waged energetic conflict. "I found leisure," he wrote, "to switch the Arians now and then." A well-known Bishop printed a pamphlet on the side of error, and Skelton, under pretence of defending his character, exposed him thus:

It is very unjust to suspect that a Right Reverend Prelate, who is more pious, judicious, orthodox, and learned than any that ever was, or will be, who has subscribed our Articles, and has a tender conscience, should be capable of writing such a book. It is a scandalous age which ascribes such a work of darkness to such an apostolic messenger of light.

For this reply to the Bishop his own Bishop sent him a present of ten guineas.

About 1738—just a century and a half ago—Skelton's fame as a preacher began to be noised abroad. But he was some-

what strangely passed over by those who had patronage to bestow. Livings were given away by the dozen to his juniors and inferiors in all ministerial gifts. After some years he resolved to leave the diocese, where he felt he had no hope of promotion. He was just about to take a Dublin living which offered, when his Bishop promised him the next "good thing" that was vacant. Trusting to this promise, Skelton declined St. Werburgh's, and found the Bishop a traitor to his word. Monaghan parish soon fell vacant, and it was given to a young Mr. Hawkshaw, only recently ordained. This gentleman retained Skelton, now a dozen years in orders, as his curate, and, indeed, treated him with all respect, following his advice in all important matters. Skelton refused thenceforward to attend Bishop Sterne's visitations, and the Bishop never even asked for him. It is hard to guess at the reason for such treatment of a man so deserving.

There were fanatics in the North of Ireland even in those days of cold and dry religion. One of Skelton's churchwardens "presented" him to the Bishop for shaving on Sunday.

The charms of ladies' society were not for this poor and lonely curate. He dreaded the consequence of a hasty marriage. An absurd story, however, is related about a courtship of Skelton's. He was actually engaged to a Monaghan lady, when the whole thing was broken off on account of a singular conversation between the affianced pair. "How," she asked, "do you mean to provide for your children, should we have any?" "Why, my dear," he answered gaily, "suppose we have three sons; I'll make one a weaver, another a tailor, and another a shoemaker. Very honest trades, my jewel, at which they cannot fail to earn their bread." On which the indignant fair one hastily dissolved the match. She soon afterwards was captivated by a red coat, and died in delirium tremens. Skelton often blessed God for the fortunate escape which his half-jesting speech had brought him. Another courtship was put an end to by Skelton himself, who, finding the young lady giving too kind attention to the compliments of a rival, took the young man up in his arms, dropped him over the balusters, and returning to the astonished lady, terminated the courtship on the spot. It was his last.

The same year (1743) a widow with some means offered him the position of tutor to her sons, with the probable ultimate design of matrimony. He took a night to consider the offer, and lying sleepless in his bed, he declared he had a vision. A wig-block rose from the floor, rolled its eyes, and murmured, "Beware what you are about!" He took it as a sign, refused the offer, was engaged to select a tutor, did so, and saw the

new tutor marry the lady, who, like his first *fiancée*, died a drunkard. Skelton always after that looked kindly on a wig-block when he chanced to see one.

Skelton was subject to extreme fits of melancholy. They have been attributed to the fearful accident to his head already recorded. He sometimes felt he was dying, and would not live to quit the spot on which he stood. He once asked a lady who was driving him in her carriage to stop the vehicle that he might get out and die. Her sharp but laughing refusal removed temporarily the fit of hypochondria.

He had some success in and about the year 1748 in a literary venture. He received £200 for a work entitled "Deism Revealed." He was offered permanent employment on the staff of a London review. The offer was very tempting, but he loved his flock too well to leave the direct ministry of the Gospel for any literary honours, and he refused. His ill-paid ministerial work had all his heart and soul, and from this incident we can judge accurately of his motives. A few months after the second edition of his book appeared, the Bishop of Clogher was dining with Sherlock, Bishop of London, who asked him if he ever had known the author. "Oh yes," exclaimed his Lordship of Clogher; "he has been a curate in my diocese these twenty years." "More shame for your lordship," replied the other, "to let such a man live for twenty years as a curate!"

The long-looked-for promotion came soon after. The Bishop presented him to the wild and mountainous parish of Pettigo, on the borders of county Donegal. The parish was worth £200 a year, and measured fifteen miles by ten.

To Pettigo Skelton now removed, taking with him from Monaghan one Robert Plunket as tithe-farmer and companion; and these two bachelors set up house together in the wild mountains of the west. The people were almost barbarians. They loved fighting and drinking. So bad was their reputation that on going down at first to settle among them our quaint divine invoked the aid of a notorious champion of the ring, a boxer named Jonas Good. When hiring Jonas he said, "I hire you to fight, for I hear you are clever with your fists." When Jonas owned that he could do a little in that way, Skelton replied, "If we have to fight, watch me; when I close my fists do you the same. Strike stoutly; but be sure you leave off when I do." He bought a good horse, holsters, and pistols, and a military saddle. When the rector rode through his new parish his man rode in front, who, being generally mistaken at first for the master, got all the bows.

The rector began to make the acquaintance of his wild flock at once. He found them in dismal ignorance. He said they

knew as much of the Gospel as the Indians of America; so that he felt he went as a missionary to convert them to Christianity. So totally ignorant were they of the use of books that when some of them crowded round his windows at night and saw him stooping over his tomes of divinity, they declared he was a conjurer, using these strange objects as instruments of the black art.

Diligent visitation, incessant catechizing, plain preaching were his missionary methods. A few months after he began the catechizing in church he one evening locked the church doors when the congregation were assembled, and let no one leave till he had thoroughly examined young and old on the subjects he had been teaching. Skelton meant that they should learn, and they did. A year or two of this work led to a general spread in the parish of at least, a mental knowledge of the Creator and Redeemer.

In times of poverty he induced the well-to-do to give liberally by promising to double the collection, whatever it was, out of his own pocket. He still practised physic, but added a doctor to his staff—one Dr. Scott, of Enniskillen, whom he caused to attend all difficult cases. It goes without saying that there were no poor laws or dispensaries in those days.

The rector, sharing the cottage with Plunket, had but one room for his own use as bedroom, dining-room, and study. It was divided by a curtain to conceal the bed when any persons of quality dropped in to dinner. Sir James Caldwell and other county gentlemen used to visit him sometimes. His principal meal was dinner. He ate little breakfast and no supper. Though he was a large man and had a good appetite, he lived a life of continual mortification. He was also abstemious in sleep. He slept generally about four hours, and passed the rest of the night in prayer and religious meditation. At times his old melancholy returned. He would go to the houses of the neighbours in the night and invite them to rise up and pray for him, as he was in mighty need of all good Christians' prayers. At this time again he often thought himself dying. Once he told the servant to get ready the horse quickly and to drive him to Dr. Scott's, that he might go and die there. The servant obeyed, but he had not driven far when the strange man began to whistle and sing most merrily. He was all right again, he said. Once Robert Johnson, of Pettigo, who had often heard these strange predictions of a death which never came off, said, "Make a day, sir; make a day, and stick to it, and don't be always disappointing us." This made him laugh, and the fit passed away.

His life was a continual round of preaching, visiting, and written and *viva voce* controversy with Arians and infidels, varied by struggles with the physical inconveniences of his lot. On his uneven earthen floor it was impossible for any rightly-formed table to stand. But he spliced a piece on to one leg, and then it was better! About this time, when in Enniskillen, he bought a pair of tweezers to *pick the dirt out of his kale* (cabbage).

But his charities went on growing in extent. He found a club-footed youth in his parish; he taught him to read and write, bought him a wig-block, and taught him to shave men by means of this patient figure-head, and then sent him to friends at Monaghan to learn wig-making, and to Armagh to learn psalm-singing, after which he employed him as his parish clerk and barber for many a long year. Quaint lovable man! What did the great world know of this faithful servant of God?

The winters were cold in those northern wilds, and winds were boisterous, so the Rector of Pettigo might often be seen trudging through his parish with his rough coat girded round his waist by a straw rope. One's heart melts for the poor middle-aged bachelor, who had no buttons on his coat and no wife to sew them on.

The poverty of his flock in hard seasons lay like a heavy weight on the heart of Skelton. He found some of them pulling up and boiling the weeds out of the fields and roadsides, such as the "prushia," which his biographer describes as a "yellow-flowered weed that grows in cornfields" (query, the corn marigold?).

He ordered some of this "prushia" to be served at his own table, and finding it unendurable and sickening, he resolved on prompt action. He started off for Ballyshannon, and then travelled to the County Cavan, and in both places bought up large quantities of oatmeal, and this he distributed carefully until the next harvest. The people, wild with hunger, threatened to attack the waggons conveying the meal, so Skelton and his pugilist Jonas were obliged to go several miles on the road, armed with clubs, to meet the convoy and escort it home. The oatmeal he had to distribute weekly, and always took his club to defend himself and his stores. When all his money was spent and the famine continued, he sold his books, the only friends he had, for £80, and converted the proceeds into food for his poor.

Thus in dark times shines forth apostolic love in unexpected places, and we must be thankful that such traits have been put on record, and muse with wonder on the innumerable

examples of the power of love which, so far as earthly record goes, are lost for ever.

On the death of Bishop Sterne, Skelton was promoted to the living of Devenish by his successor. This was a rectory near Lough Erne. Dr. Scott, of Enniskillen, provided him with a house. The studies of the physician and parson over, each evening they used to sit up to a late hour playing piquet, and then a few prayers would be said, and they would separate for the night.

A wave of trouble broke over the Church of Ireland in 1763, and once again, as in 1641, the lives of the clergy were threatened. The "Oak Boys" caused many, among the rest Skelton, to fly for a temporary refuge to Dublin; but he soon returned to pursue his quiet diligent labours at Devenish.

At the age of fifty-nine—for Skelton had now attained thus nearly his third score, he found himself in his last ecclesiastical appointment. The living of Fintona, on the borders of Tyrone and Fermanagh, was given to him by Bishop Garnet, Sterne's successor. It was nominally worth £500 a year, and its net produce may have approached £400. Here the people were as a rule Dissenters, but an extraordinary thing happened. We doubt if a parallel can be cited in the history of the Church. The Presbyterian chapel being well-nigh emptied by Skelton's preaching in the old church in the market-place, he called the minister to him and settled on him £40 per annum as compensation for the loss of income he suffered from his diminished congregation! He went further. The local doctor complaining that his patients, many of them at least, went to the Rector to be drugged instead of to him, he settled an annuity of £40 also on him!

Many a striking incident is recorded of the later years of his life at Fintona, for which we have no space. Still, whether he saw sin among high or low, he was prompt and unfeared in rebuking it. Still he would go out in the market-place with a hand-bell to summon passers-by to daily prayers. Still he would lock his congregation into church now and then on a Sunday afternoon and catechize them, whether they would or no. He found time at Fintona, and possessed means, to publish all his works in five volumes. In good times he gave half his income to the poor, in bad times very nearly the whole. He spared, but with no miser's spirit. He would save every penny he could, but then it was to give it all away. He has been seen sitting up in his bed, when some sixty-five years of age, mending his knee-breeches, by the light of a single candle. He kept what was then called a "trash-bag," stuffed with rags and scraps, needles, thread, and buttons, and this



was always ready to "tent" a hole or a rip in his garments. We should like to have seen the result.

The cold winters of the north were telling on his frame. He began about 1775 to winter in Dublin, and had rooms over the shop of a bookseller named Watson. As Easter approached he would return, like the eunuch sitting in his chariot, and studying his Bible by the way, to Fintona, and spend there a busy sixteen or eighteen weeks of visiting, preaching and catechizing. Still, the old fire was in him. He has rushed in to separate two men fighting in the street with all his youthful zeal. In Dublin he was frequently called on to preach during the winter, and his appearance as he preached a sermon on a day of public humiliation, December, 1776, is thus described :

His wig was brown ; it had not even the colour of powder in it. His gown was old and rusty. His face was furrowed with wrinkles, and very venerable from his age. His person tall, but bent with years. He bore a resemblance to one in mourning, commissioned to remind the world of the judgments of God brought on them by their sins.

The summer of 1777 was signalized by a remarkable dearth, similar to that which had occurred while he was at Pettigo ; and between May and September he distributed a hundred and twenty-five pecks of oatmeal every week among his poor people of all sects. Part of the cost he raised by subscription. Once, when some delay occurred and the poor were disappointed for a day or two, Skelton would eat nothing, until the waggons appeared and the poor were fed. Fearing after all that the supplies would not hold out, he denied himself every comfort, even to his favourite snuff-box. He made a sort of snuff for himself of dried heath, and so saved something. He ate but one meal daily, of a poor character, and his reward was not one life was lost in Fintona from starvation. Pretending he had no further use for books, he sold his library—that which he had purchased to replace the books sold years before—and the £100 which he obtained for it from Dr. Woodward all went to the poor.

In 1780, for the last time, he left Fintona, giving his carriage and horses away when he had done with the road for ever.

In Dublin he was for the few remaining years well-known. His life was very regular and self-denying. He used to rise about nine, to drink a "dish" of herb-tea; foreign tea he never tasted. Then he passed an hour at prayer, after which he read two chapters of the Old, and two of the New Testament, and four or five Psalms. He passed the time till dinner in general or light reading. He studied theology in the evening. He used to receive his friends at his lodgings, who came to listen to his mature wisdom, and sometimes to smart under his unexpected personalities. "You're a fine fellow, Burdy!" he cried to his future biographer, "with your

bright buttons. I thought you were a man of sense, but find I was mistaken. I always judge a man by his buttons." "My lord," he observed to a Bishop, "take care of your curates. They will be more attentive to their duties if they think you remember them, for there is not one of them that would not do more for a living of a hundred a year than for the whole kingdom of heaven."

He was offered a D.D. degree in 1781, but declined the honour. His portrait was painted by an artist in 1782, but he made the condition of sitting that the lady who gave the commission would destroy the picture before her death. He survived five years longer, but became very feeble. He was eighty-one years of age. The faithful Burdy, a very Boswell to this Johnson, records his having said to him, "I know I shall never see you again, but God be with you. Trust in Christ, and He will preserve you. Preach the Gospel to your people without any false refinements. Act always as God's minister, and He will reward you."

On May 4th, 1787, just a hundred and one years ago, this long and remarkable life was ended.<sup>1</sup> He left behind him a few trifling debts, which being paid, a sum of £700 remained, of which £540 was *uncollected* tithe, so that the total accumulations of his lifetime reckoned up at last in actual money to £160.

We shall not comment on the above unvarnished record. The life speaks for itself. We live in days of more superficial polish. We are all obliged to run in our groove, or feel the lash of an unsparing criticism. But are there in our age of knowledge, refinement, and boasted piety, many men who, taking them all in all, are serving God and His poor with more single-minded devotion than the subject of our sketch, who shines like a bright distant star in the obscure firmament of the Irish Church a century and a half ago?

G. R. WYNNE.



### ART. III.—"FACTS AND FICTIONS CONCERNING CHURCHES AND TITHES."

*Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes.* By the Earl of SELBORNE. Macmillans.

**L**ORD SELBORNE rendered excellent service by his "Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment," and has now followed up that telling volume by another,

<sup>1</sup> He always had had a dread of being buried alive, so he enjoined on his physician not to let him be buried until marks of corruption appeared.

which may well be called a companion to it. This new work exhibits considerable portions of the original authorities on which the arguments in the earlier one were based; it shows, as it were, the substructure of important parts of them. It is naturally and necessarily a book of a less popular kind than that is; and for the purposes of the "general reader" it will serve often rather as a sort of book of reference when further illustration is desired of what is stated in the "Defence," or when the grounds asked for on which special positions are taken up, than as a treatise to be perused for its own sake. Lord Selborne's attention is up to the very last chapter limited to the period preceding the Norman Conquest, and the body of the work is divided into two parts, the first relating to the Churches of the Continent; the second to the Anglo-Saxon Church. It is not, of course, supposed that the laws and customs of the ancient British or Anglo-Saxon Church were merely borrowed from Gaul or Italy; but undoubtedly a knowledge of the regulations which prevailed in the latter countries throws much light in the way of explanation upon many obscure particulars in the ecclesiastical arrangements of this island, and, indeed, the latter were at times greatly influenced from the Continent, even before the Norman Conquest, which brought in a mass of foreign Churchmen and foreign Church notions and ways. In the second part the author has found himself constrained to discuss at some length the authenticity and value of several ancient documents, such as collections of canons and statutes, and to go into many particulars belonging to the department of the antiquarian. Very much has been added since the date of Selden's great work on tithes to our store of ecclesiastical and historical documents, and many manuscripts with which he could not have been acquainted are now available. "The advantages we possess leave room for something to be added to his researches, sometimes by way of verification or illustration, sometimes by way of correction and supplement." Lord Selborne characterizes his work as "an attempt to trace those developments of early ecclesiastical institutions which resulted in the formation of the modern parochial system and its general endowment with tithes."

The general establishment of the parochial system throughout the land, and the endowment of the parish churches with tithes, was accomplished, Lord Selborne thinks, by the end of the twelfth century. We should have been disposed to have put it somewhat later; but Lord Selborne's authority on such a point is weighty, and he is the last who has examined the subject with the aid of modern lights. The germ of the parochial system is to be discerned in the establishment in quite early times—say the seventh or even the sixth century—

of churches up and down the land as local centres of Church administration. There the sacrament of baptism was publicly administered by the Bishop at Easter, Whitsuntide, and sometimes at Epiphany, from which fact they were termed "Baptismal Churches." These greater and more ancient churches obtained recognised rights and exclusive privileges within certain districts, and the chapels and oratories within those districts were dependent on them and at first served from them. There was originally only one such church in each diocese, but the number soon had to be increased. Tithes grew up originally as a form of offering based upon the precedents of the Mosaic law, and sometimes were urged by councils and Church writers as of Divine obligation and authority. The tithes originally went to these mother churches, and were, along with other revenues and offerings, distributed by the bishops for purposes of hospitality and for the poor, for the maintenance of the fabrics, and for the support of the ministers. These arrangements, however, appeared to be more clearly discoverable and to have been more precisely fixed in Continental Churches than in any customs or canons that can be proved to have had currency in England. At a later time landowners began to desire a resident priest on their own estates, and built churches and manses to secure this. They were permitted by the bishops, sometimes encouraged, to allot tithe to the support of the priests of their own parishes. Sometimes a third of the whole tithe was thus apportioned, whilst the other two-thirds still went to the mother church. This principle is recognised and enjoined in King Edgar's laws, A.D. 970 or thereabout, and in those of Canute, *circiter* A.D. 1030. One interesting question, hard to answer and much controverted, is, How did this third pass into the whole? For before the Reformation the whole ordinary tithe had become annexed to the parish churches, though many of these with their tithes and all had been absorbed by the abbeyes.

Lord Selborne discusses the point, and holds with Selden, as against Deans Comber, Prideaux and others, that it came about not by any general enforcement of the principle of paying tithes to the parish priest and the parish church as of Divine right or State expediency, but by "arbitrary consecration," as Selden called it. The lords of the soil, in fact, exercised a large discretion in the matter up to the third Lateran Council, A.D. 1189-90. So long as the tithes were assigned to some ecclesiastical purpose, the payers were made free to give them to parish church or abbey, or minister, or chantry perhaps, and on the Continent they sometimes even bestowed them upon laymen. This liberty was abridged or put an end to by the constitutions of that Council, concerning the exact

sense and force of which, however, difference of opinion exists. Certain it is, however, that there is in English history no general enactment, ecclesiastical or civil, which conferred on the parishes the rights to their tithes bestowed upon them; the parochial right to tithes is a thing, as Lord Selborne says, "to be historically accounted for;" in other words, it is a result brought about by the action of individuals, who did what they thought best with their own, each lord of the soil giving as he in his conscience felt bound to do, or deemed to be best for the interests of those for whom he was responsible. It is needless to point out the practical importance of a conclusion like this, reached after careful reflection and research, by a mind trained in weighing evidence, and proposed as a result clearly emerging from an exhaustive inquiry into the facts and the testimony. The parochial endowments of the Church of England were not entrusted to her by the State, nor made over to her by the strong hand of the law; they were throughout the land the freewill offerings of her own sons, and were bestowed to secure the spiritual oversight and instruction of the tenants and neighbours of those who gave them. All that the law ever did was to come in afterwards and oblige those who had inherited lands subject to tithes to fulfil the just obligations attaching to their holdings.

Lord Selborne examines very carefully the allegations made that the tithe originally was divided into three or four parts, one part only being allotted to the clergy. The quadripartite division—bishop, clergy, churches, poor—prevailed in early times in Italy, and thence found its way into other Churches north of the Alps, under Roman influence. The tripartite division was found elsewhere; the bishop sharing with the clergy, or taking the burden of maintaining the churches along with his own third. But such customs were local, and were perhaps regarded rather as general maxims for the administration of Church revenues than as exact and definite rules to be observed in a hard and fast manner. Very much was left to the discretion of bishops, and their consent was always regarded as necessary before any portion of the Church revenues was cut off from the common stock and localized for any purpose whatever. When the lord of the manor built and endowed the parish church he would always have to satisfy the bishop as regards the building, the provision for the priest, and other accessories of his pious undertaking. But of the existence in fact of the tripartite or quadripartite division of tithes, there is no clear trace whatever in England at any place or at any time. Doubtless, in some places, one-third of the parochial tithes was for a time assigned to the local church, the other two-

thirds belonging to the mother church, which originally had all. Doubtless, too, the duty of hospitality and care of the poor was always recognised as incumbent on those who received Church revenues, and was frequently and urgently enjoined. But no instance can be produced, so far as Lord Selborne's learned and thorough researches enable us to ascertain, of any such positive regulation ever having been laid down by Anglican authority, nor of any custom having been acted upon here about the partition of tithes, as is found in old days to have existed in other parts of the Western Church. There is evidence that attempts were made on more than one occasion to introduce Continental rules into England about this as about other matters, as *e.g.* in the Canons of Ælfric, which are placed by Lord Selborne between A.D. 990 and 1000. But this was only a "tentative recommendation," one of several others intended to promote a stricter performance of clerical duty and a higher tone of Church life. It did not pass into practice then or ever; and as regards the present endowments of our parishes, we may rest assured that they were sundered from the general revenues of the cathedral or mother churches to which they were originally paid, and were allotted to the parochial cures by the joint act of the owners of the soil who paid them and the bishops who at first received them.

The bearing of results like these upon contemporary discussions is too evident to be missed. We thank Lord Selborne for having supplied this learned and exhaustive analysis and description of the materials and authorities on which the claim of the Church to her property is founded.

THOMAS E. ESPIN, D.D.



#### ART. IV.—THE FIRST THREE CHAPTERS OF GENESIS: AN APPLICATION OF SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.

##### THE FIRST CHAPTER.

ONE of the greatest scientific and philosophical facts that modern research has verified is: that Eternal Power is the cause of all things. Whatever our senses take cognizance of, all natural phenomena, are various forms of matter and force, whose realities are unseen; but, thus manifested, are proofs that the Absolute and Eternal has brought Himself in relation to the finite and temporal—"God created."

This fact, the seen reveals and proves the unseen, is in connection with another. There was no time without creation,

and no creation apart from time; time is that duration of which creation is the clock. Hence, we arrive at the scientific, philosophical, and scriptural verity: "In the beginning God," Who is the Eternal, "created the heaven and the earth;" "the worlds were framed by the word of God."

All the ancient heathen religions which make any statement as to the order and constitution of nature are found so erroneous that every scientific mind has placed them in the limbo of dead and buried superstitions. More than any other, the Hebrew faith, on which rests Christian truth, not only relates natural facts, but gives, as by Divine inspiration, an account of the order in which nature became nature, things became things, not by any evolution of nature, not by any sort of spontaneous generation, but by operation of God.

Can Holy Scripture stand the test of modern scientific criticism? Is that account, which professes to be Divine, true; or is it so false as to be a lying delusion? If true, it must be Divine; for the statements are so many and of such a nature that no man, in those unscientific days, could know them. If false, the men who made them, whatever excuse we make, told the greatest lies, which from that day to this have deceived the best and greatest of our race, and to such an extent that faith in man, or in God, is no longer possible: our preaching is vain, our faith also is vain.

The crucial portions of Scripture, selected for a searching test, are the first three chapters of Genesis. If they are true, our faith will stand; if they are not true, our faith is false; for it rests on their verity.

The beginning was not six thousand, nor six thousand thousand years ago, nor measurable by man. It was at the very head, top of things, that which in eternity began time: the link uniting the Eternal with the temporal, the Infinite with the finite, even as Christ is the union of God and man. Christ, the Son, manifests the Father; the Lord, the Holy Ghost, proceedeth from the Father: so in creation, Christ, the Word, is the mediative element of Divine presence preparing for the revelation of the Holy Spirit. Hence God by the Word, by the Spirit, "creates and perfects all things." Science, philosophy, theology, manifest that the Eternal Unknown made Himself known; the Infinite, the Absolute brought Himself into relation with finite existence; and as physical science demonstrates that existing nature is not everlasting, whether as to the past or the future, we have physical and intellectual proof that things are not eternal, nor are they self-made, but declare the eternal power and Godhead.

Past, present, future, are but one aspect of things to the Eternal. Cause a wheel to rotate so swiftly that the spokes

seem to be one, as if the wheel stood still. Then illuminate the whole with an electric flash. The wheel and every part of it will apparently, for that moment, stand perfectly still, as if it waited. In like manner, the whirl of the wheel of Divine Life, Wisdom, Might, viewed in creation and time, is as that instantaneous flash, one moment of eternity—the twinkle of an eye, a whisper of the Almighty. In that one moment, things are regarded as begun and accomplished; the beginning is seen culminating in the glory of infinite bliss. In this sense we understand the Divine statement, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."

There is no great gulf between the first and second verses. Doubtless, the present worlds, of which we know, are not the first, nor only worlds; there were worlds before these, and after them, others will be; but all are passed by. There is no hint of any terrestrial ruin, nor does science, astronomy, geology, biology, find traces of any. The strata of the earth do not exhibit any one universal cataclysm, but many not universal; and the orders of life are so mingled, that none can declare where the old ruin ended and the new order began. Correct reading of the Hebrew also requires that we pass from the first grand unifying statement to the specific details of the earth's formation, thus: "As for the earth, it was without form and void."

The waters—rather the visible whirling mass which had been gathered by aggregation of invisible particles into definite space from indefinite diffusion—were not waters such as are now; but those mingled matters, the constituents of all known material things. On this mass moved, as by incubation, the Spirit of God. There is no warrant for saying it was wind, or a great wind, a tempest, that moved. It was power working to a predetermined end, under the control of will and wisdom, giving that movement, which moderns have discovered as propulsion or vibration effecting light: a peculiar and inconceivably swift, though calculable, movement of the ultimate particles of matter.

Light was set within limits, divided from the darkness. Think of it thus: the colours of the sky and clouds are produced by the action of light on our atmosphere, and on the material particles therein. Above the atmosphere and clouds the sky is black; brought out from that blackness, limiting it, and itself limited, was that movement which evoked light, and is now, for more definite and special use, placed for the most part in light-bearers, those kindled lamps, the stars. Look at the sky, it is dark; behold the stars, they are light; thus did God divide the light from the darkness.

The dividing process, begun in the origination of light, was



continued by firmamental action. The Hebrew word means a spread-out tenuity; not that extension as of gold by the gold-beater; but that of the ether which occupies all space; and surrounds, we think, every particle of matter; even particles of hardest steel, massed under the force of mightiest steam-hammers. Moses did not mean, what ignorant men afterwards attributed to him, a solid sphere. He had common sense, and spoke of the birds flying in this open firmament; this wide and illimitable expanse. In the interpretation of Scripture, and of scientific facts, give the highest, widest, for that is always the truest, signification. The waters under the firmament became our springs, rivers, seas. Those above mean that inexhaustible supply in the vast space; whether in the higher regions of our atmosphere, or in the measureless sky.

By continuance of that process which produced light, the mingled constituents of the whirling mass were separated, made particulate; then, according to their affinities, took their place in that varied solidity of substances called "land," and in the less complex fluidity, "water."

Grass, herb, tree, are a popular summary of all vegetation. The earliest form was not grass; except that any and every germ grows as by a sprouting which advances into those differences and higher grades whence come all existing sorts. The primary rudiments and succeeding advances of the lowest present stages are the exactest obtainable likenesses of the earliest, the earliest and latest varieties manifest the changes and additions by which the living was brought up out of the dead—a miracle great as the future resurrection. Life began very early, even in the murky, swaddling-band condition of the sun and the earth. In the lowest rocks, even in those formerly thought to be without any manifestation of life, relics are found which prove that the origin of plants and animals was coincident with the outlining of our present seas and continents.

On the fourth day, sun, moon, stars appeared. Some of the stars are certainly older than our sun and the earth. We think that their creation is collectively stated in the first verse, as belonging to the beginning. The creative process has in many respects continued till now, is now progressing in our earth, and in distant worlds and spaces. During the condensation into land and sea, and as the sun was taking its present condition, thick clouds were around the sun and around the earth; darkness would be like a cloak (Job xxxviii. 9). Only as the expanse became a firmament, would there be that conditioning around the sun and the earth by which the splendid things of heaven, made visible, became signs to travellers and mariners, formed the seasons, and measured days and years.

The fifth and sixth days assert the precedence of marine life, as the third day states the earlier birth of plants. Modern investigation confirms this priority. Not that every form of vegetation appeared, and was completed, first; every form of marine creature was perfected, second; and all sorts of land animals came last. So far as the best men know, the beginnings were in that order, and possibly only a short space of time, as figured by a day, separated them, but the development proceeded in some respects contemporaneously, and in some respects consecutively. Contemporaneously: for some plants and animals need one another, the conditions of their life are interdependent. Consecutively: because vegetable life must have had precedence, it alone being capable of transforming the inorganic elements into those organic combinations by which animals, specially the higher animals, live. The links between life in the sea and life in the air are found in the creatures which advanced from the sea to the land, became adapted to the crawling condition, and, transformed by fins becoming wings and scales taking shape as feathers, flew in the open firmament of heaven.

The origination of man was not merely by that power of development which God so gave to the early earth that the primal life appeared, and so gave to the waters, and to the matured earth, that advanced life was produced. Man came, special words declare, by a more intimate and fuller display of Godhead. Observations and thought thus realize it—the forms and existences around us are not creations in themselves, but creations in their causes. They represent invisible forces which are determined, that is, directed, to assume those forms, material and immaterial, of which our senses and intellect take knowledge. They are as the vessels of the Jewish Tabernacle, the patterns or forms of things in the heavens, of things not seen. Man, having been prepared for by all previous creations, received Divine fashioning by direct operation of God's will and act: making him able to rule, to exercise high freedom, to be intellectual, to be holy. These are symbols of the Almighty's attributes. Hence man, capable of answering Him in thought and word, is a likeness of God, and was prophetic of that still more definite embodiment by which God was in Christ.

#### THE SECOND CHAPTER.

The first and second chapters of Genesis are by the same person. The contraries duly examined are proof of unity. The criticism is unscholarly and inaccurate that would separate the Jehovistic and Elohist portions by ascribing

them to different writers. The second chapter is not another and different narrative of creation, but a record of the placing and disciplining of Adam. The four great facts are Paradise, the Trees of Life and Knowledge, the Naming of Living Creatures, the Creation of Woman.

*Paradise* was that garden, the plants of which were not Nature's own product, by means of dew and rain, but the thought of God made concrete. Before any plant was in the earth, or any herb of sweet scent grew, or the rain came down, or any man tilled the earth, the whole was in the mind and spiritually wrought out in the will of God. The things of Nature at large, and the plants of Paradise in particular, are not by the will and power of Nature, but by the will and power of God. We are not to think there was no rain in Paradise; the meaning is that everything was in the mind of God before it grew. We are certain that there were dew and rain long before Adam and Eve existed. Marks in the ancient rocks, proved conditions of the atmosphere, are a demonstration.

Paradise responds to that wish of ours that we had been created free from care, pain, and anxious toil. It represents us as the Father's children, innocent, simple, guileless, whose occupation was a delight, and whose duty meat and drink. Paradise gives that vastly interesting spectacle of a free, intelligent, responsible creature placed under discipline, whose trials, and falls even, prepare for grander condition. By means of the first man, Adam, came that Second Man, Christ, the substance, the fulness, of the Godhead bodily.

*The Trees of Life and Knowledge.*—If we regard them as realities—there is no reason why we should not—the realities of meaning are far more important. The Tree of Life indicates a power and process by which the earthly is made Heavenly, the human becomes Divine, the temporal takes on the Eternal. Bodily decay and waste are compensated by the protoplasm continually renewed by means of food; the bios, the life, does not seem to be so renewed. We enter life with a fixed amount, which is being consumed until death. Our ageing and death are wholly inexplicable according to the physico-chemical theory of life. Probably, by feeding on the Tree of Life, the inner divine individuality of man was specially maintained. The Tree of Knowledge represents that bodily, mental, moral discipline, which, illused, conducts to evil; which, well used, teaches us to prefer the good and refuse the evil.

*The Naming of Living Creatures.*—Speech is the audible expression of some inner silent meaning. Inner feeling and knowledge seek outward expression by means of articulate

sounds or words. In knowing and communicating with others we become better acquainted with ourselves, but some insight as to ourselves must precede and then accompany real discernment as to the nature of anything else. Hence, as language is the expression of inward knowledge, the naming of living creatures was proof of mental insight in Adam. Adam, knowing himself and other living creatures, discerned that he was not as they are. His zoology had not the effect it has with some among us, who profess to be wiser, in making themselves beasts. It led him to know that he was not as they.

*The Creation of Woman.*—She was not of the dust, but of the living principle and substance of Adam, to be the vehicle or fount of life to our race. The origin of male and female, viewed in relation to plants, or animals, or the human race, is a mystery. The forming of Eve from Adam, taking her from his side while he slept, and his surrender of life for her by taking on himself her transgression, have very real meanings. She was formed by the living principle in him, being made a counterpart of himself. As Adam, the living principle, is symbol of Christ; so Eve, taken from his side, is a figure of the Church. Christ gave Himself that He might be the life of the Church. The Church, so to speak, was taken from His side. There is no insurmountable objection to the literal accuracy of the account. The question of miracles is merely one of evidence: whether God always works in conditional ways, or sometimes in ways unconditional. In Adam we have the unity of our race. Eve's flame of life is kindled at his touch. He was thus, in a smaller measure, like the second Adam—a quickening spirit. Man was by the Lord; then, from man, was the woman; and, from woman, the Lord Christ. The woman was not cursed, but subjugated; then, of the subjugated one, came the enfranchising One; who, in the transgressor's place, overcomes transgression, so as to give the power and right of everlasting glory.

### THE THIRD CHAPTER.

The third chapter, not less symbolical than the two preceding, is equally real and wonderful in signification. The facts are three: a Personal Tempter, an Actual Transgression, a Promised Redemption. Let no one shrink from the supernatural, or the miraculous, in Scripture; for nature, in every part, not less touches these, than do the most surprising dogmas and doings of the Bible. There could be no nature, were it not for the supernature; no ordinary event, but for miracle; no visible, except by the Invisible—this great truth is too much ignored.

*A Personal Tempter.*—Evil—showing itself in pain, in battle, in death, in war of elements, and adverse course of nature—afflicted the world long before man sinned. The whole creation has been allowed to fall into this subjection, as we learn from Rom. viii. 20-23, that a greater and better freedom may be secured.

It is not necessary to know accurately the origin of evil. The reality and the cure chiefly concern us. As to the reality, though the courses of the stars are mathematically ordered, and the conditions of our earth are precise as to law, there are aberrations of the stars, and the conditions of our earth are often noxious. If we take matter as the concrete, or garment of force, we are warranted in regarding evil as a visible embodied representation of a præter-human and unnatural impulse, by a something seeking to be self-centred apart from God. Parasites, internal and external; the cruelties, immodesties, perversities of animals—are various forms of the same and other evils that sicken, sadden, destroy the children of men. The contrivance and existence of complex germs of disease which are the ruin of many nobler creatures; contrivances for torture, by which loathsome creatures injure the beautiful and good; hideous practices, which are debasing, disgusting caricatures of what is natural and right; evil and suffering, which certainly are not caused by human wickedness, and, not less certainly, are so devoid of good as to be utterly bad and useless—prove the existence of an evil principle, greater, vaster, more thoroughly iniquitous than can be attributed to men. Being irreconcilable with the unlimited power, wisdom, resources of a Holy and Good God, our intelligence regards them as coming from abuse of freedom by spiritual beings, whose influence and power are far vaster than our own. Hence, we view the temptation of our first parents, by a personal evil being, as the rational interpretation of human trials, of human hopes, and of universal evil. Evil is permitted, because freedom is freedom; and because the resources of infinite wisdom, might, goodness, will overrule the strife to a greater and all-prevailing good.

*An Actual Transgression.*—Here, as everywhere, the natural touches the supernatural; small events become mighty; blight and mildew, tares and thorns are not only connected with physical but spiritual realities, of which human transgression is the destructive outcome. Man did not sin on account of innate, inherent taint; but because of external beguiling and solicitation by a craftier intelligence than his own—an evil and a seductive nature. Even those who regard the concrete narrative as a mythical guise, or pure parable, cannot ignore the intense meaning. The serpent, an assumed form; the apple,

an outward sign; the words, temptation made articulate—remove the transaction from the ideal to the real; and the deceitful covering of evil with good is a sort of homage to man's natural integrity. "The outward show of material substance was so presented by spiritual influences to the soul as to allure from trust in, love of, and obedience to, God."

The Devil eye will prize  
Half truths, not open lies;  
He coming naked, bare,  
Had scared the simple pair.  
The natural wolf would shock  
Even a silly flock;  
But crawleth stealing in,  
When dressed in woolly skin.  
'Tis Godlike much to know,  
Should with that knowledge go  
Power the good to choose  
And evils to refuse.  
But knowledge, lacking power,  
Is but a fatal dower.

Rev. James Gylby Lonsdale, M.A.

*A Promised Redemption.*—Is a real redemption, and makes other things real. We cannot deny the personality of Satan under the guise of a serpent, without rejecting the historic reality of Adam and Eve; nor can we say "the temptation is a myth," without refusing to the seed of the woman a redemptive principle which obtained Divine personality in Christ. If we could see the inward of things we should discern an incarnate evil in every temptation, and a not less real spiritual power aiding us to conquer evil. How deadly, mighty, universal is evil may be read in the fact that nothing less than the manifestation of God in man; of life in that God-man going down into death; of that life coming up again in human form, as Conqueror of all evil, to be enthroned in heaven for the subjugation and glorifying of the universe—suffices for that renewal of things, and that giving of eternal happiness to man, for which we all long.

The narrative, as a whole, is unity in trinity. The dark mass of elements, not yet defined as elements, were quickened into splendour by the Divine work which produced light: whose beauty is before us in brightness day by day, and in more modest array night by night. The dead world received into her womb that power of life whence came every living thing that moveth; all that quick, sentient, delicious influence by which the forest clothes the mountain's side; by which the landscape is made lovely with the colours and movements of things in their beauty; by which the sun and earth teem with existence; and the air is dwelt in by things seen and

unseen. The dead world having thus been made to live, life was greeted yet more divinely—a higher, a more erect living form was created with a countenance heavenward; with a spirit Godward; with a mind to comprehend the universe; with a soul, the tabernacle of the Eternal—man, the son of God. Man worships the Creator, the life-giving Redeemer, the sanctifying Spirit. Looking to the worlds of wondrous substance shining in their splendour; to the myriads and myriads of warm, moving, living creatures; to the vast powers, freedom, responsibility of moral beings—he elevates his intelligence to those inward processes by which, in the visible, he discerns the Invisible; in the serpent, beholds Satan; in the seed of the woman knows Christ. In creation, in trial, in redemption there is that trinity of operation by which the triune God will fill the world with splendour. Man, new in life, more wonderful; new in powers of freedom, grandly surpassing—will worship the one God. Son, Spirit, Father, being one God—the all in all (1 Cor. xv. 24-28).

JOSEPH W. REYNOLDS.



#### ART. V.—THOMAS BRADWARDINE.

THOMAS BRADWARDINE is a name which does not occupy any distinguished position in the roll of the Archbishops of Canterbury, but which, nevertheless, is well worthy of commemoration, being that of a humble, holy, and learned man, who lived in great honour and regard, and died under most tragical circumstances. According to his own testimony, he was born at Chichester, and as he was proctor at Oxford in the year 1325, his birth is probably to be placed about the middle of the reign of Edward I. He took his degrees at Merton College, proceeding Doctor of Divinity. To the study of Divinity he especially devoted himself, and on this he gave lectures in Oxford to the whole University, occupying, in fact, the position of a Divinity Professor. The subject on which he lectured was that mysterious one of the mode of the co-operation of the Grace of God with the soul of man; and when these lectures were afterwards brought together and printed in a folio volume, the title given to the work was "The Cause of God against the Pelagians." Bradwardine is therefore one of the very few English theologians of the Middle Ages whose works now remain to us. His treatise on Grace was edited by Sir Henry Savile in 1618. In addition to his theological work, Bradwardine had applied himself to the study of Geometry

and the properties of numbers. Among the treatises on these subjects attributed to him, we find one on the not very hopeful problem of "Squaring the Circle." Bradwardine was held in high estimation at Oxford, but it is said that his fame travelled far beyond the limits of the University, and that his able advocacy of the Augustinian doctrine procured for him from the Pope the title of the "Profound Doctor." His admiring fellow-students raised him to the dignity of Chancellor of the University, but this dignity, though it may have been highly valued, was not sufficient to retain him at the University.

At that time the princely See of Durham was occupied by a prelate who had gathered round him as a centre many of the leading Churchmen of England. There was Richard Fitzralph, famous for his war with the Friars, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Bentworth and Walter Seagrave, both afterwards Bishops, and many other well-known doctors, in whose conversation and learned arguments the Prince-Bishop, Richard de Bury, greatly delighted. To this Ecclesiastical Court, Bradwardine was attracted, and he became one of Richard de Bury's chaplains. The way of life of this prelate at his Palace is described by Godwin: "His manner was at dinner and supper time to have some good book read unto him, whereof he would discourse with his chaplains a great part of the next day, if business interrupted not his course." From these pleasant colloquies Bradwardine passed into a busier scene. He became Chancellor of London, and received now his earliest Church preferment in a Canonry of Lincoln.

As filling an important ecclesiastical office in the capital, Bradwardine would quickly become known to the young King Edward III. He received the appointment of Chaplain and Confessor to the King. In this capacity he accompanied Edward in his memorable French campaigns, and the chroniclers supply us with accounts of the excellent influence which he exerted over the King, and the effect which his earnestness and devotion produced on the army. "He edified," says Birchington, "both the King and his army with wholesome teaching and example."<sup>1</sup> It was thought and said by many that Edward's victories were greatly due to the salutary counsels and wholesome influence of his Chaplain, and it is certain that the King highly valued the effect of Bradwardine's presence with the army, as well as his good counsels to himself. For when, on the death of Archbishop Stratford, this well-learned and highly-esteemed man, secular clerk though he was, was elected by the Canterbury monks to the primacy of the English Church, the King refused to let him go, declaring that he could not spare so useful a helper. But how was it that the King

<sup>1</sup> "Anglia Sacra," i. 42.



was able to effect so arbitrary an arrangement? Simply through the agency of the Pope, whom at this time he made use of for his ecclesiastical patronage, and against whose interference he was shortly afterwards to make so determined a stand. The year was 1348, the year of the capture of one French King, and his confinement in the Tower; the year of the surrender of Calais—two years after the battle of Crecy. The Pope was a French prelate at Avignon, and Edward had more power in France than the King of France. The Pope was ready to do his bidding, and his bidding was that the election of Bradwardine should be quashed, and that in place of him the Pope should nominate John de Ufford, Dean of Lincoln, the King's Chancellor. Clement VI. immediately obeyed, and John de Ufford was appointed by Papal authority, or, as it was technically called, "provided" for the Primacy of the English Church. And what sort of a person was he who was thus irregularly intruded into this high office, for which a worthier man had been regularly chosen? In body he was a paralytic, and in moral character he was a simoniac, having raised a large sum of money to bribe the Pope to make the nomination.<sup>1</sup> It is marvellous to contemplate how in those days both Popes and Kings were utterly regardless of the interests of the Church. Edward thought it of far more importance that he and his army should have the services of Bradwardine than that the Church should enjoy his wise superintendence. The Pope estimated the merit and fitness of the clerk recommended to him by the amount of money which he received. But poor John de Ufford was not to enjoy much fruit of his speculation. The Chapter of Canterbury, indeed, agreed to elect him, but before his consecration the Great Plague seized him and carried him off; so that, as the chronicler observes, "All the money he had raised was lost, and many of his creditors were pauperized and ruined." Then another election had to be made, and the Canterbury monks, not discouraged by their former ill-success, again elected Thomas Bradwardine. This time the result was more fortunate. Whether the tragical fate of Ufford and the prevalence of the dreadful Black Death had touched the King and induced him to withdraw his opposition, certain it is that he no longer opposed, but rather supported, the choice of the Chapter with the Pope. This was enough at once to bring about an effectual election. Clement VI. could not resist the will of the King of England. He is said to have exclaimed on a similar occasion, "If the King of England were to petition for an ass to be made Bishop, we must not say him nay."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> W. de Dene, "*Anglia Sacra*," i. 375.

<sup>2</sup> Walsingham.

The Pope not only accepted Bradwardine for the English Primacy, but professed himself ready to consecrate him. It is evident that the "Profound Doctor," though a man of piety and learning, was not endowed with any great amount of spirit, and had no proper regard for the national rights of the Church of England. Otherwise he would have resisted the notion of being consecrated by a foreign prelate, and especially by one who had used him so scurvily. Nor would he have judged that corrupt Court of Avignon to be the most fitting place to enter upon his sacred office. Of the quality of the Avignonese prelates he was destined to have a sample. To Avignon, however, he went, as far as appears, without protest, and there he was consecrated—a man in humility and meekness, very different from those worldly and pleasure-loving Cardinals who surrounded the French Pope; and one, as it seemed to them, somewhat to be despised, and a fit subject for a practical joke. So, at the banquet held after the consecration, one of these Cardinals got up a little scene, which he doubtless thought would create huge merriment among his fellows, and as to which he little cared whether it would hurt the feelings of the new Archbishop or not. He introduced into the banqueting-room a buffoon, absurdly clad, riding upon an ass, and who with mock humility besought the Pope for nomination to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The originator of this farce was Cardinal Hugo, the Pope's brother, but he soon found that he had gone somewhat too far. Bradwardine might be awkward and humble, and have none of the worldly graces prized by the Avignonese prelates, but he was a well-known friend of the King of England, and any insult to him would be resented in a very practical manner. So Cardinal Hugo's emissary was turned out with contumely, and he himself received a severe reproof, and was frowned upon by his brother cardinals.

The "Profound Doctor," now appointed to the highest post in the English Church, at once made his way to his native land, leaving Avignon probably with but little regret. He reached England at a time when "men's hearts were failing them for fear, and for looking upon those things which were coming upon the earth," for a mighty and terrible pestilence was scourging the land. In comparison with the ravages made by the Black Death in the year 1349, the records of the Great Plague of 1665, and indeed of all other known pestilences, ancient or modern, are dwarfed to insignificance. The best authorities are agreed that not less than one half of the population of England perished in that year. The contemporary chronicler, Knighton, has given us a sketch of the ravages of this fearful scourge. It came, he says, by the way of the

sea, and first appeared at Southampton, from whence it quickly passed to Bristol, and there died in that city almost the whole of the healthy people. "Their death being, as it were, sudden, for there were few who kept their beds more than two or three days, and sometimes half a day, and then they died at the setting of the sun. At Leicester there died in the little parish of St. Leonard more than 380; in the parish of Holy Cross more than 400; in the parish of St. Margaret at Leicester, 700, and so in all the parishes a great multitude." "In some religious houses," says the continuator of Adam de Murimuth, "of twenty there survived but two." "There was so great scarcity of priests," writes Stephen Birchington, "that the parish churches went altogether unserved." Confessors were not to be had for the dying, and, in consequence, the Bishops published a gift of plenary absolution. The Rochester chronicler, W. de Dene, tells us that the Bishop of Rochester lost out of his small establishment four priests, five men-at-arms, ten servants, seven young clerks, and six pages, "so that there did not remain in any department any to attend upon him. He made two abbesses at Mallyngs, and they both of them died immediately: At this convent there only remained four professed and four not professed nuns." An extraordinary feature in the plague was that it extended to the lower animals, which died by hundreds in the fields, infecting the air with terrible odours. Knighton tells us of the point to which the prices of animals had sunk, so great was the risk of losing them, and so few being left to buy them. A cow could be bought for a shilling, a heifer for sixpence, a fat sheep for fourpence. The crops were utterly neglected. Such cattle as survived wandered at their will over the country and destroyed everything.

In the midst of all this desolation and misery, the newly-consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury reached Dover, about the beginning of August, 1349. He at once proceeded to the King, who was staying at Eltham, and obtained restitution of the temporalities of the See. There remained nothing now but his enthronement to put him in complete possession of the exalted office of Primate of the English Church. But how utterly unable is man to calculate what even a day may bring forth! Bradwardine repaired from Eltham to Lambeth, with a view, doubtless, of making preparations for his enthronement. At Lambeth he found the Bishop of Rochester, who, having lost, as we have seen, the whole of his establishment in the Great Plague, had settled himself, probably by the Royal permission, in the Primatial House; the close connection between the Sees of Rochester and Canterbury naturally suggesting this arrangement. This Bishop, far from

being dismayed or frightened away by the ravages of the plague, had boldly stuck to his post, and compelled such of his clergy as survived to perform their duties. We read in the chronicle of W. de Dene, "Many chaplains and curates refused to serve without an excessive salary. The Bishop compelled them to do their duty at the same salaries as before. Many beneficed clerks, inasmuch as the number of their parishioners was so diminished that they could no longer live upon the oblations, deserted their benefices. The Bishop sent them back to their parishes, and to the rectors or vicars of very small benefices whose revenues were under ten marks, he gave a license to receive one annual, or such a number of masses as would produce an equal sum, each year, so long as the deficiencies in their revenues lasted."<sup>1</sup> The new Primate could not have had anyone better suited than this vigorous and strong-minded Bishop to strengthen his courage in this trying time; but how quickly were his ministrations and consolations needed! On the fourth day after his arrival at Lambeth, Bradwardine was struck by the Great Plague, and before the evening of that day (August 18) was dead. Thus a second Archbishop of Canterbury had fallen within the year, and before the year closed another (Simon de Islip) occupied the post.

The sudden death of this great and eminent scholar, who had, after so much difficulty and delay, at last reached the Primacy, must have affected all those in England who had any power of sympathy left amidst the universal wail of sorrow which was going through the land. Few men have reached the Primacy who might seem to have deserved it better than Bradwardine, if deep learning and earnest piety are to be considered as the most fitting qualifications for it. It may be assumed, however, from the humility of character of the Profound Doctor, and from his ready subserviency to the Papal authority, evidenced by his consecration at Avignon, that Bradwardine would hardly have made a good *English* Archbishop, as was Stephen Langton and Edmund Rich, but would have been inclined to hold too cheap the claims of the English Church for national life and independence. As it is, we dwell upon his memory with satisfaction as a good specimen of the Churchman of the Middle Age. The fact of his selecting for the subject of his learned labours no frivolous or unworthy theme, but the great and all-important topic of the operation of the grace of God on the soul of man, evidences the seriousness of his character. Whether in the fourteenth century there had been any recrudescence in England of the

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<sup>1</sup> "Anglia Sacra," i. 375.

heresy of Pelagianism, originally due to this island, we have no means of judging. But, as far as we know, Bradwardine's treatise was the first formal refutation composed in *England*, and it takes rank now with the folios of Cardinal Norris, Father Garnier, and numerous others in the lists of that controversy, which is probably destined never to be closed. From the time of its first stormy commencement in the fifth century, the Augustinian theology may be said to have held the ascendant in the Church. But it has never been without its vigorous assailants, and in some points it has been worsted and almost driven from the field. Bradwardine may fairly lay claim to be one of its learned defenders, according to the formal, and, to us, most perplexing fashion of the scholastic writings of his day.

As Bradwardine died before the opinions of John Wycliffe were developed, there is no means of judging his estimate of these views, which, while they inaugurated a new theology, that has borne such happy fruit, were yet not free from crude and indefensible theories. As a fellow-chaplain with Fitzralph, the great opponent of the Friars, we may hazard a guess that the Profound Doctor was not over-fond of these meddling and arrogant intruders, who were especially troublesome in his University of Oxford. As Chancellor of the University, he must have had abundant experience of the troubles and disputes stirred up by them, though he could reverence the learning of the greater men among them, one of the foremost of whom was a distinguished member of his own College of Merton.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hallam assigns Bradwardine a high place among the geometers of his day,<sup>2</sup> and if he did not succeed in squaring the circle, he may yet have been fairly and highly distinguished in this branch of learning.

GEORGE G. PERRY.



#### ART. VI.—ST. PAUL'S "INFIRMITY."

**I**N the twenty-third chapter of the book of the Acts of the Apostles we read words concerning the great Apostle of the Gentiles not in keeping with the usual conduct of that remarkably courteous man, and especially not in harmony with his respect and reverence, so often manifested, for the higher and ruling powers. Moreover, in the same chapter we read words in which St. Paul stands before us, either as

<sup>1</sup> William de Ockham, who was probably contemporary with Bradwardine at Merton, as he died in 1347.

<sup>2</sup> "Literature of Middle Ages," i. 112.

ignorant of the person of the high-priest, which seems improbable, or using words which were not truthful, in saying, "I wist not that he was the high-priest." That he would not fail in courtesy when standing before the rulers, after having pleaded his Roman citizenship, we may be quite sure, even if we do not add the further influence, viz., the guidance of the Holy Spirit in such an hour of trial.

How, then, are we to understand this outbreak? We cannot esteem it a mere hasty loss of temper which caused him to address the man he called "a whited wall" in such terms, when he had commanded those that stood by to smite the Apostle on the mouth, because he had said, "I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day." If we say that righteous anger, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, caused him to rebuke in so forcible a manner an act of gross injustice, we still have to explain the Apostle's conduct, and in a manner to justify it.

Is there not a sufficient and ample explanation which at the same time explains other words of the Apostle, and elucidates almost to demonstration the nature of the suffering to which he so frequently alluded as his infirmity, or more decidedly, in one well-known writing, as "a thorn," or rather, "the thorn in the flesh"?<sup>1</sup>

In the opening words of this chapter, in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, we read, "And Paul earnestly beholding the council." Now, why should this be recorded if it merely means he looked upon those he was about to address? We may take it for granted that he would do so. But the Greek

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<sup>1</sup> In the many interpretations that have been given we can observe a constant tendency in the writers to interpret the matter from personal experience; for the same reason, readers incline to a view which touches upon a suffering they have felt. This tendency should be guarded against as misleading. As in other Scriptures that afford difficult passages, the rule that, first of all, the guide is to compare Scripture with Scripture, cannot be too closely obeyed. There is a danger to be avoided of another kind, viz., identifying St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh" with the sufferings of some well-known historical character, because the description of the sufferings appear somewhat similar. This leads to, first, an interpretation of the suffering of the said historical character; and from this, an interpretation of the nature of St. Paul's malady. Of the ordinary interpretations, perhaps the most common one is that the thorn was an impediment in the speech; but that would not make the Apostle a visible object of pity or of scorn. Moreover, this would be a permanent infliction, and plainly this thorn in the flesh was not always equally manifest, or equally painful; besides, there is no pain attending speech impeding or hesitation. Spiritual trials are likewise removed as not being the thorn, by the words of the Apostle concerning the outward nature of his trial. The suffering was chiefly felt when he was before the eyes of men, and he chiefly laments it because it hindered his work.

word tells us that it was not an ordinary gaze, but a fixed look; and does it not mean that he looked with the intense gaze of a man whose sight was imperfect, who suffered from irritation in the eyelids or pain in the eyeballs, which necessitated this fixed look, to see at all accurately or to discern persons before him, one from the other, with any certainty? If this were so, we have an easy and natural explanation of the Apostle's words, "I wist not that he was the high-priest," that is, I discerned him not.

Moreover, the Apostle does not seem at first to have recognised the component parts of the assembly. A man of perfect sight, well acquainted with Jerusalem, and the dress and manners of each sect, would see this at a glance, especially a man of such discernment and quick intellectual gifts.

This slowness of perception must have therefore arisen from other causes not intellectual; after a time, from exclamations on one side or the other, he would gather the fact from his ears which his eyes failed to tell him, that "the one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees;" and thus we have three incidents,<sup>1</sup> all pointing to one and the same idea, that the Apostle was suffering from defective eyesight.

When we turn to those passages of his writings which speak of his infirmity, we gather that the suffering, whatever it may have been, was more intense at times, that it was a serious hindrance to him in his work, that it diminished his power in speaking, that it was exceedingly painful, and that it was literally a thorn or stake in the flesh.

We may find an explanation of the figure in Ezekiel (xxviii. 24): "And there shall be no more a pricking brier unto the house of Israel, nor any grieving thorn of all that are round about them, that despised them; and they shall know that I am the Lord God." Perhaps the Apostle, in the nature of the suffering, felt as a man walking through an underwood of prickly thorns, which assail and injure the most tender part of the face, the eyes.

Under nervous excitement, and when addressing many persons, the pain in his eyes may have become intensified, so that when he most required his eyes they were the least under his control. A speaker of power, by his eye, drives home to his hearers his arguments, quite as much as he convinces by his eloquence; and before that affliction came, no doubt the bright and intellectual eye of this gifted man had convinced many a Jew that he ought to go with Saul of Tarsus against Jesus of Nazareth. And afterwards, when he had

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<sup>1</sup> His earnest gaze; his words, "I wist not;" his discovery of the sects present.

become the Apostle of the Gentiles, no doubt he stirred the hearts of many by his speaking eye, the very window of the light of his deep soul.

After the messenger of Satan arrived, and was suffered to fasten on him this peculiar and serious affliction, he would again and again feel how great was his loss, if, with weak and imperfect sight, and suffering pain at the same time, he could not confirm his words by showing the conviction of his soul, and enforce his arguments in the expression of his eyes. He would desire, too, to read the souls of those he addressed; and this, if the other inference be correct, he could no longer do. We learn, besides, concerning this affliction, that it was a very visible infirmity, and hence was both external and internal.

These thoughts, or some of them, which have been often urged, find decided confirmation when we examine the Apostle's own words concerning the infliction, in Gal. iv. 13 and 2 Cor. xii. In the first passage the Apostle says, "Ye know how through the infirmity of the flesh I preached the Gospel unto you at the first, and my temptation which was in the flesh ye despised not, nor rejected, but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is, then, the blessedness ye spake of? for I bear you record that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes,<sup>1</sup> and have given them to me." We gather from this that the writer, at the time to which he refers, had had a peculiarly severe visitation of his suffering, and that the infirmity was manifest to all.

No interpretation of the nature of the infliction can come nearer than the two suggestions, that it was either a deficiency in the power of speech, or an infirmity in some portion of the face. If the affliction had been in speaking, we should have heard more confirmation of this idea. We meet just the contrary: his words are always forcible. St. Paul was not strictly an eloquent man, but evidently a most incisive speaker; he was like a workman who strikes a nail truly; this we perceive in the speech before the Sanhedrim, of Acts xxiii., and also when the Apostle was before Felix and Festus; there is, indeed, no evidence of any such infirmity as an impediment in speech.

It has been surmised that a kind of drawing of the countenance was the evil, but of this we have no hints; and no allusion is made either by the sufferer or bystanders which would naturally lead to such an explanation. And, besides, it must have been something still more painful and embarrassing which would be described as a thorn in the flesh; and

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν. A.V.: "Your own eyes." R.V.: "Your eyes."



surely it is going away from the natural conclusion, which Gal. iv. 13 affords, to say that the expression, "Ye would have plucked out your own eyes," has no reference to the infirmity. Why should such a sacrifice be suggested, if only a figure of speech?—why not "given your own lives"; much more so, than "your own eyes"? But if the Apostle wanted good eyes, free from pain, and full of life and fire, the words have a true and natural meaning. When we examine the other passage in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, we meet a still stronger confirmation.

The thorn in the flesh is given lest he should be exalted above measure by the abundance of revelations and visions. How natural it is that the eyes should be afflicted in him who had seen the glory of God in visions, lest he should be exalted above measure by the honour of such exaltation! The idea may receive further support if we call to mind that it was said of the Apostle at one time, "His bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible."

The eye is the greatest power of all in the personal presence of a man; and that being weak through infirmity, the bodily presence becomes weak in the eyes of those who judge as man sees.

In the earlier days, for instance, when Stephen the martyr made his defence, we can imagine Saul of Tarsus, the young man at whose feet the witnesses laid their upper garments, a man of fiery glance; we see in our imagination a man of olive countenance, oval face, marking the best and most noble type of a son of Israel; not a man of lofty stature, but quick in all his movements, impetuous and fervent, carrying others with him by his enthusiasm, setting them on fire by his zeal, even by his natural gifts as a leader, a king of men.

In those days no small part of his influence would come through those dark, deep, piercing eyes, that read at a glance the souls of other men, and made them feel the power and the might of the intellect of the man of Cilicia.

He once gloried in his own might, in his own natural power, in his glance, in his command of men, as all such men do, until they know better. In those days he thought he ought to do all in his power against the new way—was confident in himself.

Now, in the latter days, he is a man prematurely old by sufferings and labours, by marvellous hardships, by the deepest anxieties—all tending to wear out a nature intensely sympathetic; and, in addition, suffering from a peculiar infirmity, through evil report and good report, while ever-increasing difficulties surround him.

All these ideas, gathered from the various places in which

the infirmity of St. Paul is mentioned, point to one and the same conclusion, that the infirmity was a partial loss of eyesight, attended with stabbing pain, rendering him an object of pity to those who had pity in their hearts, and of reproach to those who had none.

St. Paul concludes the Epistle to the Galatians by calling their attention to the large characters of his own writing. His almost constant employment of an amanuensis is of itself a suggestion, if not a proof, that some infirmity hindered him in writing freely; the infirmity was not in his hands. Surely from this passage, without others, we might conclude that he had an infirmity in the eyes, even if it cannot be positively proved that this was the "thorn in the flesh."

F. H. MORGAN.



#### ART. VII.—THE HONITON LACE INDUSTRY.

A CRY for help reaches us from the south-east corner of Devonshire, where for the last three centuries the female population of the districts round Honiton has supported itself by the making of lace. Less than half a century ago these workers, scattered throughout the small towns and villages, numbered some eight thousand, earning an ample wage and skilled in their work. But times have changed; the trade has, of late, been steadily on the decline. The workers have dwindled to some fifteen hundred; the women in general are less capable of achieving first-rate work, and what they do succeed in producing is, from the force of circumstances, very poorly remunerated.

The distress is great; the hopes of the workers have sunk to the lowest ebb. They press in on all sides upon the small grocers, who are the ordinary lace-traders in the villages, offering lace in exchange for the necessaries of life, thankful if by these means they can earn a bare subsistence. But in too many cases not only can these small grocers not afford to pay the workers in cash, but even the "truck" or barter system, as it is called, is unworkable. The grocer has no market for the lace thus thrust upon him, he cannot afford either to buy or exchange, and the workers are left to starve. There are whole villages dependent on the industry, and lace centres where lace-making is the staple industry of the scattered hamlets, whose inhabitants are thus entirely devoid of the means of earning the scantiest livelihood. Even where the distress is less acute there is still great hardship. The work may be sold, but the worker receives a low price. And, in

the case of those thus thrown out of work, it must be remembered that they have no other trade to fall back upon. In one case, at Axminster, they have been fortunate in finding employment in the brush manufactory; but that is an isolated case. Hidden away in the valleys, or in the lonely cottages on the hillsides, the scattered population cannot concentrate sufficiently to undertake regular work. Lace-making is essentially a home-industry. As such it is, or has been, the great stand-by of the women.

A great effort, involving the expenditure of much time and trouble, independently of the financial side of the matter, is being made by some of the gentry in the country districts where the lace is produced, to improve the industry. They are soliciting help from outside, without which the attempt to revive the decaying trade must fall to the ground.

Before, however, entering into the details of the help needed, it may be well to give a short account of the industry. Many people do not even know where Honiton is. Personally, I must confess that for some years I laboured under the impression that Honiton was a small town in the south of France. It is, in fact, a small town at the extreme north of the lace-making district, which occupies the south-eastern corner of Devonshire, adjoining Dorsetshire, extending for some twenty miles along the coast, as the crow flies, and some thirteen or fourteen miles inland. Here the Flemings, driven from their own country by the cruelty of the Duke of Alva in the sixteenth century, formed a settlement. They brought with them the art of lace-making, learnt originally from the Venetians. As the serge, or say fabric, declined, the manufacture of Honiton lace took its place in the district. Lace-making extended at that time over a far larger portion of England than it does now. Refugees, settling in many different counties, brought with them their own art. Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, with Ripon in the north, the principality of Wales, and some of the islands, all formed centres for the hard-working settlers' lace trade. Of these, the Buckinghamshire and Honiton laces are, speaking broadly, the only survivals. They are certainly the only ones which can now pretend to any degree of beauty, or boast of a sale, however poor.

Bone lace, or bobbin lace, so called from the bone pins or bone bobbins used in its manufacture, underwent many fluctuations in Honiton as in other parts of England. Early in the sixteenth century it was in a flourishing condition, as is noticed by Westcote in his "View of Devon." It was also exported to France.

But before the middle of the century Flanders and Italian lace had become the rage among the ladies of England. In vain Charles I. and Charles II. prohibited the import of foreign laces for their subjects while wearing them upon their own persons. The stringent Act passed in 1698, involving a penalty of twenty shillings per yard on imported lace, and confiscation of the lace, proved even less successful. Flanders retaliated by prohibiting the importation of English wool, and so great was the distress caused by the edict that from the year 1700 Flanders lace was excluded from the prohibited imports. Men and women alike vied with each other in the costliness of their lace. Smuggling procured them this article of necessity, since it could be obtained by no fair means. In coffins, in loaves of bread, in turbans and umbrellas, by high and low, the illicit trade was carried on. The highest dignitaries appear to have connived at it, Embassy attachés, the wife of the Lord Chief Justice, the Sheriff of Westminster, all play the chief parts in notorious smuggling cases.

So greatly was the English lace trade affected that the sovereigns deemed fresh protection necessary. At Frederick Prince of Wales's marriage, in 1736, all the Court were ordered to appear in English lace. Again, in 1756, on the marriage of the Princess Augusta, the same order was issued and contravened by the gentry. The Custom-house officials descended in force upon the Court milliner three days before the wedding and seized the whole of the forbidden goods, to the dismay of the ladies who had ordered them.

In 1717 a society, which styled itself the "Anti-Gallicans," was formed for the promotion of English trade in lace, and the discouragement of foreign imports. It was for a time successful in accomplishing its objects. Among others who profited by the incentives offered to lace-workers was one Mrs. Lydia Maynard, of Honiton, who in 1753 gained a prize of fifteen guineas for some ladies' lappets "of unprecedented beauty." But, notwithstanding further enactments in its behalf, the lace industry grew less and less. Two great fires at Honiton in 1756 and 1767 caused great distress; and from the end of the eighteenth century the industry in Devonshire has steadily declined, with but a few flickering periods of brighter promise. Queen Charlotte, Queen Adelaide, and our own royal family did their best to give a fresh impetus to the dying trade; but their example has been but feebly followed, and the consequence is the present widespread distress and depression.

Honiton lace proper is purely a pillow-lace—that is to say, it is wholly guiltless of work with the needle, such as is used in point-laces. The process of working is as follows: A

pattern is traced and pricked off on a piece of brown mill-board of smooth surface, the holes serving for the insertion of pins, which are stuck firmly into the cushion below the mill-board. This cushion is technically termed a "pillow"—hence the name pillow-lace. It is a board, either round or oval, suited for holding on the worker's knee, and stuffed with a cushion. The thread is wound upon small bobbins, each thread requiring a separate bobbin. The thread is twisted round the pins with extraordinary dexterity, the bobbins being thrown so quickly, with both hands at once, that it is impossible for an inexperienced eye to detect any method in the working. The old Honiton lace consisted of sprigs made separately, and worked with great care into a ground of net, made with bobbins in the same manner. This net is called the "real" Honiton ground. It was worked with the finest thread obtainable at Antwerp, which was a very costly one. Seventy pounds per pound was the price paid for this thread at the end of the last century. The net when made was proportionately dear. The usual mode of payment was to lay it on a flat surface and cover it with shillings, the worker being entitled to as many shillings as could be crowded into the piece of net. A piece of the "real" net was tested by Mrs. Bury Palliser, the great authority on lace, some years ago. It measured twelve inches by thirty: its value proved to be £20—the exact sum which the owner had paid for it. The workmanship of this "real" ground was beautifully even and regular.

In 1809 a great blow fell upon the Honiton lace industry. Heathcoat's invention of a machine which could produce net grounding at a price far below the market-value of the old ground, suddenly paralyzed the workers. The old ground disappeared, nor has it recovered its ascendancy. Since 1872 a few small pieces of it have been made, but with much difficulty, and so far they are not altogether satisfactory samples. The sprigs after this failure were either sewn together with a needle, or *appliquéd* upon machine-made net—a very clumsy plan. So universal was this practice, that the specimens sent for exhibition in 1851 were entirely of *appliqué* work.

The lace having thus hopelessly degenerated, the workers lost heart. The sprigs degenerated in their turn into unnatural conventionalities or distorted monstrosities, intended to represent nature. New patterns could not be obtained to work from; the old lace schools were swept bodily away by the Education Acts and Factory Acts, and thus the children could no longer be taught the industry. Finally the prices went down, and the workers, who could formerly make some fifteen shillings a week, were reduced to four or five shillings.

Originally the children were apprenticed in lace schools taught by dames, at the age of from eight to ten years. For the first year they earned nothing, but learned their business; in the second year they received payment at the rate of sixpence per week; and later, were paid according to the number of the hideous "turkey-tails" or "bullock-heads" they could make in a day—a girl of ten earning perhaps eightpence, and older girls a shilling in the day. No doubt these old lace schools had their abuses as well as their use, and their abolition has been in the main for good; but, as a result of it, the girls are no longer well taught, and there are, therefore, fewer good workers. In addition to all these difficulties, the thread used in the work is usually of too coarse a quality. The quality is reckoned by the number of skeins or "skips" which go to the quarter-ounce, a great deal of the lace being made of from 6-8 skip, and a still larger amount from 12-14 skip thread, whereas, for a fine lace, 22 or 24 skip thread is required.

The earliest result of the efforts made by the gentry in the neighbourhood of Honiton has been a thorough investigation into the condition of the lace industry by Mr. Alan Cole, sent down for the purpose by the Science and Art Department of the Kensington Museum. His report has been adopted by Parliament.

This report emphasizes the following needs of the lace trade and lace-workers—needs which an earnest desire to help on the part of the public, and especially in some respects of the ladies of England, may go far to relieve. These needs may be shortly summarized: Technical schools for lace-making; a new set of designs, and the extinction of the present recognised conventionalities; better and finer work; a return to the "real" Honiton ground; and a good market for the improved lace. To attain any of these objects outside help is imperative.

The children on leaving the Board Schools at present have their trade to learn. It is late already to begin. No doubt, if lace-making could be to some extent taught in the schools in preference to some of the useless subjects now forced upon the children, it would make a foundation. But even if this is impossible, there is nothing to prevent, there is everything to promote, the opening of technical schools for the instruction of the children immediately on leaving school. No expensive teacher is required. One of the largest lace-dealers in Devonshire gives it as her opinion that for twelve shillings a week one competent in every respect might be obtained.

As to the designs, they are a most indispensable factor in the improvement of the industry. It is impossible to see any

considerable collection of Honiton lace, such as that sent up to the Glasgow Exhibition, without being struck with the poverty of invention, the depravity of taste, and the constant and wearisome repetition of designs. There are some valiant attempts to forsake the beaten track of mediocrity, and they are on the whole successful. But Somerset House, the School of Art, or some other school of design, should be set to work to revolutionize the present patterns. They should be carefully adapted to the needs of the workers, and to the nature and character of the work. Our schools of design are still young in comparison with those of France, Germany, and Italy.

The improvement in the texture of the work, the return to the "real" ground, and the better market, are purely questions of there being a demand for a better class of article from the ladies of England, and of their encouraging the English rather than the foreign productions. If those who are able to indulge in the luxury of lace would turn their attention to the helping forward the simple folk of Devonshire in their struggle for existence, much might be done. The wedding lace of brides, the Court flounces not infrequently needed, could well be supplied from Honiton instead of from abroad. What is required is a general stir among the public—a putting forward of the question; and last, but not least, a moderate amount of funds. In order to found technical schools, to get the new designs, to teach the younger workers, to offer prizes for excellence in execution of artistic designs, a certain amount of money is imperative.

Why should our Honiton lace follow the old Venetian point, now, alas! extinct? Why should it not rather, like the lace of Alençon, which fell low and yet revived, or like the Punto di Burano, which was recovered on the verge of extinction through the teaching of its last worker, raise itself from its degraded condition into the position not only of a thriving industry, but of an influence in the world of art? If English-women will come forward to help, it may yet be easily and splendidly saved; if not, its fate is sealed, and before the first half of the twentieth century has expired, Honiton lace will be a thing of the past.

ALBINIA BRODRICK.

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## The Quiet Mind.

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"Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be fearful."—S. JOHN xiv. 27.

"In everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God. . . ."—PHILIPP. iv. 6.

"Good works, which God afore prepared that we should walk in them."—EPH. ii. 10.



TIMID heart, which shrinkest

From life's appointed grief,

And doubting, sadly failest

To find in woe relief;

But seek, thy weakness owning,

To prove the power of prayer,

And God will bless thy service,

And soothe thine every care.

Who humbly trusts in Jesus—

Knows naught of chance or fate—

Has joy in deepest sorrow,

Content in every state :

With patient hope he waiteth

Each cloud to pass away,

Or still to see Heaven's brightness

Lead o'er the shaded way.

Be mine, then, Faith's true boldness,

The quiet mind of love,

To freely own each duty

As sent me from above ;

And so with praise confessing

The mercies of to-day,

To know by sweet experience

The peace of God alway.

P.



## Review.

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*Boswell's Life of Johnson.* Edited by GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L.  
Oxford : at the Clarendon Press.

*Wit and Wisdom of Samuel Johnson.* Selected and arranged by G. B. HILL, D.C.L., Pembroke College, Oxford. London : Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse.

IN respect of laborious industry, Dr. Hill may truly be said to occupy the first place among editors. I doubt whether in the whole range of English and foreign literature we shall find one who has expended the same amount of labour on the work which he has undertaken to edit. Even the labours of the most distinguished editors of classical authors, such as Bentley, Porson, Heyne, Gaisford, and Arnold, have (as far as they were undertaken for the direct purpose of elucidating the works on which they were engaged) not equalled those of Dr. Hill. It is no disparagement to them to say this, nor does it prove that they have not fulfilled their tasks with equal efficiency, for the fact is that there scarcely exists another book which gives such scope for laborious research as Boswell's "Life of Johnson." The characters introduced into it, either as actors or speakers, the personages alluded to, the authors quoted, are so numerous, that to rectify mistakes, to fill up gaps, to ascertain the truth of the facts related and statements made, to search out for whatever may throw additional light on any circumstance or character which may occur in the narrative, seems an arduous task, and would seem also an endless one, if it were not that the editor has come to the close of his labours. And what increases our wonder at Dr. Hill's industry is that (as he informs us in the Preface) he has read all the books to which Johnson alludes. Then I must not forget to mention the labour of making an exact and voluminous index of all the matter contained in the six volumes. But in order to do full justice to Dr. Hill's exertions, everyone who reads his book ought also to read the Preface, where he gives us a full statement of the pains which it has cost him to hunt out hidden facts, and to ascertain the real truth about the points which he is investigating. Otherwise, we might (as we often do in like cases) see merely the result of his toil without thinking of the debt of gratitude which we owe him for his labours in producing such a result. But there are also some particular results of his investigations to which he calls our especial attention. These are enumerated in page 18 of the Preface. I shall merely mention the additions to Boswell's Life which his researches in the British Museum enabled him to make. These are as follows:—"Fifteen unpublished letters relating to Johnson's College compositions in Latin prose; a long extract from his manuscript diary, containing a suppressed passage in the narrative of his journey to the Western Islands; Boswell's letters of acceptance of the office of secretary for foreign correspondence to the Royal Academy; proposal for a publication of a geographical dictionary issued by Dr. Bathurst; record of a conversation with Johnson on Greek metres."

To throw much additional light on the character of either Boswell or Johnson (unless it be by analyzing them) would be impossible, for we are already as well acquainted with these two men as if they had been our personal friends. And it is because it enables us thus to know Johnson, that Boswell's so far excels every other biography. It is a case (as Macaulay has observed) of "Eclipse first, the rest nowhere." But this biography is not only superior in excellence, it is more or less different in kind from

every other work of the same sort. Other biographies are (for the most part) pictures of the person whom they memorialize, though, of course, with the addition of the circumstances of their life, and, perhaps, some of their conversation and letters. But Boswell's Johnson is a photograph.

Much one wishes that Macaulay's analysis of Boswell's character had been as completely fair and as completely perfect as it is brilliant and piquant. But such it is not. Besides the fact that he speaks too bitterly and acrimoniously of a man to whom we certainly owe a debt of gratitude, and who (with all his faults and follies) was, at least, "no one's enemy but his own," he does not do him justice. A great part of what he says about him is undoubtedly true, though couched in harsh language; but his love of contrast and antithesis has led him here (as it has in other cases) into exaggeration and injustice, *e.g.*, while he allows poor Bozzy the merit of a retentive memory and quick powers of observation, he says that these qualities immortalized him only because he was a dunce, a parasite, and a coxcomb. This is an exaggeration. It is true, indeed, that Boswell's merits, had they been separated from his follies and weaknesses, would never have immortalized him. It is true, also, that he was a coxcomb. But he was neither a dunce nor a parasite. A dunce could never have written such a biography as he wrote. The ideas are well expressed, and couched in an easy and pleasant style. A dunce could not have understood and appreciated such a mind as Johnson's, for Boswell was not like the wife described by Tennyson, of whom he says, "she darkly feels him (her husband) great and wise." No, he understood Johnson's strong points, and many of his weak ones, though he may, perhaps, have overrated the former. He understood how to draw him out, and how to manage him when he wanted to lead him in a given direction. As an instance of this, I cannot forbear referring to the manner in which he secured an amicable meeting between him and the notorious Wilkes, a man whose moral character and political principles he detested, though the account of it, as given in the *Life*, is probably known to many, if not most, of my readers. Boswell had engaged Dr. Johnson to go to a dinner-party at Dilly's, the bookseller. Now, had he, when he delivered the invitation, said, "Sir, will you dine with Jack Wilkes?" Johnson would have answered (so Boswell conjectures) in a passion, "I would as soon meet Jack Ketch," instead of which, he put in this proviso, "supposing that the company be agreeable to you," a remark which roused Johnson's pride, and rather irritated him, but obliged him to receive amicably the information that Jack Wilkes might be of the party. Thus Boswell gained his point.<sup>1</sup> A dunce would never have managed the affair with such tact. Moreover, a stupid man, even if he had a good memory, would hardly have been able to retain in his mind so much that was worth relating, while he recorded so little that was worthless and trashy. His own observations taken by themselves are not, indeed, generally worth reading, except where they serve to draw out Johnson, but occasionally they show a certain amount of judgment and discernment. They are not, indeed, profound, but they are not the remarks of a fool. And yet certainly the poet Gray seems to have thought him such, as is shown in a letter to Walpole, quoted by Dr. Hill in a note, vol. ii., p. 46. It is about a pamphlet on Corsica written by Boswell, a pamphlet which (by the way) was well received not only in Corsica, but in England, and that by persons of some note. "The author," Gray says, "is a strange body, and has a rage for knowing everybody that is talked of. The pamphlet proves, what has been always maintained, that any fool may write a most valuable book, if he will only tell us what he has heard and seen,

<sup>1</sup> See vol. iii., p. 66.

with veracity." If Gray had substituted the word "goose" for fool, though it is rather too opprobrious a term, in reference to Boswell, he would have been nearer the mark. But if Gray really thought him an absolute fool, it may have been because his overweening conceit and vanity, unaccompanied as they were by any sense of fitness or propriety, and not veiled by any feeling of shame or self-respect, wore the appearance of absolute stupidity. But these deficiencies and faults were moral rather than intellectual. Some of them were, if not engendered, at least fostered, by the manner in which he was brought up, as is shown by his description of his early training, which Dr. Hill quotes in a note (vol. i., p. 426): "He" (his father), he says, "made his son live under his roof in such bondage that he was not only afraid to stir from home without leave, like a child, but dared scarcely open his mouth in his father's presence." Now, this sort of treatment, which would have cowed a humble and retiring nature, acting on a character like Boswell's, produced that singular combination of servility and self-importance, without self-respect, for which he was distinguished. He was too much accustomed, from his youth upwards, to be snubbed, to mind the snubs which, in after-life, his obtrusiveness brought upon him. He yielded like india-rubber to a pressure, but, like that same substance, he rose up again as soon as the pressure was removed. Had his father, instead of treating him as he did, endeavoured to teach him to respect himself; had he, instead of continually suppressing him, administered a wholesome degree of praise where it was deserved, his faults and follies would at least have been modified. But though he might have been the gainer by this, we might have been losers, for it was these very faults which contributed to make his "Life of Johnson" interesting and amusing. But it was not these alone which enabled him to worm himself into the acquaintance and the friendship of distinguished men. If they had stood alone, they would have only caused him to be disliked and despised, and his society sought for only because men like to have somebody whom they can make their laughing-stock. That he was ridiculed by some of Johnson's circle of literary friends there is no doubt. But it is equally true that he was very popular with many persons. Paoli, we learn from Dr. Hill, had a real value for him. And though Macaulay tells us that Beauclerk considered him a bore, this could not have been the general feeling about him, for Johnson, in a letter where he endeavours to raise Boswell's spirits by making him look on the bright side of his life, tells him that one of his friends spoke of him as a man whom everybody liked. Now, a bore is not generally liked. In fact, he must have possessed qualities which, if they did not cover, at least were a compensation for his defects, and that in the eyes of some persons of distinction. A man who has nothing but his servility to recommend him may be employed as a useful servant, but is not considered as a friend by most persons, and certainly not by the great. "*Præcipue placuisse viris non ultima laus est.*" And this proverb applies not only to men distinguished for their rank and position, but also to those remarkable for their abilities. To attain this object, a man must possess tact, good humour, good temper, a pleasing address, and the power of understanding those whose friendship he courts. All these qualities Boswell possessed, and, in spite of his silliness, he had a superficial cleverness, which must have made him an agreeable companion.

But I cannot agree with Dr. Hill in considering Boswell a man of genius. Perhaps he was led away by appearances. He quotes, in application to Boswell, what Gibbon says of Tillmont (see note in vol. i., p. 7): "His inimitable accuracy almost assumes the character of genius." To this remark Dr. Hill adds that Boswell's truthfulness was probably learned

of Johnson. But it must also have been the result of the accuracy of his memory. In any case, however, it was a valuable quality, and it inclines us to believe his version of any incident in Johnson's life rather than that of Mrs. Piozzi, where their accounts differ. And we are glad to be able to do so, for he softens down some of the stories which she relates illustrative of Dr. Johnson's rudeness. And as, with all his admiration of his friend, Boswell never tries to conceal his faults, we are all the more ready to believe him, where he defends his friend against what he considers as misrepresentations. And even setting aside the inaccuracy of some of Mrs. Piozzi's version of certain incidents which she relates, we cannot but agree with Boswell, that it is unfair to the memory of a great man to collect together in a bundle all the foibles and weaknesses which you can recollect of him. In a regular biography of some length, like Boswell's, these incidents appear as they really were (comparatively speaking), few and far between. But in Mrs. Piozzi's work they are like a nosegay of nettles. And yet, though she does this, and though she exaggerates her friend's faults and defects, she speaks of him as a man whose virtue was almost superhuman, and beyond the reach of any other mortal being. So that what Peter Pindar (in one of his poetical squibs) says of her is perfectly true: "First you gibbet him, and then embalm him." Now, this cannot be said of Boswell, ready as he was to exhibit his friend's faults to the public. Of him, it would be more correct to say, "You gibbet yourself that you may more effectually embalm Johnson;" *e.g.*, he does not scruple to tell us how on one occasion during their tour to the Hebrides he got excessively drunk, and how he dreaded Johnson's displeasure, and how relieved he was to find himself leniently dealt with. And his apology for introducing this incident is that it brings out a trait in Johnson's character. If he had been more like other men, we should say that such a revelation was a piece of most unparalleled self-sacrifice; but in that case he would not have made the sacrifice. To him it was no sacrifice, for he is constantly gibbeting himself, where his doing so answers no purpose except to make himself ridiculous and perhaps also to make his narrative more amusing by exhibiting the irregularity of his character.

I must now notice another epithet which Macaulay applies to Boswell, and which, I remarked, was not really applicable to him. He calls him a parasite. This he was not, in the received sense of the word. The term is derived from the Romans, and I think we have no authority for changing the meaning which they attached to it. They applied it to those who courted the favour of a rich man for the sake of some substantial profit, generally for the sake of a dinner. Horace speaks of "edaces" parasites. A mere tuft-hunter, or a man who makes himself the hanger-on of a great and eminent man for the sake of nothing more substantial than the honour of his friendship, cannot be called a parasite. The difference between these two classes of persons is, analogically speaking, very much the same as that which exists between a parasitical plant and a climbing plant. The one fixes its roots in the stem of a tree and derives from its sap substantial nourishment, the other climbs round the tree only for the sake of the support which it affords it. Now, Boswell was a climbing plant, not a parasite, for there was nothing substantial which he could get from Johnson. Perhaps we may call him a toady, but if we looked at him only in his relation to that great man, we should say that his toadyism was as respectable as such a thing could be. For though it arose partly from vanity, it also arose from a genuine admiration of Johnson's talents and character, and a right appreciation of them, and a personal affection for him. I said right appreciation, but it must, perhaps, be owned that he rather overrated his abilities. Yet he

was not blind, either to his faults or his prejudices. He did not scruple either to dissent from him or to express his dissent from many of the opinions which he enunciated. But, indeed, it was not possible always to agree with one who expressed such opposite views at different times. I believe that Johnson may have sometimes done this because his mind was not decidedly made up on many points, or because he occasionally changed his opinions. But, as is well known, he very often talked for victory, or for the sake of opposition, a practice which is not quite honest unless the speaker makes it clearly understood that he is not in earnest, and, moreover, it diminishes the weight of his influence. It is related of him that once a man, whose opinion he had opposed, told him afterwards that his arguments had convinced him, to which Johnson replied, "No, sir, you were perfectly right; I only talked as I did in order to see what could be said on the other side." Now, I think that for this, as well as for other reasons, Dr. Hill was perfectly right in giving us extracts from Johnson's works which are now seldom read, for he says, and probably with truth, that Johnson was too honest to say in print anything which he did not really believe. It would have been, however, still more honest if he had never said such things, even in conversation. But I must leave all further notice of him for my next paper.

E. WHATELY.

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## Short Notices.

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*Academische Vorträge.* Von J. VON DÖLLINGER. Nördlingen, 1888. Pp. iv, 427.

EVER since Baron Liebig, the great German chemist, died, Dr. Döllinger has been President of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, which is somewhat analogous to our Royal Society. From time to time he has had to deliver addresses to the Academy, or rather to a large audience consisting mainly of members of the Academy and other persons of culture. These addresses have generally been published at the time, either in pamphlet form, or in the literary supplements of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Those who have had the privilege of hearing them will rejoice that they are now being collected in a more permanent and accessible form. The present volume is only an instalment. Another is to follow, which will contain some of Dr. Döllinger's addresses as Rector of the University of Munich.

With a portion of the contents of the present volume readers of THE CHURCHMAN are already acquainted; for the last paper in it is the essay on Madame de Maintenon. There are twelve addresses in all, of which the following are likely to prove most generally useful and interesting: "The Significance of Dynasties in History," "Dante as a Prophet," "The Influence of Greek Literature and Culture on the West in the Middle Ages," "The Jews in Europe," "The Policy of Lewis XIV." For the sake of those who cannot read German we hope that this collection of addresses, the fruit of more than half a century of reading and observation, will soon find a translator.

*The Life, Teaching, and Works of the Lord Jesus Christ.* Arranged as a continuous narrative of the four Gospels according to the Revised Version. By GEORGE WYLD, M.D. Second Edition. Henry Frowde: Oxford University Press Warehouse.

A suggestive work; will be helpful to many. The arrangement shows great pains and good judgment.

*Cardinal Wolsey.* By Professor MANDELL CREIGHTON. Macmillan. 1888. Pp. 226.

The student of history at the present day certainly has great advantages. Excellent handbooks of a trustworthy and interesting kind abound; and Canon Creighton, the author of this one, has, either as writer or editor, had no small share in the production of these helps. If the other volumes in the series of "Twelve English Statesmen" are equal to the one before us, the publishers and the public may be congratulated upon the undertaking and its results.

It would probably be no exaggeration to say that Wolsey is the greatest statesman that England has ever produced; and until the last ten or twenty years he has had very scant justice done him. His own generation did not understand him, and did not wish to do so. He was a too successful and haughty *novus homo*; and they partly envied, partly feared, and altogether disliked him. Subsequent generations have cared still less about him; for of the great works which he attempted, some passed away without leaving much trace behind, and others were not recognised as his work at all. His magnificent plans in home policy either came to nothing, owing to his fall, or had quite other issues than those which he had intended; but abroad he raised England from a third-rate to a first-rate power. If he could not induce his countrymen to believe in him, he taught them to believe in themselves. He educated the nation into a sense of the nation's greatness. No monarch ever had a minister who slaved for him as Wolsey slaved for Henry VIII. And no minister was ever more infamously treated by his master. It has taken us more than three centuries to find out what Wolsey did for England. This excellent little volume will help to spread this knowledge, and to prevent it being again forgotten.

*A Manual of Church History.* By the Rev. A. C. JENNINGS, M.A., Rector of King's Stanley. Vol. II. Hodder and Stoughton.

This book belongs to "The Theological Educator" series, and in some respects it hardly equals the other volumes which we have seen. The author's remark (on p. 228), that the Evangelical party in the Church of England is "*text-tied*," is, to say the least, quite uncalled for. We quote the passage: "Where the Anglican system has failed as yet to exercise satisfactory influence is in the intellectual province. Questions are as yet untouched, which in Germany, and even in Scotland, are the subject of keen disquisition, and for which Romanism itself is preparing its solution. Text-tied, and narrow in its sympathies, the Evangelical party will doubtless always fail to grapple with such problems." And, to explain his allusion to Romanism, the author says, in a foot-note, "See, e.g., Mr. Mivart's articles in the July and December numbers of the *Nineteenth Century*, 1887." Surely, in a Manual like this, a recommendation to consult two old magazine articles is absurd; and how many theological students, we wonder, will understand what Mr. Mivart's position is? But the passage is as great a mistake as the foot-note; and in a second edition should be expunged.

*Explanatory Commentary on Esther.* By Dr. PAUL CASSEL, Berlin. Translated by Rev. A. BERNSTEIN. T. and T. Clark. 1888.

This is a full and fair commentary on the Hebrew Book of Esther. Of course Ahasuerus is taken to be Xerxes. Much pains is taken to work out the oriental features of the narrative. In an appendix there is a translation of a fanciful targum on the Book, and notes are added on other illustrative matters.

*Life and Labour.* Characteristics of Men of Industry, Culture, and Genius. By SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D. John Murray.

To say much in commending a volume of the "Self-Help" series is altogether needless. "Self-Help," "Duty," "Character," and "Thrift," practical, inspiring, and full of telling illustrations, none can compute the good which these ably-written books have done. "Life and Labour," we are told, has been written on the lines of "Self-Help," and "Character;" it will be warmly welcomed, and will richly repay repeated perusal. Not a single page is dry. The pen of the veteran author shows its peculiar skill with unabated force and freshness. That portion of the book which deals with Over Brain-work and the Conditions of Health will have for many readers, perhaps, a somewhat painful interest; and they will note the remark in the Preface: "This part of the work has been, to a certain extent, the result of personal experience." Dr. Smiles reminds his literary readers of the importance of exercise. Occupation at the writing-table keeps them in a constrained position, preventing the free play of the chest. The lungs are not properly inflated; nutrition is imperfect; the action of the heart is languid; hence cold feet and skin. What troubles follow! Dr. Smiles speaks of active recreation, and he says: "That only can be called exercise which occasions free and full expansion of the lungs." He justly lays stress also on *regular* exercise. Dr. Johnson, if we remember right, defines exercise to be "labour without weariness."

*Teaching and Teachers; or, The Sunday-School Teacher's Teaching Work.* By Dr. H. CLAY TRUMBULL. Hodder and Stoughton.

There have been many books written on the work of the Sunday-school teacher, but we know of none which goes so fully and so thoroughly into the subject as this. The first part of the book is devoted to the actual *teaching* work of the teacher, and is divided into short pithy chapters, showing, I. Its nature: what it is not, and what it is; II. Its essentials—that the teacher must know *whom* he is to teach, *what* he is to teach, and *how* he is to teach; III. Its elements—to secure the attention and co-work of the scholars, and to make clear that which is to be taught; IV. Its methods—in preparation, practice, and *review* (the writer lays great stress upon the value of regular review lessons). This last section is full of suggestive and practical hints. There is no attempt to make light of difficulties, but an earnest teacher will find real and practical help from a study of these methods. The second part of the book is devoted to the Sunday-school teacher's other work than teaching: his influence in and out of school, conscious and unconscious; his management of the scholars when present; his reaching them when absent; his counsel and advice at all times. A teacher, on reading this book, may well say, in the words of St. Paul, "Who is sufficient for these things?" Let him listen for the answer: "My grace is sufficient for thee, for My strength is made perfect in weakness."

*The Wakefield Bishopric Movement.* By NORMAN D. J. STRATON, M.A., Hon. Canon of Ripon, Vicar of Wakefield. Pp. 70. London: E. Stock; Wakefield: E. Carr.

The first portion of this interesting publication consists of the history of the circumstances which led to the formation of the See of Wakefield, and a brief review of the chief features of the work (a reprint, with additions, from the April CHURCHMAN); then follows a list of Donations, Collections, etc. The Comparative Table, we should add, has a peculiar interest. Looking back upon this Movement, one perceives how in a great work, calling for ability, zeal, and judgment, Canon Straton has done much.

*The Fruit of the Spirit.* Ten addresses bearing on the Spiritual Life, by W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Principal of the Theological College, Ely, Rivingtons.

In these addresses the writer endeavours to set forth "The Fruit of the Spirit" in its bearing upon the spiritual life, and the development of the Christian character. Upon each of the nine graces enumerated in the 5th chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians there is an extremely beautiful and suggestive chapter. The book is not easy reading, but he who takes a chapter at a time, and reads it thoughtfully and prayerfully, will be helped much in spiritual things. We quote one suggestive anecdote (p. 80): "A letter was once written to an old clergyman whose ministry had been greatly blessed. 'My people,' said the writer, 'are cold and heartless. Tell me how I can effect a revival of religion in my parish.' The answer was very brief. May God the Holy Ghost write it on our hearts! 'My brother,' he said, 'revive thyself!'" This short extract will show the object with which the book is written, and the spirit which pervades it.

*The Englishman's Bible.* By THOMAS NEWBERRY, Editor of "The Englishman's Hebrew Bible" and "The English-Greek Testament." 3 vols. Hodder and Stoughton.

This valuable work is "designed to give, as far as practicable, the accuracy, precision, and certainty of the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures on the page of the Authorized Version." By a number of signs, fully explained and easily understood, the English reader is led to appreciate "the precision, perfections, and beauties" of the original. In connection with (1) Articles, (2) Numbers, (3) Emphatic pronouns, (4) Tenses, (5) Particles or prepositions, (6) Uniform and correct renderings, (7) Divine titles, these simple signs bring out the force of the Greek and Hebrew in a most helpful manner. The student who knows merely his mother English may speedily, without much labour, mark the point and stress and graphic force of many a passage in the inspired writings. Of the accuracy of this great work mention was made in the February CHURCHMAN.

*Catechetical Hints and Helps.* A manual for parents and teachers on giving instruction in the Catechism. By E. J. BOYCE, M.A., Rector of Houghton. Fourth edition. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

We are by no means surprised to see a fourth edition of this little book. Mr. Boyce has revised and improved his Manual until in its present form it is remarkably full and clear. Here and there, no doubt, one might add or subtract; but, taking it as a whole, Churchmen generally will warmly approve of it.

The second volume of *What to Read at Winter Entertainments*, Prose, edited and arranged by Rev. F. Langbridge, M.A. (R.T.S.), contains selections in prose. "Three Phases of a Noble Life," e.g., are extracts from Mr. Dawson's "Life of Hannington."—*A Hundred Hymns* ought to have a large circulation. The hymns were selected by readers of the "Sunday at Home" as the best in the English language, "Rock of Ages" heading the list. A short account of their writers is given.

In the May *C.M.S. Intelligencer*—an interesting number—appears an admirable "brief and plain statement," by the Editor, in reference to recent criticisms and complaints.

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton are publishing "The Sermon Bible," a series to be completed in twelve volumes; the purpose is to "give the essence of the best homiletic literature of this generation." The first volume, *Genesis to II. Samuel*, containing five hundred pages, is printed in clear type, and the editorial work is well done.



## THE MONTH.

THE President's address, in the morning meeting of the Church Missionary Society, was worthy of the time. "We go forward on the old lines," said Sir John Kennaway. "We stand on the old principles which have called down blessing, and which, under God, have made the Society what it is." Admirable addresses were given by the Bishop of Rochester, the Master of Trinity (Dr. Butler), Sir Rivers Thompson, K.C.S.I., the Bishop of Waipu, and others. At the evening meeting (the Bishop of Sodor and Man in the chair), Mr. Wigram read a telegram which (he said) reached Salisbury Square that afternoon: "Blackburn dead; ill ten days. Bishop Parker dead, ten days later; same sickness; ill one day."

At the anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Earl of Harrowby, President, in the chair, the adoption of the Report (a portion of which only was read) was moved by the Lord Chancellor. An effective speech was also made by Prebendary Edmonds, in the absence of Mr. Spurgeon.

The Bishop of Rochester moved the first resolution at the Church Pastoral Aid meeting.

On the proposed Supplement to the Church Catechism, carried by a majority of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, a paper by Bishop Perry appeared in the *CHURCHMAN* of December last. The said Supplement, being brought before the Upper House, was dismissed their Lordships being unable to consider it—

as they cannot regard it as regular and desirable that synodical validity should be given to formularies professing to set forth the doctrine of the Church for drawing up and circulation of which the consent of the President had not been applied for and obtained.

The Church (or *Clergy*) Discipline Bill has been recast and improved. The alterations made, which are important, are mainly in the direction of the resolutions carried recently in the House of Laymen, on the motion of Mr. Chancellor Dibdin.<sup>1</sup>

At the meeting of the Central Council of Diocesan Conferences, an "extremely interesting" paper on the Tithe Bills (says the *Guardian*) was read by Mr. Stevens, Vicar of Portslade. Chancellor Espin (Prolocutor of York) "agreed almost entirely" with what had fallen from Mr. Stevens. As to the adoption of the triennial average, there will be some delay.

The Pope has condemned boycotting and the Plan of Campaign.

<sup>1</sup> In a very able article on the amended Discipline Bill, the *Record* says: "With regard to the veto, it seems incapable of serious defence; at any rate it never gets it."