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

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_london-quarterly-and-holborn-review_01.php

THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—1. *The Dante Festival.* FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT. The "Times," May 19, 1865.
2. *The Daily Telegraph* (*Leading Article*), May 17, 1865.
3. *The Inferno of Dante, Translated in the Metre of the Original.* By JAMES FORD, M.A., Prebendary of Exeter. Smith and Co., Cornhill.
4. *Critical, Historical, and Philosophical Contributions to the Study of the Divina Commedia.* By HENRY CLARK BARLOW, M.D. Williams and Co., 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.
5. *The Trilogy; or, Dante's Three Visions: Translated, with Notes and Illustrations.* By REV. J. W. THOMAS. Bohn, 1861.

THE celebration of the Dante Festival, so long enthusiastically anticipated and prepared for by all Italy, was held in Florence on the fourteenth and two following days of May last. It is worthy of observation, that this festival, on the six-hundredth birthday of the Florentine Poet, should so nearly synchronize with the elevation of his birthplace to the dignity of a royal city, and its promotion to be the metropolis of Italy. It is equally gratifying that this festival should occur so soon after the establishment of Italian Unity; an object of Dante's devout aspiration, and to which his immortal works have in some measure contributed. It was the gathering of all Italy around her constitutional king, to do honour to the genius and patriotism of her greatest poet;

whose name is one of her chief glories, and who has done so much to form her language and literature, to develope her national spirit, and to aid in advancing her to the position she now so proudly occupies. Even Venice and Rome, not yet politically united with the Kingdom of Italy, though united with her in spirit and hope, were represented on the recent auspicious occasion, alike in the splendid procession moving from the square of Santo Spirito, and in the multitudinous and enthusiastic assemblage and impressive ceremonies in the Piazza di Santa Croce.

The spirit of Dante, though intensely Italian, was also cosmopolitan. He loved his country with an ardent affection, but he lived and breathed in an atmosphere far above his contemporaries; and although born in the thirteenth, and flourishing in the beginning of the fourteenth century, he belonged not to one age, but to all time. He had in his nature and character so much of the VATES—the prophet poet—that he anticipated the future of his country, and influenced her destinies through every subsequent age, preserving in his immortal verse for posterity the knowledge of his own times, and transmitting to us a more correct conception of them than their own prolix and discordant annals have afforded. Though "his soul was like a star and dwelt apart," it shed its lustre on the scene above which it rose, and rendered attractive events which history overlooked, and which the pen of the mere historian could not have endowed with interest, or invested with importance.

The name of Dante is not only the most conspicuous in mediæval history, but as a poet he takes rank among the foremost in any age or nation. Macaulay places him above all the ancient poets, except Homer. Many a name, illustrious during the middle ages, has been obscured by the lapse of time and the change of circumstances; but that of Dante still holds its place in the literary firmament, and shines with undiminished lustre. Of middle stature and grave deportment, his dress plain, and his manner at times a little absent and abstracted, he was endowed with extraordinary powers of mind; the mould in which he was cast was one of the choicest—

> "The master-mould of Nature's heavenly hand,
> Wherein are cast the heroic and the free,
> The beautiful, the brave."

The moral and political condition of Italy in Dante's time was very lamentable. Its Christianity had long been debased

by error and superstition. From the Church the glory had departed, and the Ark of God was in captivity among its enemies. The pretended successors of St. Peter had risen from the condition of subjects to that of sovereign princes, and their dominion operated as a blight on public and private virtue and happiness. The commandments of God were made void by the traditions of men; and the system of clerical celibacy and priestly absolution tended to undermine and deprave the morals of society; while the traffic in indulgences, introduced by Urban II. in the eleventh century, under pretence of raising funds for rescuing the Holy Land from the infidel, gave direct encouragement to licentiousness and crime. These evils were aggravated by the violence of party-spirit, which appeared to rage without control. Every town and city was rent by the contending parties of Guelph and Ghibeline, and whenever either of these prevailed the other was driven into exile. The Popes endeavoured to maintain their political ascendancy by encouraging the animosities of the two factions, and sometimes by inviting the assistance of foreign potentates. Thus Italy became the theatre of bloody and desolating wars; and the German emperor, the Frenchman, and the Spaniard, successively made her their prey. Unity, alone, was wanting, to make the Alps impassable to the invader, and to preserve Italian freedom from the yoke of the stranger; but the consummation of this obvious means of security was delayed for 600 years by virulent hatreds, and by the rivalry and furious passions of contending republics which led them to sacrifice material prosperity, and civil and political freedom and welfare, to native tyrants and foreign invaders; thus preparing the way for ages of ignominy and bondage.

Yet these Italian States had been the birth-place and cradle of European civilization, laws, literature, arts, and sciences. We are more indebted to their example and influence than most persons are aware. When the rest of Europe was comparatively poor and barbarous, Italy was prosperous and civilised. The open country round each city was cultivated by an industrious peasantry, whose labour placed them in easy and often affluent circumstances. The citizen proprietors advanced them capital, and shared their harvests. At vast expense and with immense labour, embankments were constructed to preserve the plains from inundation by the rivers annually swollen through the melting of the Alpine snows. They are alluded to by Dante, *Inferno*, xv. 7—9. The Naviglio Grande of Milan, which connects the Ticino and the Po, was

constructed in the twelfth century, chiefly for the purpose of irrigation, and was the earliest artificial canal in Europe, with the possible exception of that between Bruges and Ghent. It is still useful for its original purpose, the country on each side, which is the finest part of Lombardy, being watered by its numerous branches. At a time, too, when the inhabitants of London and Paris could not step out of their houses without plunging deep into mud, the cities of Italy, walled and terraced, were for the most part paved with broad flagstones; the rivers were spanned by bridges of bold and elegant structure; and the palaces of the magistracy united strength with grandeur. One of the most magnificent of them, the *Palazza Vecchio*, or old palace, was built in 1298 by Arnolfo, as the residence of the Gonfaloniere and the Priori. There were commenced by him before A.D. 1300, the Church of Santa Croce, which has been called the Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon of Florence, in front of which the Dante Celebration was held in May last; and the Church of Santa Maria Fiore, which is the Cathedral of the City. The cupola of the latter is the largest dome in the world; it was erected in 1420 by Brunelleschi, who was born several years after Dante's decease. This dome served Michael Angelo as a model for St. Peter's. His admiration of it was so great, that he used to say, "Come te non voglio, meglio di te non posso (Like thee I will not build, better I cannot)." In the year 1300, that of Arnolfo's death and Dante's vision, Andrea di Pisa cast the admirable bronze gates of the Baptistery of St. John standing opposite the Duomo at Florence, which Michael Angelo pronounced "worthy to be the gates of Paradise." Dante's attachment to this building appears from his calling it, "Il bel mio san Giovanni (My beautiful St. John)." On the south side of the piazza or square, common to the Baptistery and Duomo, is a flag stone inscribed *Sasso di Dante*, where formerly stood a stone seat on which he used to sit and contemplate the cathedral and its magnificent campanile. In the same age the art of painting was revived by Cimabue and his greater disciple Giotto, and that of music by Casella, both of whom were friends of Dante, and are all three celebrated by him in the *Divina Commedia*. Throughout Italy the study of the classics, of history, philosophy, and ethics, was now revived; but it was in Florence that the love of liberty was most pervading and persistent; her judicial institutions were the first that guarded the welfare of the citizens; here improvement in legislation soonest appeared, and mental cultivation was carried furthest.

The poetry of Dante was greatly influenced by the early poetry of France. The Romance language in Gaul preceded that of Italy, and was divided into two dialects. The Provençal, the earliest of the European languages that sprang out of the decay of Latin, was the one employed by the Troubadours, the instructors of Europe in the rules of modern versification. At the beginning of the twelfth century, Italian was not believed capable of becoming a polished language, or worthy to be employed in the composition of poetry. The first lispings of the Italian muse were but faint echoes and humble imitations of the Provençal lyrics. It was after the long night of ages that these stars of the dawn had risen, so famous in their time; but they were soon made to pale their ineffectual fires before the superior splendour of Dante's genius. Besides the Troubadours, whose genius was lyric, and who sang of "faithful" or faithless "loves," there were the Trouveurs of Northern France, whose genius was epic, and who in the Wallon dialect (Norman French) sang "fierce warres." In three different parts of his poem, Dante alludes to the romance of *Lancelotte du Lac*, and besides these allusions to the romances of the Trouveurs, their spirit may be recognised in the majestic allegories of Dante, who, according to Sismondi, took for his model the most ancient and celebrated of them, the *Romance of the Rose*, which, however, he has infinitely surpassed.

DANTE was born at Florence, May 14th, 1265. His baptismal name was Durante, afterwards abbreviated to Dante. His ancestry, connexions, and the incidents of his life, are best gathered from his works. His grandfather, Cacciaguida D'Elisei, married a lady of the Aldighieri or Alighieri family of Ferrara, whose children assumed the arms and name of their mother. Cacciaguida accompanied the Emperor Conrad III. in his crusade to the Holy Land, was knighted for his valour, and died in battle against the Saracen Infidels, A.D. 1147. Hence the poet, in his *Paradiso*, exalts him to the rank of a martyr, and makes him relate his adventures and describe the condition of Florence, and the simple and primitive manner of its inhabitants, before the breaking out of the great feud between the Guelphs and Ghibelines. While Dante was yet a child, his father died and left him to the care of his mother, who, being wealthy and a woman of sense, gave him the best education that could be procured. One of his preceptors was Brunetto Latini, an eminent scholar and poet, who from the early

indications of his pupil's genius, appears to have prognosticated his pre-eminence and renown.

Dante relates his meeting with him in the Shades below.

> "'A glorious port thou canst not miss, thy star
> So thou but follow,' he to me replied,
> 'If well I judged thee in the life more fair.'"

Dante's gratitude to his preceptor is shown in his reply:—

> "For in my memory fix'd, now grieves my heart
> The dear and good paternal image known
> Of you on earth, where with a master's art
> You taught me how eternity is won.
> How dear I hold the lesson, while I live
> 'Tis fit should by my eloquence be shown."

In the ninth year of his age, he first saw a young lady a few months older than himself, an event which left an indelible impression on his mind and character. Such early attachments are often the purest, and the most lasting in their influence: how often has some object of boyish passion, removed by death, been enshrined in the memory, and visited the dreams to the end of life. But never was the early love of human genius immortalised like Dante's. The vision of Beatrice Portarini, seen at a festival given by her father to the young people of the city, on May-day, 1274, never departed from him. In *La Vita Nuova*, the earliest of his known productions, he relates, with infinite delicacy, the incidents of that youthful passion which helped to stamp his destiny as a poet, and inspired his hymn of the eternal rest. As in the case of another great poet—one of our own country—the object of this first and passionate love could not be his. Yet

> "She was his life;
> The ocean to the river of his thoughts."

After several years of declining health, she died at the age of twenty-five; unconscious, probably, or but half-conscious of the interest which she had awakened in the breast of her youthful admirer, who has linked her name with his own in the immortality of his great poem. To her he consecrated the earliest strains of his lyre; in his maturer age, when passing through the regions of blessedness, she is his chosen guide; and while he listens to celestial harmony, amidst the shining company of saints and angels, *her* presence heightens Heaven.

Dante's youth was distinguished by a noble and contemplative disposition, and that enthusiasm for study which is the surest presage of distinction, and which accompanied him through every period of his life. Among his most intimate friends were some of the distinguished men of his time—philosophers, poets, and artists. In the pursuit of wisdom, he not only studied in the famous universities of Padua and Bologna, but is also said to have visited those of Paris and Oxford. He belonged to the Guelph party, which at that time ruled in Florence; and although not a warrior by profession, was in the battle of Campaldino; in which, June 1289, the Ghibelines of Arezzo were defeated. Thus he commences the twenty-seventh canto of *Inferno*:—

> "I have seen horsemen shift their camp, and I
> Have seen them join in fight, and at review,
> And sometimes quit the battle-field and fly.
> I've seen the light-arm'd squadrons riding through
> Thy plains, Arezzo, and the troopers fleet."

Soon after this he married Gemma Dinato, a lady of a powerful Guelph family; and in 1300, at the age of thirty-five, was elected chief magistrate, or first of the Priori. It was not long, however, before a schism occurred in the Guelph party, which gave rise to the two factions of Bianchi and Neri (whites and blacks); the Donati, with whom the poet was allied in marriage, taking part with the Neri, while Dante himself, induced by personal friendship and the claims of justice, united himself with the Bianchi. Dante and his fellow magistrates having called the citizens to their protection and aid, sent the chiefs of both factions into temporary banishment. The Neri betook themselves to Pope Boniface VIII., who sent Charles de Valois, brother of the French King, to the help of that party in Florence. This led to a general proscription of the Bianchi, many of whom were slain, and their houses plundered and burnt; others were driven into exile. Dante had been deputed to Rome by the Bianchi, to counteract, if possible, the machinations of their adversaries. His house was plundered in his absence; and he, on hearing of the proscription, left Rome, and joined his exiled friends at Arezzo. In January, 1302, a sentence was passed by the Florentine magistrates, condemning him to two years' exile, and a fine of 8,000 florins. By a second sentence, he and others were condemned, as *barrattieri* (swindlers), to be *burnt alive!* The sentence was grounded on "publica fama," which, in this case, meant the slander of his enemies.

On the death of Boniface VIII. and the election of Benedict XI., a man of mild and conciliating disposition, some hopes of reconciliation were entertained by the exiles. The new Pope sent a legate to Florence for the purpose of restoring peace; but the ruling party thwarted his endeavours, and the legate retired, leaving the city a prey to anarchy; during which, in June, 1304, 1,900 houses were destroyed by a conflagration. The Bianchi and Ghibelines, during the confusion, made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise and re-enter the town.

Dante's life thenceforward was to be a life of wandering and dependence; and with that susceptibility which belongs to poetic natures, he felt the more keenly the miseries of such a condition. Thus his grandfather tells him:—

"Thou wilt leave everything which thou most dearly
Hast loved; and this first shaft which thou must bear,
Will from the bow of exile touch thee nearly.
Next thou wilt find how hard it is to share
The bread of others, and how hard the wending
To mount and to descend another's stair.
But the worst load thy shoulders then offending
Will be the vile and senseless concourse thrown
Along with thee, and in that vale descending,
Which all ungrateful, mad, and impious grown,
Will turn against thee; but in little space,
Not thy brows will be crimson'd but their own,
Of their brutality with rapid pace
They'll give plain proof; 'tis therefore well for thee
That thou a party by thyself dost place."
Paradiso, canto xvii., ll. 55—69. (Thomas' tr.)

Dante endeavoured to obtain a revocation of the sentence which had been pronounced against him; for which purpose he addressed his countrymen in a pathetic letter, commencing, "Populo mi, quid tibi fecisti? (My people, what have I done to thee?)" But it had no effect; the family of Adimari, who had got possession of his estate, opposed with all their influence an act of justice which would have deprived them of their newly-won spoil. In 1306, he resided at Padua, and in 1307 was hospitably entertained at Sinigiana, by the Marquis Morello Malespina. He went thence to Gubbio, and remained some time with Busone, between whom and himself there existed a strict friendship. His next sojourn was again at Verona, drawn thither by the amiable and enlightened character of its joint rulers, Can Francisco and Alboino

Scagligeri, the former of whom had the title of *Il Grande*, on account of his exploits in the war with Padua, and both being celebrated throughout Italy for the splendour of their court, and their munificent patronage of learning. On the death of the Emperor Albert, May, 1308, Dante exerted himself with the utmost vigour on behalf of Henry, Prince of Luxembourg, one of the candidates for the imperial crown; from whose interposition, if successful, the Bianchi hoped for a favourable change in their condition. It was to encourage the partisans of Henry, that Dante wrote his treatise *De Monarchiâ*, in which he advocates, with great strength of argument, the independence of the civil power. To his great joy, the election of Henry was proclaimed, and the imperial army was shortly on its way to Florence. Henry halted before he got within sight of the walls, and then withdrew his forces, to pursue other measures more in accordance with his policy. The last glimmer of hope was extinguished by his premature death in the following year, 1313.

Dante's next and latest sojourn was at Ravenna, with Guido Novella da Polenta, the lord of that ancient city and "fortress of falling empire," a nobleman of singular liberality, the father of the unfortunate Francesca di Rimini. His love of literature and admiration of the greatest man that Italy had produced in modern times, made him rejoice in the society and feel honoured by the presence of such a guest. Here, enjoying the friendship of his generous and accomplished host, the venerable exile, after many years of wandering and anxiety, like a tempest-tost vessel that had reached the haven, was permitted to enjoy a season of repose.

It is said that about the year 1316 it was intimated to him by a friend, that on condition of acknowledging his fault and soliciting pardon, he might yet be permitted to return to Florence. But he refused, in words resembling those of Job, "Till I die, I will hold fast mine integrity;" nor would he degrade himself, even to escape the bitterness of dependence on strangers, and the anguish of irrevocable exile. His last public act was an endeavour to negotiate peace on behalf of his patron with the State of Venice, with whom he had for some time been at war; but the proud rulers of that city refused him even an audience. His physical strength at length yielded to the weight of sorrow rather than years, and in September, 1321, at the age of fifty-seven, he died at Ravenna, in the palace of his patron, who testified his sorrow and respect by the splendour of his obsequies, and by giving orders to erect a monument, which however he did not live to complete.

But even his death did not put an end to the hostility of his enemies. He was excommunicated after his death by the Pope.

> "Yet by their curse we are not quite so lost
> But that eternal mercy from on high
> Can save, while hope the least green bloom can boast."
> *Purgatorio*, canto iii. 132.

Pope John XXII. had his treatise *De Monarchiâ* publicly burnt, and we have seen a copy of the Roman index of prohibited books in which it is honoured with a place. On the expulsion of Guido da Polenta from Ravenna, the bones of Dante narrowly escaped a treatment similar to that undergone just a century later by those of Wicliff, whom in many respects he so much resembled. In 1677 Cardinal Beltramo del Pogetto ordered his bones, being those of an excommunicated heretic, to be taken from their coffin and burnt. It was not known till very recently by what means they escaped. The original monument having gone to decay—

> "Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris"
> (*Juvenal*, x. 146)

—it was repaired and decorated in 1483 by Bernardo Bembo, Podesta of Ravenna for the Republic of Venice, and father of the Cardinal. Again, in 1692 it was restored at the public expense; and finally replaced by the present structure in 1780 at the cost of Cardinal Gonzaga of Mantua, the legate of that period. This mausoleum and the sarcophagus of Greek marble bearing the poet's portrait, and supposed to contain his ashes, have been visited by thousands, including some of the greatest poets. Alfieri prostrated himself there, and expressed his feelings in one of the finest sonnets in the Italian language. Byron deposited a copy of his works on the tomb, and wrote

> "I pass each day where Dante's bones are laid:
> A little cupola, more neat than solemn,
> Protects his dust."

They were deceived. "The monument was but an empty cenotaph." While we write, a statement respecting "the discovery of Dante's bones twelve days after the celebration of his sexcentenary birthday," is going the round of the papers. It seems almost a coincidence too good to be true, and too

striking to be real, that the preparation for the Dante festival should have been the cause of the discovery. We copy from the *Athenæum* :—

"In the year 1677, Cardinal Pogetta, of Ravenna, expressed his intention of having Dante's bones, being those of a heretic, taken from the coffin and burnt. The Archbishop, less of a bigot than the Cardinal, and a sincere admirer of the poet, had the remains secretly excavated and concealed in another part of the church. When the danger was over, the Archbishop died, and Dante's remains were not replaced in the original coffin. A few years more, and the grave in which they had been concealed was forgotten. . . . On the occasion of the festival, the town council had ordered some improvements to be made at the gravestone of the poet: this made some digging necessary between a building called Braccio-forte and the chapel in which Dante's sarcophagus stood. When the workmen tried to fix a pump to get rid of the superfluous water, and broke down an old wall of Braccio-forte, they discovered in this very wall a wooden box which fell to the ground. The box, being made of deal and badly joined, opened in the fall and the bones fell out. The box had two inscriptions written with a pen. On the outside, 'Dantis ossa à me Fra Antonio Santi hic posita, anno 1677, die . . . . Octobris.' The inscription inside is, 'Dantis ossa de nuper revisa 3 Junii 1677.' The bones are well preserved; it is evident they have never been underground. They have been replaced in the box, this one locked in another box, and deposited for the present in the Dante Chapel."

During the life-long struggle of Dante, not all the kindness and distinction with which he was treated by his generous, hospitable, and illustrious friends, could overcome the weariness of exile, or mitigate the unquenchable desire which he ever felt for a return to his native home and family hearth. His woes, and the injustice which inflicted and perpetuated them, had wrung from him expostulation, complaint and entreaty; and their want of success infused into his mind an enduring bitterness against Florence. Yet amidst all his eloquent appeals and denunciations, we recognize a deep and ardent love to his ungrateful country, a love which glowed amidst his anger, and refused to turn itself to hatred. Throughout the *Divina Commedia* we see the banished magistrate of Florence, the exiled statesman, whose bowels yearn to be restored to "the City of Flowers."

"La carita del natio loro mi strinse."

For the love which he bears to Florence, he stoops to gather up and reverently deposit the human spoils of one of

her citizens, whom he meets with in the hell of suicides. Like our own Milton, he was one of the sternest and most active politicians, at a most eventful era of his country' s history: like him he shared the ruin of his party; and solaced his exile and dependence, as did Milton his obscurity and poverty, by the composition of his immortal work. Without a home on earth, he made his home in eternity. Like Milton he boldly plunged into the dark infernal abyss, and then, passing through the region of milder sorrow and corrective suffering, he uprose, as on the wings of seraphim, to gaze with reverential awe on the splendours of the eternal throne. His great soul, filled with his mighty subject, and long brooding over it in speechless thought and wonder, at length broke forth into mystic and unfathomable song. But the memory of his wrongs pursues him into the immensity of eternal light. Florence, to her lasting shame, refused him the satisfaction of returning even to die. She kept aloof the heart that beat only for her, the breast that would gladly have bled in her cause.

> "What mighty wrongs, what grief, great bard, could turn
> Thy love of Florence to indignant ire,
> Which, long pent up within thy breast like fire,
> At last flash'd forth to make the guilty mourn,
> And in thy verse through distant ages burn?
> The pangs of hope deferr'd, the vain desire
> Of lingering exile, tuned the poet's lyre,
> While for his native soil his bowels yearn.
> O, ingrate people! thy sublimest son
> Thy malice doom'd in misery to pine.
> Too late shalt thou repent what thou hast done;
> For he who enter'd, by the Power Divine,
> The gates of Paradise, like banish'd John,
> Was not permitted to re-enter thine."

Yes, Florence, that refused him a home when living, would gladly have received him to her bosom when dead. Like the Hebrew scribes and rulers, who slew the prophets and then built and adorned their sepulchres, the Florentines at length awoke to a perception of their error, and eagerly desired to bring home the remains of their illustrious countryman, and proposed to erect a mausoleum for their reception. The people of Ravenna, however, resisted all their supplications. Michael Angelo, whose pencil had portrayed in the Sistine Chapel some of the scenes which Dante's pen had painted in song, was vainly employed by the Pope of his time to renew the entreaty. And now, after a remorse that has

endured for five centuries, we have seen in that very Florence all Italy assembled to testify her deep repentance, and to inaugurate in front of her holiest place the marble effigy of her illustrious exile, sculptured by a son of Ravenna,* the city in which his ashes were deposited, and where they still sleep. It is true that no Papal canonization has been decreed him: this was not to be expected. The miracle of an awakened and renovated nation was not signal enough to prove his title to *that* honour, which *for him* would have been singularly inappropriate. But he has received from *his country*, united under her constitutional though excommunicated king, *all but an apotheosis*. For, on the unveiling of his image in the presence of eighteen thousand spectators—besides the ringing of the bells of the Palazza Vecchio just at hand, the shouts of the multitude, the speeches of the Gonfaloniere and other dignitaries, and the grand symphony of the band, *A Hymn to Dante*, composed for the occasion, was sung by a band of vocalists and the great orchestra. This will probably appear to some, if not actual hero-and-image-worship, a narrow escape from "Peril of Idolatry!" Aided by this example, we can easily understand the origin of pseudo-religions; and but for the light and influence of Christianity, the pilgrimage to Florence and Ravenna might become for the admirers of the hero-poet what for a thousand years Mecca and Medina have been for the Moslem followers of their hero-prophet; or Dante and Garibaldi might be first idolized and then deified, as heroes and public benefactors were in ancient times. But the spirit of Dante, enshrined in his volume, and so largely imbued with Christianity, however it may be supposed to tolerate the inauguration of the new colossal statue, would frown on the inauguration of a new religion. There his lone figure stands, overlooking the multitude, wrapt round with folded robe, the laurel-wreath shading the brow, and showing those worn features of sorrow and disdain, which the pencil of Giotto had preserved, and the chisel of Pazzi has now sculptured. The frown is there, as on the original so many centuries ago, though now, by the artist's care, somewhat lightened and mitigated. But what hand can erase, what art can cancel, those burning lines in

* The statue of Dante thus inaugurated is by Enrico Pazzi, of Ravenna; its height near twenty feet. It stands on a pedestal in the style of the fourteenth century, designed by Luigi del Sarto; with the simple but sufficient inscription, "To Dante Alighieri, Italy, mdcccliv." The likeness, expression, and attitude of the poet's figure in this work of modern Italian art, have been very generally praised.

the *Trilogy* of Dante, which record his wrongs and his country's injustice?

> "Florence exult! thy greatness who can tell;
> O'er sea and land thy rushing wings resound:
> Meantime thy name hath spread itself o'er hell.
> Five such among the plunderers there I found
> Thy citizens, whence shame befalleth me,
> And to thyself no glory can resound.
> But if our dreams near dawn may claim to be
> The truth, much time will not elapse ere thou
> Feel what not Prato only wisheth thee;*
> And 'twould be not untimely if 'twere now;
> Would that it were so, since it must take place,
> 'Twill grieve me more the more with age I bow."
>
> *Inferno*, canto xxvi. ll. 1—12.

In the *Daily Telegraph* leader, indicated at the head of this article, Dante is vividly described as, "wearied by ineffectual struggle, he strode through the throng in silence and contempt, or sate against the wall with downcast eyes, in that street which leads now-a-days from the Duomo to Benvenuto Cellini's house. The old stone bench remains where he might often be seen, as far away from Florence as Heaven and Hades are, meditating the boldest flight of fancy that human genius ever dared to take. Donne, and Donzelle, and Signori passing by, to flirt and pray, and make the most of a merry, doubtful world, pointed to him, and said to each other, with a shudder, 'There sits the maestro who puts people into hell!' for cantos of his tremendous comedy were already about Italy, and crimes, and treacheries, and villanies, of the past and present, sometimes found themselves punished with the damnation of a line, in that lovely Tuscan, which sung in men's ears like the trumpet of the angel of doom."

Dante was one of the very few master spirits who have created the national poetry of their country, and whose works, having stood the test of ages, are secure of immortality. He is the spokesman and interpreter of Mediæval Europe, and in him ten silent centuries found a voice. He uttered what they had thought and felt; without him they would have remained mute for us. He has expounded the meditations of the wise and good, and embodied them in strains whose music has

* A quasi prediction of the anarchy and conflagration mentioned p. 8, with other calamities that happened about the same time.

charmed every subsequent age, and will continue to exert their charm to the latest posterity.

The *Divina Commedia*, or, as we prefer calling it, the *Trilogy*, of Dante, is unique in its character; a narrative largely interspersed with dialogue, description, and discussion, theological and philosophical; a vision of Hades, or the intermediate state of souls, both good and bad, between death and the resurrection. It is thick sown with beauties, as the dark blue vault of midnight is with stars; while scenes of exquisite pathos, and others of terrible sublimity, are ever and anon presented to the mind of the reader. In common with many readers, we have a distinct and vivid remembrance of our first introduction to Dante, when a single line—the terrible inscription over the gate of Hell—stamped itself on our memory, and determined at once and for ever our admiration of his genius. The whole passage is thus rendered:—

"Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate."

"Through me men reach the city of deploring,
Through me the path to endless woe they prove,
Through me they join the lost beyond restoring.
Justice did my Supreme Creator move;
I am the work of Power Divine, design'd
By Sovereign Wisdom and Primeval Love.
Before me nothing save immortal mind
Was made, and I eternally endure.
O ye who enter, leave all hope behind."

Thomas Carlyle observes, "I know nothing so intense as Dante. Consider how he paints. He has a great power of vision—seizes the very type of a thing—presents that and nothing else. You remember the first view he gets of the Hall of Dis, *red* pinnacle, red-hot cone of iron glowing through the dim immensity of gloom; so vivid, so distinct, visible at once and for ever! It is an emblem of the whole genius of Dante."

It is impossible to do full justice to a long poem by selecting a few brief quotations; for, as in a building or a statue, the several parts derive much of their beauty from the relation they bear to each other and to the whole. Let the reader bear this in mind, while we present him with a few of the passages which are likely to suffer least by being separately given. In the passages referred to by Mr. Carlyle, when reading the poem, the mind is prepared by what precedes;—"the signal fires," which the poet perceives at a distance; the light skiff steered by the solitary pilot over the stagnant

channel to meet the poets; their voyage across; and the plunge of Philippo Argenti in the "hell-broth" of the lake. Dante then says:—

> "Now smote mine ears a lamentation loud;
> Hence with wide opening eyes I gazed before,
> And my good guide said, as the waves we plough'd,
> 'Now to the city named of Dis we come,
> With its grieved citizens, a mighty crowd.'
> 'Master,' I said, 'its towers already loom,
> There, certes, in the vale I see them well.
> Vermilion—as if issuing through the gloom
> All fire.' Then on mine ear his answer fell;
> 'The eternal fire within makes them appear
> All red, as thou behold'st in this low hell.'
> Moated around was that sad region there,
> And we arrived within its fosses deep,
> The walls, it seem'd to me, of iron were."
>
> *Inferno*, canto viii. ll. 65—78.

Here is his description of what he saw on the arid plain of the seventh circle:—

> "And hovering o'er the land with slow descent,
> Broad flakes of fire were falling all around,
> Like Alpine snow through the calm element.
>
> * * * *
>
> Even so descended the eternal fire
> From which the sand, like tinder from the steel,
> Was kindled up, doubling the anguish dire.
> Without repose for ever was the wheel
> Of wretched hands, now turning here, now there,
> To shake from them the fresh fallen fire they feel."

He then describes Capaneus, unsoftened by the eternal fire, and obdurate as ever; a description which hardly yields in grandeur to the Prometheus of Æschylus, and is probably the prototype of Milton's Satan in "Paradise Lost":—

> "Who is that mighty one, morose and grim,
> Who careless of the burning seems to lie,
> So that the fire-shower cannot soften him?
> And he, as to my leader I apply,
> Perceiving 'twas of him I thus enquire,
> Cried, 'What I was alive, such dead am I.
> If incensed Jupiter his workmen tire,
> From whom he snatch'd the thunderbolts that day

Which was my last, and struck me in his ire;
If he—the rest all spent by turns while they
The sledge in Mongibello's black forge wield—
Cry, 'Help, good Vulcan, help!' as in the fray
He cried of old in the Phlegræan field,
And launch his bolts at me with all his might,
A joyful vengeance it shall never yield."
Inferno, canto xiv. ll. 28—60.

As another instance of Dante's wonderful imagery and word-painting, we quote the comparison of the boiling pitch, seen below by the poets, when standing on the bridge across the fifth chasm of Malebolge:—

"As in the arsenal at Venice, where
Boils through the winter the tenacious pitch,
Wherewith each damaged vessel they repair;
For now they cannot sail, instead of which
Some build the bark, and some the ribs will stop
Of that which hath made many a voyage rich:
One hammers well the prow, and one the poop;
Some shape the oars, and some the cables twine;
The mizen and the mainsail some sew up:
So, not by fire but by the art Divine,
There boil'd below a thick and pitchy mass,
Daubing in every part the steep decline."
Inferno, xxi. ll. 7—18.

In sublimity, Dante is surpassed only by the Hebrew Prophets, by Homer, and by our own Milton. Yet, even in his most thrilling and tremendous descriptions of eternal misery, we are frequently surprised by images of beauty and calm delight, all the more welcome and pleasing from their contrast with the scenes of suffering, the timeless gloom, and the air for ever shaken, from which we have just escaped, and into which we have again to pass. It is as if when treading "over the burning marle," we suddenly came upon some happy valley, or entered some sylvan shade, where the song of birds is heard amidst the foliage, or the music of the rill that murmurs on the verge of the enamelled green. Take, for instance, the Limbo of the Unbaptized—a passage which also discovers his veneration for the great writers of antiquity, and his revulsion from the doctrine which dooms all unbaptized persons to eternal misery: for the express accommodation of the heroes, poets, and philosophers of heathen antiquity, whom the orthodox theology of the age excluded from Heaven, he has contrived a kind of Paradise in Hell:—

"Now to a noble castle's foot we came,
Seven times with lofty walls encompass'd round;
And round it also flowed a pleasant stream,
O'er which we pass'd, as if upon firm ground:
Through seven gates entering with the sages there,
We reach'd a meadow with fresh verdure crown'd;
With grave slow eyes, the crowds assembled were
In their appearance of great majesty;
And as they talk'd their words were sweet and rare.
Thus to one side retiring enter'd we
An open place, light, lofty, and serene,
So that all there were visible to me.
There just above, upon the enamell'd green,
The mighty spirits I could recognize,
Whom I esteem it honour to have seen."

Inferno, canto iv. 106, &c.

We may also as another instance refer to the tale of Ser Adamo:—

"'O ye who even in this world accurst,
I know not wherefore, no affliction have,'
He thus began, 'Behold and hear rehearsed
What Ser Adamo suffers in this cave:
Alive I had enough of all at will,
And now, alas! one drop of water crave.
The brooks which downward o'er each verdant hill
Of Casentino to the Arno flow,
Making their channels fresh and soft, are still
Always before mine eyes, nor vainly so.
For more their image dries me up than this
Disease which in my unflesh'd cheeks I show.
Now from the place in which I did amiss,
Derives avenging justice a supply
Of means to augment my sighs in hell's abyss.
There, in Romena, did I falsify
The coin that bears the Baptist on its front,
For which I left my body burnt on high.
But could I see tormented here the Count
Guido, or Alessandro, or their brother,
I would not change the sight for Branda's fount.'"

Inferno, canto xxx. 61.

But while the *Trilogy* abounds in vivid word-painting and striking description, it also excels in depicting the deep workings of the mysterious human heart. Shakspeare is acknowledged to be pre-eminently the poet of human nature, which is doubtless the noblest earthly object of contemplation.

But while we admit the supremacy of Shakspeare in this respect, we must also allow that Dante approaches him the nearest, and is unrivalled by any other. What Piero della Vigne did for his imperial master, Frederick II., Dante does for his readers:—

> "I then am he who once held both the keys
> Of Frederick's heart, and who in that high post,
> Opening and shutting, turn'd them with such ease,
> None else his secret confidence could boast."
>
> *Inferno*, canto xiii. 58.

This mastery over the passions is shown alike in the despair which petrifies Ugolino, as the wretched father sees his children pine from day to day, and one after another droop and die with hunger, shut up in the *Torre del Fame*, the keys of which he had heard flung into the Arno by his arch-enemy; in the self-devotion of Francesca and her love, unquenched by misery and death; in the blasphemies of the lost on the shores of Acheron; in the milder sorrows of the repentant in Purgatory; and in the joy with which the poet hails the object of his undying attachment in the realms of blessedness. Even before he ascends thither, the mention of her name overcame his reluctance to pass through the flaming barrier of Purgatory.

> "As Pyramus, at Thisbe's name, his eyes
> Open'd in death, once more on her to look,
> What time the mulberry gained its crimson dyes,
> Even thus one word my obstinacy shook."
>
> *Purgatorio*, canto xxvii. ll. 36—40.

The exquisite opening of the eighth canto, where he describes the hour of twilight, proves how keen was his observation of human nature.

> "The hour was come that wakes desire anew,
> And melts the heart in voyagers, when they
> That day to their sweet friends have said 'Adieu!'
> And thrills the new-made pilgrim on his way
> With love, if he from far the vesper bell
> Should hear, that seems to mourn the dying day."
>
> *Purgatorio*, canto viii. ll. 1—6.

We do not agree with Lord Macaulay in the opinion that the external world made *little impression* on the mind of Dante, or that his observation was fixed *exclusively* on human nature. Innumerable passages might be pointed out which would prove the incorrectness of his remark. We shall

content ourselves with one description of a scene of surpassing beauty, that of *Matilda gathering flowers.*

"Already had my slow steps wander'd o'er
The ground so far within an ancient wood,
That I its entrance could perceive no more;
And, lo, a brook my onward march withstood;
While towards the left the herbs that by it grow
Bend with the wavelets of its crystal flood.
The purest streams that from earth's fountains flow
With them some taint or feculence combine
Compared with this, which nothing hides below;
Yet black with shade its limpid waves decline
Under that verdant roof's perpetual screen,
Through which no sun or moon can ever shine.
My steps were stay'd, but with mine eyes the scene
Beyond the stream I reach'd, amazed to see
The varied bloom of branches fresh and green.
All on a sudden there appear'd to me,
As when aught strikes us with astonishment,
Causing all other thoughts at once to flee,
A lady unaccompanied, that went
Singing, and gathering flowers from flowers, that wove
Along her path its rich embellishment."

Purgatorio, canto xxviii. ll. 23—42.

The interest which Dante took in the stirring events of his own time is everywhere manifested. His conversation with Farinata in the tenth canto of *Inferno*, says Mr. Hallam, "is very fine, and illustrative of Florentine history." That with Pièro della Vigne, in the thirteenth canto, exhibits in a light equally striking the cabals that infested the court of the Emperor Frederick II.; while the narrative given of himself by Guido Montefeltro is a damning exposure of the Papal Court and its intrigues and tyranny under the ambitious and unprincipled Boniface VIII., "the Prince of the new Pharisees." His power of sarcasm and invective was terrible; witness the imprecation against Pisa for its heartless cruelty to the innocent children of Ugolino, the reproof of the Emperor Albert for permitting the continuance of Italian anarchy, and the reproach with which he thunderstrikes the Simonists and Pope Nicholas IV. in hell. We quote the first and last of these examples:—

"Ah, Pisa! Shame of all who appertain
To that fair land with language of soft sound,
To punish thee, since neighbours yet abstain,
Capraia and Gorgona from the ground

Rise, and a mole o'er Arno's entrance throw,
Till with her waters all in thee be drown'd.
That he thy castles had betray'd, although
Count Ugolino was accused by fame,
His children thou should'st not have tortured so.
The shield of innocence which youth may claim
(New Thebes) Uguccion and Brignta share."

Inferno, canto xxxiii. ll. 79—89.

In relating his conversation with Pope Nicholas IV., he says :—

"I know not if too rashly I my mind
Express'd, but my reply this burden bore :
'Alas! now tell me, when our Lord inclined
To put the keys into St. Peter's power,
What treasures did he first of him demand?
None—'Follow me,' he said, and asked no more.
Peter and th' others of Matthias' band
Nor gold nor silver took, when lots they cast
For one in Judas' forfeit place to stand.
Then stay where thy just punishment thou hast,
And look that well thou guard that wealth ill gain'd,
Whence thou against King Charles emboldenn'd wast.
And if it were not that I am restrain'd
By reverence for the keys which once did fill
Thy grasp, while cheerful life to thee remain'd,
The words I speak would be severer still;
Because your avarice the whole world hath grieved,
Trampling the good, and raising up the ill.
You shepherds the Evangelist perceived,
When her who on the waters sits he saw,
And who with kings in filthy whoredom lived.
Her who with seven heads born could also draw
From the ten horns conclusive argument,
While yet she pleased her spouse with virtue's law.
What could the idolater do more, who bent
To gold and silver, which you make your God?
But worship to a hundred ye present
For one! Ah, Constantine, what ills have flow'd
Though not from thy conversion, from the dower
Which to thy gift the first rich father owed."

Inferno, canto xix. 88.

Dante, without question, like Luther at the commencement of his career, acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and held most of the doctrines of the Church of Rome. In short he was a sincere Catholic. But in early life he had become acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, and the result

is obvious throughout his poem. To them, and not to his own labours, learning, experience, or philosophy, he ascribes the light of truth which had been poured into his soul. In reply to the question, "What is faith?" he answers, "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the proof of things not seen." In answer to St. Peter's question, "This previous faith, whence comes it?" he replies, "The copious rain of the Holy Spirit, which is poured out on the Old and New Testament, and an argument which so conclusively convinces me that every other proof seems obtuse in comparison therewith." After having recited the articles of his belief, he concludes;—

> "And this reveal'd profundity Divine
> Which now I touch on, to my heart has given
> And seal'd the evangelic doctrine mine.
> This is the root, the spark whose fiery leven,
> Wide spreading, kindles to a vivid flame,
> And in me sparkles like a star in heaven."
>
> *Paradiso*, canto xxiv. ll. 142—147.

Dante regarded the temporal sovereignty of the Pope as the source of Papal corruption, and of the misery of his country.

> "Rome, that of old reform'd the world, bestow'd
> Light from two suns, to show how each way tends
> That of the civil state, and that of God;
> One has the other quench'd, confusion blends
> The sword and crosier; and when thus together,
> They cannot fitly work to their due ends;
> Because when joined the one fears not the other.
> But if thou doubt it, see what fruits abound;
> Each plant is known when we the harvest gather.
>
> • • • •
>
> The Church of Rome, now fallen in mire confess,
> By her confounding these two regiments,
> Herself makes filthy and her charge no less."
>
> *Purgatorio*, canto xvi. ll. 106—129.

Out of many, we shall select but one more of Dante's invectives against the Papacy and its corruptions. It is where St. Peter *blushes* for the conduct of his successors, and the blush spreads over heaven!

> "And such eclipse, I think, there was in Heaven,
> When pain was by the Power Divine endured.

Then with so changed a voice his words* were given
As he the facts proceeded to unfold,
Not greater change had mark'd his aspect even.
'The spouse of Christ was not advanced of old
With mine and Linus's and Cletus' blood,
That they might basely serve to gather gold;
But to acquire the blest life here bestow'd.
When Sixtus, Pius, good Calixtus, and
Urban, their blood pour'd forth, whose tears had flow'd,
We did not mean that of the Christian band
A part should at the right their station have
Of our successors, part on their left hand;
Nor that the keys which unto me Christ gave
Should e'er the symbol on a banner be
In battle against Christian men to wave;
Nor on their seal that they should sculpture me,
Their vended lying pardons to allow,
For which I blush and sparkle frequently.
Rapacious wolves in shepherds' garments now
Through all the pastures from this height are seen.
Vengeance of God! Why longer sleepest thou?
To drink our blood Cahorsians, Gascons† keen
Themselves prepare! O, entrance excellent,
To what vile close dost thou thyself demean!
But that high Providence that Scipio sent,
Rome, the world's glory, scathless to maintain,
Will aid her soon, as I deem evident.
And thou who dost thy mortal weight sustain,
And wilt return below, speak out, my son,
And hide not what I have to thee made plain."

Paradiso, canto xxvii. ll. 35—66.

Although Dante has interpreted to us the Middle Ages, it would seem that in many cases he himself needs an interpreter. Accordingly his works have had a greater number of commentators and translators than any other literary production, except the Sacred Writings. This may be accounted for from the interest they have excited, as well as from their profundity. "All knowledge," says Coleridge, "begins with wonder,‡ passes through an interspace of admiration mixed

* Peter's: his voice, in relating the facts, was as much changed as his aspect.

† Clement V. was a Gascon, elected Pope A.D. 1305, and died in 1314. John XXII., elected in 1316, was of Cahors, noted for its usurers. After his death, says Fleury, "twenty-five millions of florins were found in his coffers, eighteen millions in specie, and the rest in jewels, plate, &c., all which he had extorted from the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate."

‡ It is a common saying, *Admiratio peperit philosophiam:* Wonder at the works of God first set men to inquire into the immediate causes of natural phenomena.—See TRAPP on *The Canticles*, chap. v. ver. 8.

with research, and ends in wonder again." Among the commentators of Dante the greatest diversity of interpretation has prevailed. In a passage probably suggested by acquaintance with Dante, Milton describes himself with his lamp at midnight, on some high lonely tower, where he might outwatch the Bear or "unsphere

> The spirit of Plato, to unfold
> What worlds or what vast regions hold
> The immortal mind that hath forsook
> Her mansion in this fleshly nook."

There is no need for wishing that we could unsphere the spirit of Dante, to know "what he means" in the above passage from *Paradiso*.* Yet Gabriele Rosetti, a countryman of Dante's, published two octavo volumes to prove his poem to be a covert, allegorical, and political satire on the Papacy; and that there exists a key to explain it, which in the author's time only the initiated possessed. "The voice of ages," he writes, "proclaimed Dante to be no less profound as a theologian than matchless as a poet; deeply did I meditate on his works and compare them one with another. I confronted them with those of other authors; and as doubt swelled into suspicion, and suspicion became certainty, I cannot describe the feelings with which the full (conviction) of his *hypocrisy* overwhelmed me."—(*Disquisitions*, vol. ii. p. 198.) We think the author, "come quei ch 'ha mala luce," looks a great way off to discover what is just at hand. That some parts of the *Trilogy* are to be understood in a figurative sense, Dante himself has told us. Milton has introduced into *his* poem the allegory of Death and Sin; but we do not on that account regard *Paradise Lost* as an allegory the sense of which is esoteric, or as a political mystification like the jocular narratives of Rabelais. The spirit of Dante was too bold and lofty to seek the shelter of "hypocrisy," and he has in the most outspoken and daring manner launched his tremendous invectives against the Court of Rome. It is probable, indeed, that in the opening of his poem, the panther, the lion, and the wolf, are intended as emblems of the Neri and their allies;

* It would perhaps take many a *modern* poet by surprise, and put him to no small embarrassment, to be asked the *meaning* of such and such a particularly fine phrase. It is said that some gentlemen, having got into a dispute about the meaning of a passage in Goethe's poetry, determined, as the most sure and satisfactory method of deciding, to apply to the bard himself and ask an explanation. This they did, and begged he would kindly inform them what his meaning was in the passage referred to. Goethe replied, "Really, gentlemen, I do not know, and cannot possibly say, what I *did* mean!"

this was according to the spirit of the time: but he soon drops all metaphor, inveighing against them in the plainest and most bitter terms, in open and undisguised warfare.

The opinion, therefore, of Thomas Carlyle respecting the *Divina Commedia*, commends itself to our judgment as well as to our feelings, which revolt from Rosetti's odious charge of hypocrisy:

"It is the *sincerest* of all poems! It came deep out of the author's heart of hearts; and it goes deep, and through long generations, into ours. Sincerity, too, we find to be the measure of worth. No work known to me is so elaborate as this of Dante's. It has all been molten in the hottest furnace of his soul. Every compartment is worked out, with intense earnestness, into truth, into clear visuality. It is the soul of Dante, and in this the soul of the Middle Ages, rendered for ever rhythmically visible there. There is a brevity, an abrupt transition in him. Tacitus is not briefer, more condensed; and then in Dante it seems a natural condensation, spontaneous to the man. One smiting word, and then there is silence; nothing more is said. This silence is more eloquent than words. With what a sharp decisive grace he snatches the true likeness of a matter; cuts into it as with a pen of fire. Plutus, the blustering giant, collapses at Virgil's rebuke, 'as the sails sink, the mast being suddenly broken.' Or that poor Brunetto Latini, with the *cotto aspetto*, face 'baked,' parched brown and lean; and the 'fiery snow-wind,' slow, deliberate, never-ending! Or the lids of those tombs; square sarcophaguses, in that silent dim-burning hall, each with its soul in torment; the lids laid open there, to be shut at the judgment-day, through eternity. And how Farinata rises: and how Cavalcante falls at hearing of his son, and the past tense 'fue.'

"Dante's painting is not only graphic, brief, true, and of a vividness as of fire in a dark night, it is every way noble, and the outcome of a great soul. Francesca and her lover! a thing woven of rainbows, on a ground of eternal black. A small flute voice of infinite wail speaks there into our very heart of hearts. A touch of womanhood in it too: *della bella persona, che mi fu tolta;* and even in the pit of woe, it is a solace, that *he* will never part from her! Saddest tragedy in these *altai guai*. And the racking winds in that *aer bruno*, whirl them away again to wail for ever! Dante was the friend of this poor Francesca's father. Francesca, herself, may have sat upon the poet's knee, when a bright, innocent child. Infinite pity, yet infinite rigour of law: it is so nature is made,* it is so Dante discerned that

* We are told by Goethe, in his autobiography, that he had attained his sixth year when the terrible earthquake at Lisbon took place; "an event," he says, "which greatly disturbed his peace of mind for the first time." He could not reconcile a catastrophe so suddenly destructive to thousands with the idea of a Providence, all-powerful, and all-benevolent. But he afterwards learned, he tells us, to recognise in such events the "God of the Old Testament." Yes, it is the

she was made. What a paltry notion is that, of his *Divine Comedy's* being a poor splenetic, impotent, terrestrial libel; putting those into Hell whom he could not be avenged upon on earth! I suppose, if ever pity, tender as a mother's, was in the heart of any man, it was in Dante's. But a man who does not know vigour, cannot know pity either. His very pity will be cowardly, egotistic sentimentality, or little better. I know not in the world an affection equal to Dante's. It is a tenderness, a trembling, longing, pitying love, like the wail of Æolian harps, and soft as a young child's heart. Those longings of his towards Beatrice; their meeting in Paradise; his gazing in her pure transfigured eyes; her that had been purified by death so long, separated so far. One likens it to the song of angels; it is among the purest utterances that ever came out of a human soul.

"Dante is intense in all things. His scorn, his grief, are transcendant as his love; as, indeed, what are they but the *inverse* or *converse* of his love? '*A Dio spacienti, ed a' nemici sui*: Hateful both to God and to his enemies!' Lofty scorn, unappeasable silent reprobation and aversion; '*Non ragionam di lor*: We will not speak of them, but look and pass.' Or think of this, '*Non ha speranza di morte*: They have not the hope to die.' For rigour, earnestness, and depth, Dante is not to be paralleled in the modern world; to seek his parallel, we must go to the Hebrew Bible, and live with the antique prophets.

"Dante's poem is a sublime embodiment of the soul of Christianity. It expresses how he felt good and evil to be the two polar elements of this creation, on which it all turns; that these two differ, not by *preferability* of one to the other, but by incompatibly absolute and infinite; that the one is excellent and high, as light and Heaven, the other hideous, black—black as Gehenna and the pit of Hell. Everlasting justice, yet with penitence, with everlasting pity."

It must, however, be admitted, that the *Divina Commedia* is not without its faults. What human work is perfect? Homer sometimes nods, particularly in the management of his machinery, or treatment of the Gods of Olympus. The blending of Pagan mythology with Christian tradition and the truths of Holy Scripture, makes Dante's poem in some parts appear like the debateable ground between the ancient superstition and the newer faith; in which, however, the latter is victorious, and the dethroned and desecrated gods of the Pantheon, transformed to demons, are dragged at the chariot-wheels of the conqueror. In Dante's age, the Ptolemaic system was universally received; the poet, accordingly, re-

God of the Old Testament whom we see exhibited in all nature and all providence; and it is our wisdom and duty, however little we can comprehend his proceedings, to exercise full confidence in their justice and propriety. "Clouds and darkness are round about him, righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne."

gards the earth as immoveably fixed in the centre of the universe; and the sun, with all the planets and fixed stars, as moving round it once in every twenty-four hours. At that time, too, the authority of Aristotle was undisputed and paramount; so that a quotation from his works, with an *ipse dixit*, was deemed sufficient, and all-conclusive in any controversy. Even in theology, though himself a heathen, his authority was appealed to by Christian divines. Dante makes a somewhat prodigal display, occasionally, of his Aristotelian lore. Yet, endowed as he was with a rare sagacity, he went far ahead of his time, not only in theology, as we have seen, but also in physics. It was not until after the middle of the fifteenth century, that European voyagers crossed the Line; yet in the imaginary voyage of Ulysses to the Antipodes, Dante has foreshadowed the discoveries of the Portuguese, and may have given a hint to Columbus himself. Ulysses in describing his voyage southward, says:—

> "Each star of the other pole, as on we bore,
> The night beheld, and ours had sunk so low,
> That now it rose not on the ocean-floor."
> *Inferno*, canto xxvi. ll. 137—139.

And in relating his own voyage to the Mount of Purgatory, Dante says:—

> "I turn'd me to the right, and fixed my mind
> On the other pole, and those four stars I saw,
> Ne'er seen save by the earliest of mankind."
> *Purgatorio*, canto i. ll. 22—24.

Amerigo Vespuccio, Dante's countryman, in his third voyage, in 1501, first applied these lines to that magnificent constellation, the Southern Cross, which consists of four stars, and is to the southern what our Pole-star is to the northern hemisphere.

Dante displays his knowledge of gravitation, and the sphericity of the earth, when he speaks of the centre as the place—

> "Towards which all heavy things from all parts tend."
> *Inferno*, canto xxx. l. 3.

We have Cuvier's Theory of the Earth anticipated in a single line, *Inferno*, canto xii. l. 43:

> "The world has oft been into chaos turned."

And one can hardly help supposing that Dante must have had some acquaintance with the condition of the pre-Adamite

earth, and with its enormous occupants, now extinct, and so recently disclosed by geology. Of "the horrible giants," he says:—

> "Nature, indeed, when she declined the art
> Of forming such as these, did what was meet,
> Taking from war these vassals grim and swart;
> And if the elephant and whale so great
> Repent her not, who ponders as he ought
> Holds her herein more just and more discreet."
>
> *Inferno*, canto xxxi. l. 49.

That Dante was deficient in the feeling of humour, is true, but this can hardly be imputed to him as a fault. He never appeals to our sense of the ridiculous: he was much too earnest for jocularity, and he made his poem as serious as the grave and the world beyond it. Hence the inappropriateness of the word Comedy, which is *not* a true rendering of the word *Commedia*, as used by Dante, and understood in his time. A Comedy—without the least gleam of the comic from beginning to end, but much of the tragic, and more of the grand and sublime! Nor is it properly dramatic. Milton and Byron wrote dramas, but the genius of each was essentially undramatic. So was Dante's: in this respect it was in direct contrast with that of Shakspeare. The genius of Shakspeare was many-sided; and he sympathized with much which Dante would have condemned and scorned. The perfect dramatist never intrudes his own personality, but, forgetting himself, lives only in the character which he portrays. He displays the virtues and the vices, the wisdom and the folly of the different characters whom he undertakes to represent. It is his business to describe what is, and not to decide what should or should not be. Shakspeare's power of sympathy took a wider range than Dante's; and his creative power could identify itself with all it saw, could think their thoughts, and speak their language. In his historical plays we may discover, indeed, a genuine warmth of patriotism, but in his other writings we learn little of himself. His genius flashed its light over the whole world of human nature, describing actions without deciding on their merits or demerits. With Dante it was otherwise: he too has described mankind as he found them; but he has passed judgment on all he saw and heard, applauding their virtues with just praise, and branding their vices with the stamp of indelible infamy. There is also in his works (as in those of Byron) a constant and unavoidable self-portraiture. In reading Shakspeare we

seldom think of the author; in reading Dante we are never allowed to forget him. Shakspeare's presence is masked by the immense variety of characters which he assumes; but Dante ever accompanies us in his own. To Shakspeare's facile temperament fun and frolic appears to have given delight; he smiled on the follies of mankind, and seldom frowned on their vices; but from the severer moral judgment of Dante, and his unbending sternness, they always met with reprobation and condemnation.

The most extensively known translation into English of Dante's *Divine Comedy* is Cary's, of which many thousand copies have been sold since it was first published by subscription. But it is in *blank verse*, which can give the reader no idea of Dante's music—the *terza rima* of the original—that continuous and interchanging harmony, so suitable to Dante's great and solemn theme, "like a chime on the bells of eternity." That so many translations of the Florentine poet should have recently appeared, is a tribute to his greatness, and a proof that a correct and elevated taste is increasing among English readers. There is no lack of correct versions of Dante; the most common and fatal fault in translations is the absence of the *vis poetica*. "A good translation," says the *Times* (Saturday, January 15th, 1859), "implies ability of the highest order, and this especially in poetry, where the idea is expressed in the most perfect form—in a form which cannot be altered in its minutest detail without injury. To translate the perfect crystal of one language into the perfect crystal of another is no mean effort, and the instances in which this has been done so well as to preclude every attempt at rivalry are very few. . . . It is nonsense to translate the *ottava rima* of Tasso into English heroics;—it is an injustice to translate the *terza rima* of Dante into blank verse."

It has been observed by Mr. Gladstone, in his work on "Homer and the Homeric Age," that Homer, Shakspeare, and Dante have succeeded, as none others have done, in expressing fully, by the flow and rhythm of their verse, the thoughts they intended to convey, and this without any straining after effect, or unnatural distortion of language; indeed, without leaving a trace to show that the effect produced has been in any way the result of care or labour.

The translation of the *Inferno*, the title of which stands at the head of our article, is the most recent that has come under our notice. It is, as far as we can judge, correct, in good taste,

and, certainly, superior to several of its predecessors. We quote a single passage as a specimen.

" As through the air doves to the cherish'd nest
With wings firm set and wide expanded fly,
By loving instinct borne along and press'd;
So forth came these from Dido's company,
Speeding their way through the dun air malign;
So potent spake the tender loving cry:
'O creature, condescending and benign,
That goest through the black empurpled air,
Visiting us who the earth with blood did stain:
Were the world's King our friend, to Him our prayer
We would direct, and ask of Him thy peace;
Since in our ill perverse thou so dost share,
What to your ears, or speech, may chiefly please,
That will we hear, that will we speak with you,
While yet the hurricane, as now, may cease.' "

With this we may compare the following from the version of Dante to which we have been already so largely indebted for our illustrative quotations—a version which we hope soon to see completed by the addition of the *Paradiso*:—

" Like doves air-borne that fly where fondness leads,
On wings outstretch'd and firm to their sweet nest,
So these from where the troop of Dido speeds,
Approach'd us, wafted through the air unblest;
Of such avail my gentle speech I found:
'O gracious One,' thus they their thoughts express'd,
'Benignant soul, who to this dark profound
Art come, though living, through the lurid air,
To visit us, whose blood hath tinged the ground.
If Nature's King with us in friendship were,
Him would we for thy welfare supplicate;
Since thou hast pitied the dire ills we bear,
What thou shalt please to hear or to relate,
That will we hear or tell thee readily,
While thus the tempest doth its rage abate."

Dr. Henry C. Barlow, the title of whose recent work we have given, is well known, from his previous publications, as a warm admirer of the great Italian poet. He is said to have originated the proposal for a Dante celebration (see *Morning Post*, May 25th), and to have been the author of the programme which was observed on the occasion. By his Italian studies and travels, he appears to have acclimated his genius to that people and their delightful country, so that in one part of the proceedings in Florence during the festival,

he delivered a speech in the Italian language. His recent volume of "Critical, Historical, and Philosophical Contributions to the Study of the *Divina Commedia*," displays great industry and extensive research. We have an introductory account of Codices; an account of Codices at Rome, in Florence, in other parts of Italy, in France and Belgium, in England, in Denmark, and in Germany; then an account of the various readings in the *Inferno*, in *Purgatorio*, and in *Paradiso*, with a copious index and supplement. The readings constitute the great bulk of the volume, of which the largest space is given to *Paradiso*. Some of these have previously appeared in the *Athenæum*. We do not agree with the learned doctor in all his conclusions; but his criticisms on various passages, his illustrations of Dante's great work, and view of its literary history, deserve the attention and must command the respect of every student of the *Trilogy;* while his thorough appreciation of the illustrious Florentine is worthy of all commendation.

At the close of the first day's proceedings in celebration of the six-hundredth birthday of Dante, the City of Flowers was the scene of a splendid illumination. The winding Arno reflected myriads of lamps, the bridges that cross it and streets on either side of it might be traced in long lines of light, amidst which rose conspicuous the Duomo, the Campanile, and the church of Santa Croce; and far away among the cypresses, old San Minuato shone out resplendent against the evening sky; while in the heart of the city, the Bargello seemed on fire; and soaring above all, the grand tower of the Palazzo Vecchio shone brightly—like the rekindled Pharos of Liberty. May the auspicious omen be fully realized! May the recent happy gathering in Florence, which we regard as a sign of the unity and freedom to which Italy has already attained, prove also a means of strengthening that unity, without which Italian freedom cannot long exist, and a truthful augury of that complete emancipation of all her children from the yoke of the Austrian, from the tyranny of the Popedom, and from the dominion of error, superstition, and vice, which, in the counsels of a wise and gracious Providence, we have no doubt is intended for her.

ART. II.—*Histoire des Institutions Carlovingiennes, et du Gouvernement des Carlovingiennes.* Par J. M. LEHUEROU. 1 vol. 8vo.

WE have attempted* to give an account of the state of Gaul at the time when the barbarians broke through the barriers of the Roman empire, and struck a formidable blow at the colossus of Latin civilization; we have seen the German chieftains aspiring to the honour of continuing the political traditions of the masters of the world, and aiming merely at being the lieutenants of rulers who were not strong enough to retain an authority acquired at the cost of so much blood; finally we have witnessed the catastrophe of the Merovingian dynasty, defeated in their endeavour to alter the very foundation of the society from which they had sprung. We purpose on the present occasion studying what that society really was; in other terms, we would point out, as accurately as we can, the leading features of feudalism, and see how these features were developed during the government of the Carlovingians. But it will be best to quote our programme in M. Lehuerou's own words: "We shall prove that what has been called feudalism during the tenth century, and those which followed, was really nothing else than the simple and natural carrying out of the principles and customs by which the Germanic family had been from time immemorial governed on the other side of the Rhine; the feudal laws were only the continuation or expansion of a state of things anterior to the conquest, and which the conquest itself had never interrupted; the *domestic* institutions of the German tribe, when it encamped beyond the river, may be discovered as the basis of all the *civil* and *political* institutions which obtained in Gaul, during the two first races; and under the semi-Roman covering of the administration of Clovis and of Charlemagne may be found, close to the surface, ideas, traditions, forms and institutions, entirely feudal in their nature. From our researches, this singular fact will result, that the Merovingian government, with its borrowed display of dukes, counts, palatine militia, Roman taxes, and imperial imitations, was really superimposed on another government, acting from principles and by means diametrically opposite. It was exactly the same under the Carlovingians; and whatever may have been said to the contrary, the great

* *London Quarterly Review*, April, 1865.

name of Charlemagne is identified with a structure which was, in its character, semi-feudal." *

At the root of society among the Germans, as well as at its earliest commencement, we find the family institute; each family offers a complete organism, its life is perfectly independent, and it could subsist even when the national unity had disappeared. This fact is quite evident to any one who enquires into the condition of the Teutonic tribes towards the dawn of the fifth century. We may say, indeed, that the state is constituted, for we find the *malberg*† established; deliberations are taken in common, judgments are publicly passed, and chiefs or magistrates have been appointed for the purpose of watching over the interests of the whole confederacy.‡ But at that early time, when public authority was not yet thoroughly settled, nor its limits properly defined, it was natural that the chief should throw as much as possible of his own responsibility upon the head of each family, and divide between them all a burden for which he did not feel sufficiently strong. Hence a variety of enactments which may appear, at first sight, very trifling, and almost fanciful, but which are quite natural, if we connect them with the institutions from which they issued. We shall quote M. Lehuerou's observations on the subject:—

"The head of a family was responsible in the eyes of the law, not only for his wife and for those of his children who lived in his house, but also for his slaves, and for the animals which belonged to him. Much more, he was compelled to answer for all the persons who either immediately or remotely were under his authority, whether they resided in his house, such as the *ministeriales* employed in his service, or only on his estate, but under a different roof, like the *coloni*; or, finally, if they were merely his dependants; for instance, those who had recommended themselves to him, and had obtained neither employment nor benefice.§ But that, even, was not all; the *paterfamilias* was responsible for the harm which his sword or his bow had done without his participation, for the injury which his neighbour's cattle might have inflicted upon itself, in jumping over his own hedge or his own ditch; for the damage done upon his own domain unknown to him, and by others than those who were not legally responsible towards him. The law was inexorable in its precautions; so much so, that in the absence of the culprit, it obliged his immediate superior to give satisfaction, with the clause that he might afterwards institute proceedings against the defaulter." ‖

* Lehuerou, *Constit. Carlovingiennes*, p. 3. † Hill of the Parliament.

‡ Tacit. *German*. 12.

§ Cf. Leg. Æthelredi reg.; Leg. Burgund. Vitul. 65, *de pupillis*.; Leg. Salic. antiq. xiii. 2; Karol. magni capit. minora a. 803, 12; Lex Saxon. Vitul. 13; Leg. Edward. Confess. 21.

‖ Lehuerou, pp. 13, 14. Cf. the copious notes given by the author.

A natural consequence of such a legislation was the suspicion with which all persons were regarded who had no property, or who could not claim the protection of any landowner. The most stringent laws were passed against vagrancy, and always severely carried out. "We decree," said a Saxon law, "against all men who have no master, *and from whom no one can obtain his rights*, that their relatives must bring them back to the law of nations, *and find them a master in the assembly of the people*."* It has been remarked, that the legislation to which we are now alluding has contributed more than anything else to the establishment and development of feudalism throughout Europe. The ravages of the Normans, and other similar events, may have indirectly helped the raising of that fabric which is identified with the history of the middle ages; but the system of responsibility, founded upon the notions of property, lies at its very foundations. There is a strong inter-dependence amongst all truths, and one consequence leads to another. The Utopian *philosophers* of the eighteenth century built up an ingenious romance about man in a state of nature; unfortunately their starting point was essentially false, and therefore its consequences were absurd in the same degree. Notwithstanding the assertions of socialists and communists, notwithstanding the paradoxes of M. Proudhon, we find property at the origin of every society as a condition of order, and invested even with a religious character which renders it inviolable; at Rome, during the early times of the commonwealth, the family hearth was the centre of religion, and the tomb, the buildings, the whole house, in fact everything concerned with it, had a sacredness carefully guarded by the most stringent laws.† A person who cannot say of one inch of land that it is his own, who has no "goods and chattels," feels no interest in the maintenance of order; nay, more, revolutions and lawlessness are almost for him conditions of existence. Amongst the societies of the ancient world, the *advena* was always presumed to be an enemy;‡ we find precisely the same circumstances during the middle ages, and from the numerous proofs given by M. Lehuerou, one may, perhaps, be adduced here; it will serve as a specimen:—

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* Et statuimus de hominibus domino carentibus, *e quibus nullus jus suum obtinere potest*, ut oretur cognatio eorum ut eos ad jus gentium adducant, *et dominum eis inveniant* in conventu populi. *Leg. Æthelstan.* 2.

† See an admirable book by M. Fustel de Coulanges, entitled *La Cité antique, Etude sur le Culte, le Droit, les Institutions de la Grèce et de Rome.* Paris, Durand, 1864, 8vo. pp. 66—100.

‡ Adversus hostem æterna auctoritas esto.

"He whose property shall have been placed under the ban, on account of some crime committed by him, if, after due notice, he defers presenting himself before the magistrate in order to make satisfaction, and if he thus allows a year and a day to pass over, let him no longer recover possession of his goods, but let them be distrained by the treasury.*

"And as human frailty is ever more inclined to injustice than to the spirit of equity, and as the devil ever strives and endeavours to obscure the light of intelligence in our poor humanity, in order to prevent it from seeing the chastisement of God, and from warding it off by newness of life; whereas it has come to our knowledge, that some unruly persons belonging to the counties ravaged by the Northmen, and who formerly had there lands, slaves, and houses of their own, give themselves up to evil without scruple, now that they have neither slaves nor houses, saying that justice has no longer any power over them; and as they have no longer any houses in which, according to the law, the citation and the ban can be pronounced to them; they further say that they cannot be lawfully cited, banished, convicted, or judged. For this reason, wishing to prevent the effect of such craft, with the consent and by the advice of our *fideles*, we order that the count shall send his messenger into the property where the guilty person resided, and that he shall then make the citation and issue the summons; and as the law is made by the consent of the people, and according of the will of the king, the Franks shall declare by oath that the ban and summons thus made have been legally made; consequently his property shall be placed under the ban by sentence of the Scabini; and, if necessary, he must be under the ban himself, since he refuses to submit to justice."†

We thus see that the head of each family amongst the Germanic tribes had an immense responsibility; the authority he enjoyed must have been in the same proportion, and we shall now briefly sketch what were its principal limits.

1. *Relations between husband and wife, father and children, &c.*—The wife was the husband's property to a less degree, no doubt, than among the Romans, but for the same reason. As far as all the acts of domestic life were concerned, she was entirely under his control; and in transactions of a civil nature, she could only take a part through his agency. During the life of her husband she figured in the sum total of his goods, and as an item in the profits of his household; so after his death she appeared as part of the benefits of the inheritance. For this reason it was not unusual to see one of the heirs marry the widow.‡

* Theodorici I. *capit. Aquisgran.* a. 817. † Caroli II. *Edict. Terlense*, a. 864.

‡ Thus Chlotair I. married Gundeuca, widow of his brother Chlodomir (Greg. Turon. iii. 6), in inheriting half of his kingdom. He married afterwards Radegund, daughter of Bertharius, king of the Thuringians, whose estates he had conquered (*ibid.* iii. 7). He likewise married Waldrada, widow of his nephew Theodebaldus, whom he had succeeded as king of Austrasia (Fredeg. *Epitom.* 50.)

All the relations between husband and wife bear witness to this inferiority. She calls him her lord; she waits for his orders before placing herself by his side at table; and when she does take her place, she kisses his knees. As for that chivalrous gallantry which became afterwards the principal character of the Germanic nations in their dealings with ladies, it is now proved that it originated, not in the prejudice or habits of the northern tribes, but in the leisure and frivolity of the inhabitants of the south of France. If we examine carefully the laws of the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Franks, and other tribes of barbarians, we see everywhere clear proofs that women *had no right* to inherit landed property. The sons alone divided the land between them, and the women enjoyed merely a kind of dowry in case of marriage. If they remained unmarried, or if they resided together with their brothers under the paternal roof, the brothers were bound to provide suitably for them; or the father himself, before his death, made over to them some part of his estate, in order that they might not be left dependent upon the changeful kindness of a relation.* At all events, whatever arrangements were decided on, the essential conditions remained the same: a share was made for the women; they did not make it, or contribute to make it themselves. It cannot be denied that at a later period the women were considered as capable of inheriting landed property if there were no sons in the family; but this was distinctly an innovation. The edict of Chilperic, which has often been quoted as bearing upon this question, and which establishes on behalf of the daughters a right of inheritance when there are no sons, was evidently a concession made to dissatisfied interests. It modifies in several important respects anterior dispositions, and always in a sense more favourable to the pretensions or the interests of the *leutes*. But we must bear in mind that these innovations were set aside by the Merovingian princes afterwards, whenever a question of inheritance arose, and the law which excluded absolutely the daughters from inheriting the land was strictly observed as long as the dynasty lasted.† With reference to the remainder of the property, the case was different. Thus the law of the Angli ascribes to them, to the exclusion of their brothers, the slaves, the money, and in general all the

* *Leg. Burg.* xiv. 7; *Luitp. legg.*; Eginh. *Vit. Karol. M.* 33.

† Thus Gontran, having no son, adopts his nephew Childebert, and declares him his heir (Greg. Tur. *Hist.* iii. 24).—In like manner, Childebert I. having only daughters, left the throne to his brother Chlotair I. (Agath. ii. pp. 36, 37, edit. Venet.)

moveable property. The law of the Burgundians contains a clause of the same nature. The ornaments and dresses used by females are declared to be the exclusive property of the daughters; they are at liberty to will them away, and if the sons can inherit them, it is only in case there should be no daughters, or the daughters should not have otherwise disposed of them. According to a similar arrangement, the sword, the cuirass, in short the whole armour, belongs to the son exclusively. We are led to suppose that this was a general practice, and a maxim adopted, in matters of succession, by all the barbarians, when they first framed laws for the maintenance of society among themselves.*

The question of the transmission of property is undoubtedly one of the most obscure in mediæval history; and if we would understand it well, we must bear in mind that amongst the barbarians there were no personal goods, but that whatever property there was belonged to the whole family. Hence, in certain cases, we find distant relatives sharing the inheritance left by a dead man, together with that man's children; hence, also, wills and testaments were unknown to the Germanic tribes in the most ancient times:† it was Luitprand who introduced them amongst the Lombards, and Gundebaldus amongst the Burgundians: the law of the Angli and of the Warini speaks of the power of making a will, as of a conquest or of a recent innovation. The church, charitable establishments,‡ and the king§ were alone capable of receiving donations, for we should hardly apply the name of gift in a case where the ultimate return of the thing given was expected.‖ Finally, the father of the family was not always at liberty to dispose of his property; we mean, of course, that portion of it which he had received from his ancestors. As for what he had acquired by his own exertion, he could freely bestow it away upon whomsoever he liked.¶ It was by virtue of this distinction that William the Conqueror, when on his deathbed, left Normandy to Robert, because he had inherited it from his father; whilst to William, his favourite second son, he left England, which he had obtained by his sword.

Before taking leave of this part of our subject, we must also notice that what may be called *the right of capacity* was universally carried out amongst the barbarians, and that it qualified very much the relations between the various members of the

* Cf. *Leg. Burg.* li. 3, 6; *Leg. Angl. et Werin.* vi. 5. † Tacit. *Germ.* 20.
‡ Luitprand, leg. vi. 19. § Leg. Saxon. xv. *de traditionibus.*
‖ Luitprand, leg. vi. 19. Cf. Ducange, s. v. *Thinæ*, *Launegild.*
¶ *Ley. Burg.* i.

same family. In a society where physical force held so important a place, capacity in all things was an indispensable condition of right: incapacity, from whatever cause, was a sufficient motive of exclusion. M. Lehuerou adduces a great number of examples to prove this.* The children of Chlodomir, for instance, were deprived by their uncles of the right they had to the paternal succession, on account of their youth; and the idea of getting rid of them altogether suggested itself only when they became old enough to vindicate their claims. Thus also Charibert, younger brother of Dagobert, was on account of his simplicity in the first place absolutely excluded, and afterwards admitted to an unequal share in the succession; thus Charlemagne excluded his eldest son Pepin from his rights because he was deformed, and there is no doubt that the young prince's revolt is to be ascribed to the injustice of which he fancied himself the victim.

"We see," M. Lehuerou remarks, "that the principle of utility overrules all this theory, where the holiest maxims of right struggle painfully against the exigencies and predilections of the barbarians. During the childhood of societies, and in the midst of the violence which assails them at their birth, right is only another name for might, and, if it is distinguished from it in principle, they are both blended together in application. We should appreciate from this point of view the problem, so often and so fruitlessly discussed, of Pepin's usurpation. Tormented and sick, if we may so say, with the preoccupations of our own times, the *esprit de système* has mixed up those preoccupations in questions which should have been always free from them. The deposition of Childeric, and the accession of his successor, have been judged according to the ideas and the maxims of the nineteenth century. They should, on the contrary, have been tested by the manners and facts of the age in which they took place; and then, instead of a deed of political immorality, the whole transaction would have appeared what it really was, the fresh application of a principle which had governed the monarchy since its establishment."†

The introduction of the right of primogeniture was of comparatively later date, and cannot be traced with any certainty further back than the year 817. We see in the formula of Marculfus that even under the kings of the Merovingian dynasty, a father might, by a solemn act, reserve to himself the right of bestowing upon any of his sons some extraordinary advantage, and of thus giving him greater power and influence than the rest; but this was only by way of exception, and the fact of a special deed being necessary shows that it was really a viola-

* Pp. 91, 97. † Lehuerou, pp. 100, 101.

tion of the law. It is not difficult to see, however, that the right of favouring, in part, one of the sons, was the first step in a complete change of the old system, which had obtained amongst the barbarians. Property, in the earliest instance, belonged to the whole clan; then it was restricted to one family; then, within the sphere of the family, the women were excluded; at a further stage, minors were debarred from inheriting, and, finally, the eldest son was the only one qualified to succeed. Such were the various phases of a transformation, which became absolutely necessary when the principle of the unity and indivisibility of power was once recognised.

2. *Relations between lord and vassal.*—These were essentially founded upon the duties which a servant owes to his master, the latter being bound to the former by a species of contract, which could not be annulled on the part of the vassal, except in case the lord had been guilty of misdeeds of the most serious nature. The terms of the agreement secured to the vassal food, lodging, clothing, or a benefice representing the amount, and sometimes the benefice was even added to the rest. The relations between lord and vassal were of a twofold nature. In the first place, the vassal was in his lord's *trust;* that is to say, he promised to him fidelity and devotedness; he was obliged to follow him in the wars, to share his dangers, to protect his life, and to avenge his death. But, on the other hand, the vassal was also in his lord's *mundium,** under his *mundeburd,* and on that ground he might claim from him help and protection. This protection, which, during the vassal's lifetime, was expressed by habitual acts of goodwill, and in case of need by efficacious assistance, consisted chiefly, when the vassal was killed, in avenging him on the murderer, and in sharing the composition with the relatives of the deceased if an arrangement could be brought about. The vassals were regarded as belonging to the lord's family, so that any insult offered to them affected him also, and, consequently, he was entitled to part of the pecuniary damages, a fine assessed in consideration of the injury perpetrated. This is so true, that the bishop, in many cases, vindicated his right to receive the composition for offences committed against the monks and other clerks belonging to his episcopal jurisdiction; and we find here, incidentally, a remarkable proof of the power of attraction

* From the Teuton *mund*, which signifies *mouth, speech*; cf. Wachter, *glossar.* s.v. *mund.*

which the feudal system exercised, since even the church was affected by it.*

The Latin words *vassus*, *gasindus*, by which the lord's dependants were designated, mean guest, servant, companion, and therefore conjure up before us the idea of a family. The expressions *ministeriales*, *domestici*, which were the translations of Teutonic equivalents, are, perhaps, still more decisive; and a great number of authentic texts might be adduced, proving in the most conclusive manner the statement we have just made. To quote from M. Lehuerou:— "The vassals were real *domestics*, *familiars*, *servitors*, men combining in their own person dependence and freedom. They were *valets* (*vasleti*, *vassalletti*), either living at the chieftain's table, or possessing a benefice which was nothing but an extension or equivalent of it. The amount of the benefice went towards the maintenance, the food, the wages of the beneficiary who enjoyed it, and who on account of this arrangement had only a life interest in it. We must bear in mind that the lord always considered himself as the real, the sole proprietor of the benefice, the enjoyment of which he had made over to his vassal as administrator or curator."† The vassal was fully entitled to the free use of the benefice; but he could not apply any portion of it to another destination, and if he neglected to attend to it and keep it in order, he was, of course, dismissed.

The benefice was so truly a salary, a pay, that the ideas of benefice and of personal duty were inseparable. For, when a freeman engaged himself in the service of another, he acquired *ipso facto* the right of being either lodged under that person's roof and clothed at his expense, or receiving a benefice by way of compensation. If the condition was not fulfilled, the agreement became null and void, and the vassal was at liberty to contract an engagement elsewhere. In a diploma of the Emperor Conrad II., the vassals of the Duke Ernest of Austria pledge themselves, their sons and their descendants, to "serve at their own expense during the first year that they shall frequent the court, without receiving anything, except on the first day of the new year the customary present of furs with a pelisse (*pelles cum pellicio*). But after the expiration of the year, they shall be entitled to a benefice, that is to say to four royal manses; and in fault of this they shall be at liberty to go wherever they like unless recalled by the offer of a suitable benefice." In the mind of the Germans the ideas

* Cf. note 4, p. 136, Lehuerou. † Pp. 138, 39.

of vassalage and domesticity were completely blended together, because they were both equally honourable. After having accompanied his chieftain in war and devoted his own life for his service, the vassal remained with him during the peace, and served him equally, although in another manner; for there was an immense difference between the obligations resulting from *personal* claims, and those resulting from the tenure of the *land*. The former were addressed less to the lord than to a companion or a friend; the latter were addressed at the same time to the lord and to the master.

M. Lehuerou has proved very conclusively* that the duties of *ost* and of *court*, that is to say, the obligation on the part of the vassal to follow his lord in war, and to assist him by his counsel when he held his court, must not be considered as being of modern date. They existed from time immemorial amongst the Germans, and embrace all the essentials of representative monarchy with its advantages, its guarantees, and its excellent results. "The kings of the first two races could, as a matter of principle, do nothing without the consent of their *leutes*, and, in point of fact, there were few circumstances where such an intervention did not prove highly beneficial. It was rigorously acted upon, especially in all domestic affairs; and as government transactions were at that time of a merely domestic character, it will be seen that in both the influence of the *leutes* was very great. Thus kings could succeed to the throne at their father's death only by the consent of their *leutes*. With their assistance, and in their presence, the land and the exchequer were divided; treaties, alliances, engagements of every nature must be concluded, sworn, and guaranteed by them.

3. *Coloni and serfs.*—On the third and last step of the social scale stood the numerous persons whom misery, the chances of war, and a variety of other accidents, placed without any reserve under the sway of the lords; and here, too, some slight distinction is to be noticed. Instead of binding themselves down for ever, and assuming the position of *coloni*, a few would engage their liberty only for a time, and, in fact, merely put up with the hardships which there was for them no means of escaping.

"Temporary occupants of the baronial land, they assumed the name of (*hospites*) which pointed out this fact, and during the whole time of their engagement they inhabited *hospitia* exclusively devoted to this destination. Occasionally, also, in order to recall the distinct reserva-

* Pp. 159, seq.

tions made by the *hospites* in favour of their ingenuity, and to prevent their being confounded with those who had given up their freedom for ever, their habitation was designated on the lord's rent-roll by the name *mansus ingenuilis* by way of contrast to the *mansus lidilis* or *mansus servilis* occupied by the real serf of the land.* Whenever they exercised any act of voluntary jurisdiction, they seldom failed to assume the quality of freemen. In most cases the work assigned to them was the clearing of a wood, or the reclaiming of a heath, and their misery became thus for the rich landholders an habitual source of speculation and of profit. Moreover, on every estate of some importance there were generally large tracts of waste lands, usually designated by the name of *communia*, the enjoyment of which was in all probability abandoned to them. . . . They formed an intermediate class between the *coloni*, properly so called, and the freemen; they marked the transition from liberty to servitude. The only difference between their situation and that of the majority of *coloni*, was that in the former case the bondage was of a strictly temporary nature. . . . In this respect they bore great resemblance to the freemen, who under the last emperors farmed other persons' property, at the same time reserving their liberty."†

The position of the *coloni* is the last fact which shall occupy us in connection with this part of our subject, and it is so singular that it requires some attention. Bound to the glebe, the *coloni* are bought and sold with it; yet they are acknowledged as personally free, and slaves only on account of the land which they cultivate for the benefit of another. Under no pretext can they leave the soil on which they are located as so many sheep; and yet the legislator sometimes acknowledges on their behalf certain rights which are inseparable of freedom, as, for instance, that of contracting a marriage sanctioned by the civil law; of having a property in the Roman sense of the word, that is to say a *fundus* which belonged only to them, and which they could dispose of in all liberty, independently of their *peculium*; this was less theirs than their master's, and they could neither sell nor alienate it without his consent. If they died *abintestat*, their master inherited whatever they had, and yet they could in several cases sue him at law. They constituted, in fact, a hybrid class placed halfway between man and the brute creation; their position was ambiguous, and this very ambiguity was for them a direct advantage. The antagonism between the principles of slavery and the ideas of freedom must at last bring about a

* Cf. *Polyptyque d'Irminon*, pub. par M. Guérard, passim.
† Lehuerou, pp. 179, 180.

complete revolution, and under the growing influence of Christianity the result was not doubtful.*

The *coloni* were bequeathed by the Romans to the barbarians, and under both systems they offer the same essential characters. The wonderful structure of the Roman empire included a kind of administrative glebe, if we may use such a name, enjoying by hereditary right the advantages, whilst they discharged the obligations, pertaining to their several offices. The trade of baker, butcher, silk manufacturer, the duties of public messenger, were hereditary; and the higher branches of the public service were carried out in exactly the same manner. The embankment of rivers, the construction of bridges, the keeping of the highways, the planning, erection, and repair of public buildings, were always managed by a system of requisitions or *corvées*, and after having paid into the treasury the money claimed on behalf of the taxes, the citizens were further obliged to do personal service, and to place themselves at the disposition of the government agents.

Amongst the barbarians we find exactly the same thing, and with them the family offered on a smaller scale the subdivision of duties performed by *serfs* which characterized the imperial system. As within the house there were slaves obliged to make the master's bread, his clothes, his headgear, his shoes or sandals; so on the estate itself others had to sow, to reap, to gather in the harvest, and to make the vintage. These various occupations were binding upon those who exercised them; they existed by virtue of a principle which never varied except, perhaps, in form.

We have now explained, as completely as we could, the structure of Germanic society. It was essentially, as we have already said, that of a family, and upon it rose in the first instance the Merovingian monarchy, propped up by Roman traditions and imperial reminiscences. The discrepancy was too great, and the first dynasty fell in consequence. The Carlovingians made a second attempt to found a state, but did not succeed better. The relations between lord and vassal are quite incompatible with the necessary conditions of a centralised and monarchical administration; either, therefore, the family must receive some important modifications, or the antagonistic principle of the monarchy must give way. It was the latter alternative that prevailed in the case of the Carlovingians.

After the terrible struggle which marked the ambitious

* Cf. *Cod. Justin.* lib. xi. *passim*, and *Cod. Theodos.* lib. v.

career of Frédégonde and Brunehaut, the first dynasty lived on for some time, defending itself as best it could against the powerful parties, headed by the mayors of the palace; Charles Martel it was who gave it the deathblow (720). For the space of sixteen years (725—741) this valiant chieftain is unceasingly occupied in stemming the fearful torrent of Saxons, Germans, and other barbarians who were rushing from the East on the French territory. We see him on the banks of the Rhine and the Elbe; the very next minute finds him near the Danube. He conquers the Teutonic hordes; then, with their assistance, he attacks a fierce army of invaders, who, descending from the Pyrenees, had overrun all the south of France as far as the Loire. The Saracens were stopped at Tours, and defeated in a famous battle (732), when Charles gained his surname of "the Hammerer," in consequence of his having crushed during the space of one single day (if the report is true) 360,000 of the enemy. In 725 he had led his forces through Suabia, Germany, Bavaria, and penetrated as far as the Danube. In 734 he subdued Friesland, killed Poppo, the chieftain of that country, and thoroughly destroyed both the temples and the idols. Aquitaine was conquered in 735, and Provence in the following year. In 738 he went through Saxony; in 739 he drove the Saracens from Provence and Septimania, taking possession of Avignon, Nismes, Béziers, Agde, and Narbonne. At these wonderful deeds Pope Gregory III. thought he recognized the direct messenger of God, and by a distinction unheard of till then, he gave him the keys of the tomb of Saint Peter, the bonds in which the Apostle had been fastened, and a number of most valuable presents. He offered, moreover, to acknowledge him as consul of Rome. Charles, however, was growing old, and he contented himself with sending to Rome a magnificent embassy, for the purpose of thanking the Pope, and paying reverence to the relics of Saint Peter. He died in 741.

If it be true that he who founds a dynasty is greater than the one who consolidates them, Charles Martel must be pronounced decidedly superior to Charlemagne, and yet it is the latter whom posterity has always regarded as *the* representative man of the Carlovingian race. This may be ascribed chiefly to two causes. First of all, the title of Emperor carries about it a prestige which, to many, is overruling; and "the Hammerer," who never wore a crown, must needs yield to him who donned the imperial purple. But, further, during the whole space of his forty years' reign,

Charlemagne proved himself the constant and generous protector of the church, whilst Charles Martel, on the contrary, was its spoliator; and as, at that time, "the pen of a ready writer" was exclusively held by ecclesiastics, we may imagine that the portrait they gave of the conqueror of the Saracens was not likely to be flattered.

The Merovingians had persisted in the effort to ruin the military aristocracy, from which they had sprung themselves; we must now examine briefly what was the nature of the government which succeeded them. According to what principles did the Carlovingians reign?

At the outset, even under Charlemagne, the monarchy was less a monarchy than an aristocratic system, in which the lords interfered regularly at fixed epochs, for the settling of special questions, by virtue of a right having the same origin, and assignable to the same date as the power which summoned them. This intervention was not limited to the great topics bearing upon the general interests of the state, and of the government; it extended to the discussion of private concerns, and to the domestic administration of the royal family; for we must not forget that amongst the Teutonic nations, the state has sprung from the family, and that during the reign of Charlemagne himself, the family and the state are perpetually blended together. In seasons of trouble, and of public dissension, the kings and emperors never considered their own authority, except in the light of a conditional and dependent power; the right they had to the obedience of their *leutes* depended essentially upon their own scrupulousness in executing their part of the compact. M. Lehuerou gives* a long extract from Hincmar, which proves most clearly the statement just made. The Carlovingian system of government was precisely that described by Tacitus as prevailing amongst the Germans—a family association in which the command was hereditary, but conditional and limited; whilst obedience was less a state of subjection than an expression of spontaneous and free deference. The king was only an *elder;* the lords, in their relations with one another, were peers and equals; in their relation with the prince, they were *leutes*, that is to say, men attached to his fortunes; councillors, auxiliaries, vassals, in other terms members of the king's household, *comites*, or companions, familiars, whose assistance was required, and whose intervention was compulsory in all cases where the

* Pp. 297—299.

affairs of the house underwent some serious modification, and even in the periodical festivities which brought together all the members of the family. Hence, the *cours plénières* of the middle ages, and the solemn assemblies of Easter, All Saints' Day, Christmas Day, and Whit-Sunday.

The aristocratic element was, then, one of the principal features in the Carlovingian government; but there was another one besides, quite opposite, and which we must now explain. It has been already shown, that when the Merovingians, leaving their native forests, crossed the Rhine, they borrowed, or tried to borrow, from the reminiscences of Imperial Rome an authority and a status which their own traditions could not give them. It was the same case with the Carlovingians; only, monarchical ideas for them were derived from the influence of the church. In order to understand this alliance of interests between the Popes and the successors of Charles Martel, we must describe a little the position of the Court of Rome at the time. The day was now long gone since he who claimed the title of successor of Saint Peter could call to his assistance the help of the emperor, and command to enforce his decrees the military power of a Constantine. Together with the throne of the Cæsars, all material order had disappeared; the Church had to overcome, single-handed, the heathenism of the Northern barbarians, the Arianism of the Lombards, and the numerous heresies of the Eastern Church. The first of these three difficulties was by no means the most serious, and the energy of Gregory the Great and Gregory II. had done much to spread the Gospel amongst the Saxons. The situation of affairs in the East, on the contrary, was exceedingly precarious. Heresy, to use M. Lehuerou's words, seemed permanently established on the shores of the Bosphorus. To Arianism had succeeded Nestorianism; after the heresy of the Monophysites came that of the Monothelites, which lasted during the whole period of the dynasty of the Heraclides. Heraclius himself pronounced in favour of the Monothelites, and Constantius positively prohibited the discussion of so dangerous a topic. The sixth œcumenic council had scarcely put an end to this great quarrel, when the dispute about the worship of images broke out, and gave to the Roman pontiffs the opportunity for a rupture which had for a long time become unavoidable.

To the various controversies about doctrinal points, were added points of discipline and of hierarchy, which had also their importance. The Eastern Church had never exhibited proofs of complete submission; and even its most illustrious

doctors, on several occasions, had given utterance to strange maxims respecting the nature and the limits of the power supposed to have been conceded by the Lord to Saint Peter and to his successors.* The Patriarch of Constantinople assumed the title of œcumenic bishop.† In the West, the Archbishop of Aquileja and of Ravenna pretended to withdraw themselves from the authority of the Pope, and the Emperors supported them in their endeavours to throw off the yoke. Now the authority of the Holy See, set at nought by the government of Constantinople, and so often contested in Italy, was acknowledged in the West, and in the North, with the most filial docility, and the most affectionate respect.

Of all the enemies of the Papacy, the Lombards were the most dangerous, because their ambition could issue in some practical result, and was not merely an idle threat or display of wanton insolence. But the Carlovingian princes had an equal interest with the Popes in subduing these barbarians; for the Lombards, and, generally speaking, all the populations reduced into obedience by Charles Martel, pretended to vindicate the claims of the unfortunate Merovingians, and to stand up, so to say, in defence of legitimacy. At this juncture the Pope interfered; Zacharias decided that he who had the authority of a king, was fully entitled to enjoy the name,‡ and in order to maintain as far as possible the principle of heredity, a genealogical tree was forged which represented Pepin le Bref as the descendant of the family of Merovæus.§

We see, then, very clearly, to what causes the Carlovingians were indebted for their power. The defective policy of their predecessors opened for them the way to the throne, and the assistance of the Roman see consolidated their authority. Boniface, the great Archbishop of Mayence, went to Soissons by order of Stephen II. in order to anoint the fortunate usurper. At a later period, the same Pope, driven from Italy by the Lombards, and compelled to take refuge in France, renewed personally the consecration of the monarch at St. Denis, pronouncing at the same time a sentence of anathema against any person who would be bold enough to attempt to select a king from another family.

It is worth noticing that the royalty of the Carlovingians

* St. Augustin. *in Evang. Johannis* tract. 124. Hieronym. *Epist.* 101 *ad Evangelum.*

† S. Ezg. *Epist.* iv. 30, 38.

‡ Gest. reg. Francor. a. 751. Qui ex parte Francorum interrogaverunt de regibus in Francia.... et Zacharias papa .... mandavit Francis, ut melius esset vocari regem illum qui haberet prudentiam et potestatem.

§ Duchesne, t. i. p. 795.

was founded upon the principles of law such as they existed amongst the barbarians; it was a protest of the Teutonic ideas against the traditions and maxims of the imperial policy; yet, as M. Lehuerou remarks, it was really a clerical royalty, a power resulting from the theory of divine right. The popes justly claimed it as their work,* and it is in the Carlovingian diplomas that we find for the first time the well-known expression *king by the grace of God.*† This was a new position; the kings of the second dynasty not only accepted it with all its consequences, but even borrowed from it, on various occasions, dangerous arguments. Set aside and deposed by part of his *leutes*, Charles the Bald appealed to his anointing as to the evidence of his rights, and declared that no one could legally deprive him of his crown, unless he had been heard and judged by a court of bishops.‡ Twice judged and thrice condemned by the Church as unworthy of being king, Louis le Débonnaire accepted his condemnation without a murmur, and submitted to it silently. And when by a caprice of fortune he had reassumed his authority, he would ascend the throne for the second time only after he had been absolved by the bishops.§ Thus the ceremony of consecration, whilst it gave a title, likewise imposed a subjection; and from this equivocal state of things arose in after years the greatest problem of mediæval history, the quarrel between the Church and the empire.

The restoration of the Western Empire in the person of Charlemagne was the most important result of the alliance we have just been noticing; and whilst it gave, in point of fact, a master to the remainder of the known world, it was at the same time merely the application of a well-defined principle in mediæval politics. Every church, then, was obliged to select for itself a *tutor*, a *vidame*, a *champion*, amongst the secular lords; for the state of society had become so wretched then, that, in order to escape from the tyranny of all, persons were compelled to claim the protection of a privileged tyrant. The Church of Rome, therefore, only gave its sanction to the general custom, when it bestowed upon Charlemagne the title of Emperor; she really selected him as her champion, and placed itself under his tutelage. This position marked out very well the rights of the monarch; and

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* Eginhard. *Vit. Karol. Mag.* 3.

† See the Carlovingian diplomas in Dom Bouquet's collection.

‡ *Karoli II. et Hlotharii II. atque Karoli patrum conventus apud Saponarias* a. 859.

§ Vita Hlud. pii auctor. anon. 51. episcopali ministerio volui reconciliari.

the numerous monuments which history has transmitted to us prove satisfactorily that he never considered it in any other light.

Charlemagne attached a real importance to the title of Emperor, but, at the same time, he entertained no illusions whatever on the frail character of the structure which had been erected from the ruins of the Merovingian dynasty. The division which he made of his vast empire into three equal parts without any idea of prerogative, superiority, or hierarchy in favour of one of the co-sharers, is unanswerable on this point. Let us quote M. Lehuerou :—

"Charlemagne abandons the empire with its future destinies to the chance of events, and contents himself with securing to his family the possession of the great and rich inheritance which he left them. He seems to foresee that that empire, rendered for one moment possible in his person, by a fortuitous coincidence of extraordinary and exceptional circumstances, will not live after him; and without taking into account the necessities which are thus imposed upon him, he applies in all their vigour, to the dividing of his inheritance, the old principles of Teutonic succession. This tardy and incomplete restoration of the Western Empire has never seemed to him anything but a pontifical fancy, flattering, perhaps, for his pride, but especially profitable to the Holy See. It is a clerical conception, inspired to the popes by the difficulties of their personal position, and by the twofold dangers which threatened them on the Alps and on the shores of the Bosphorus. By raising the empire in Italy, they meant both to crush for ever the pretensions of the Greeks, and to destroy the last hopes of the Lombards. In anointing an emperor, they wanted, so to say, to anoint power itself, to mark it with the sacerdotal stamp, and thus to be always able to remind the secular ruler of his duties by reminding him of his origin. Feudal misrule and secular violence constituted for them a perpetual threat, and a daily danger; these they thought they could overcome by re-edifying the Holy Roman Empire and the majesty of the old Roman Cæsars. But the event turned against their pretensions, and finally deceived their foresight. It was impossible, during the ninth century, to reconstitute the empire of Theodosius with the elements altogether barbarian which the invasion had accumulated upon its ruins; but it was still more impossible to make it last than to revive it. Accordingly, Charlemagne's stupendous structure was broken into pieces by the barbarians; and the political power which succeeded it in Germany, instead of bowing to the supremacy of the popes, engaged against them a mortal struggle."*

The empire, therefore, was scarcely established, when it already displayed signs of decay, and at the death of Charle-

* Pp. 367, 368.

magne the work of dissolution began. It is interesting, however, to see on what a social system the edifice reposed, and to examine in what degree the principle of centralization was mixed up with the political notions brought by the barbarians from the other side of the Rhine.

In the first place, if we consider how justice was administered, we find that two kinds of courts, two degrees of jurisdiction, existed simultaneously; the lord exercised a real authority as a judge over all the members of his *family*, all his dependants; but at the same time justice was administered in the emperor's name by the count or the *scabini* over those who belonged to their respective districts. It was exactly the same as far as military service was concerned. Whilst preserving the right of requiring the help of his vassals for the prosecution of his private quarrels, the baron was compelled, in his turn, to make them fight and to fight himself for the service of the sovereign. We see, then, that the defence of the state constituted one of the motives of military duty, but not the only one; and numerous texts quoted by M. Lehuerou place the fact in the clearest light. Not only was the right of private warfare solemnly recognized and proclaimed by Charlemagne, but also all the other prerogatives which constituted feudal power, without any exception. Thus in a capitulary bearing date 813, he forbids the vassal to abandon his lord after he has once received from him the amount of one *solidus*, unless the lord has tried to kill or wound him, to dishonour his wife or his daughter, or to take from him his inheritance.* Another capitulary, of 789,† especially forbids any person to receive fugitive vassals without the consent of their lord, and directs them to appear at the king's court, under a penalty of sixty *solidi*. This same capitulary authorises all free men to put themselves under the protection of any lord they may like best, provided they accomplish towards the count all the duties incumbent upon free men.‡ Another capitulary, of 805, formally sanctions the oath of fidelity which bound the vassal to his lord, and places it on exactly the same level as the oath which was made to the king.§ This prescription is repeated in a capitulary of 823.‖ Thus the feudal tie was proclaimed inviolable by the very person whose interest it was to weaken it. It continued to direct all the relations of private life, and

* *Karoli Magni Capitulare Aquisgr.* a. 813.
† *Pippini Regis Capitulare Papiense.*
‡ *Ibid.* 13.
§ *Karoli Magni Capitulare ad Theodinis villam.*
‖ *Klothar. I. Imper. Capitul.*

it kept up against the opposite notion of centralization an antagonism which was finally to prove fatal to the new-born empire.

But this was not all. Side by side with the rights of feudal justice and of private warfare, which the barons had at all times claimed, and which the prince had almost always acknowledged, another existed, formerly considered as belonging especially to the king, and constituting a special attribute of the imperial authority; we mean the right of tolls and of customs. Under the Merovingians the right was exclusively regal; Clovis and his successors enjoyed it as being the mark of the king's power, and they had the sanction of the Roman jurists in vindicating their particular and absolute right to the benefits accruing from this source. Thus we find Clovis, whilst granting to Saint Mesmin the estate of Micy, near Orleans, exempting him, at the same time, from every custom.* In like manner, by his edict of 615, King Clotaire decided, in accordance with the statements of his *leutes*, that for the future, customs should be collected only in the places where the levying was usually made, and on those goods which were subjected to duty under the kings his predecessors.† Thus, King Dagobert, in the diploma by which he allows the monks of Saint Denis to establish a market on the lands of their dependence, likewise abandons to them all the profits arising from tolls, duties, and customs.‡

These concessions prove two things; first, that the right of customs belonged to the king; and, secondly, that he was beginning to abandon it. It belonged to him exclusively, for he had the exclusive right to rivers and water-courses, mines, forests, salt-mines, sea-ports, and generally to all that was not private property. But he was beginning to give it up by ruinous immunities; just as he was at the same time, and in the same manner, parting with the land-tax, the right of justice, the right of hunting; in fact, all the rights belonging to the crown, whether they were of Roman or of Teutonic origin. Thus, each immunity, whilst it constituted a privilege side by side with the common right, sapped the power of the Merovingian kings, and hastened their ruin. The work of destruction went on with fresh vigour during the following dynasty. Then, the barons, as well as the emperors, claimed the right of tolls and customs; *telonarii*, or tax-collectors,

* *Apud* D. Bouquet, t. iv. p. 627. † D. Bouquet.
‡ D. Bouquet, t. iv. p. 627.

were employed by bishops, abbots, and abbesses, and from being a privilege belonging essentially to government, the customs became, so to say, an affair of domestic speculation.

In considering the state of society during the period which occupies us, we naturally come to enquire into the position of the church. Here, again, we find the principle of feudalism very active, and regulating the whole system of ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is a remarkable fact, that the rectors of the various parishes were not appointed by the bishop, but by the clergy of the district, with the co-operation of the laity. The prelate interfered only in case a proper candidate could not be found on the spot. Then he sent, to occupy the cure, one of the disengaged priests who were always to be met with in large numbers at the metropolis of the diocese.* In the same way the bishops could neither refuse nor cancel the institution without sufficient motive; in fact, the whole edifice of the church, from the metropolitan down to the merest parish priest, reposed upon a system of election. Every year, on the Thursday in Passion Week, the clerks were obliged to repair to the episcopal city, for the purpose of receiving the holy chrism from the hands of the bishop. He who refused to his superiors the obedience which he had sworn to them when taking orders, was excommunicated, degraded, or subjected to corporal punishment, according to the nature of the fault and the rank of the offender. No one could leave his diocese without the bishop's permission; no strange priest, on the other hand, could be admitted to officiate in the diocese without the approbation of the bishop and of the synod.† On the convocation being made by the archdeacon, a synodal assembly was called, and those who refused to be present were compelled to do so by the count.‡ The general synod met twice a year, on the first of March and of October, in the presence of the king, and at the place he appointed.§ It was presided over by an archbishop, whom his age, his virtues, his experience, designated to the choice of the assembly, or whom the will of the prince clothed with a pre-eminence which the inferiority of his see could not bestow. The action of the Pope, we must remember, was not then by any means universally acknowledged, and the French prelates sought from amongst themselves the directing impulse which was to rule the church. With this state of things originated, on one

* *Hludovici II. Imperatoris Conventus Ticinens.* a. 855.
† *Karoli Magni Capitulare Generale*, a. 769.
‡ *Pippini Regis Capitulare Compendiense*, a. 757.
§ *Pippini Regis Capitulare Vernense*, a. 755.

hand, the pretensions of Hincmar to the supremacy over the Church of Gaul; and on the other, the real, but temporary, and often contested primacy of the Archbishop of Sens.* Charlemagne did much for the clergy; he placed into their hands the greatest authority, he lent the support of the secular arm to the execution of the laws, canons, and decisions issued by the synods; in fact, he rewarded in the most magnificent manner the undoubted services rendered by the church to the cause of civilization. His great fault, his great mistake, was the founding of the Pope's political authority; in doing so, he sowed the seeds of the terrible calamities which visited Europe in after times, and from which we are still, to a considerable extent, suffering.

But if there was apparently a strong bond of union between the ecclesiastical and the civil powers, there existed at the same time a number of causes which tended to make this union extremely precarious. The principal one is to be found in the nature of the feudal system. The prelates became gradually assimilated to ordinary vassals; bishoprics, abbeys, and even private churches or chapels, were *benefices* in the strict sense of the word; and clerks, as well as laymen, were compelled to place themselves in the *trust* of the prince. The consequences of so bad a system are seen at once. The church, public worship, that is to say, religion itself, ended by being *individual property;* and that property, like every other, could be transmitted by sale, donation, inheritance, or divided like an ordinary succession. Now it often happened, that a church could not belong to *one* heir, and yet it was, naturally, impossible to divide it. Hence, to the great scandal of all true Christians, one church was frequently the property of *four* different persons, and four priests, dependants of as many barons, divided the same altar between themselves.† Of course, the only care of the co-proprietors was to share the profits. Everything else was neglected; the churches fell in ruins, public worship was celebrated in the most disgraceful manner, and the rapacity both of the laity and of the clergy dealt a terrible blow at the cause of true religion. "People in power," remarks M. Lehuerou, "did what was strictly necessary to prevent their being consigned (according to the views of the time) to everlasting damnation, and left the rest, including the sermon, to the poor and the lowly."‡ We see thus how far the feudal system was detrimental to

* Fleury, *Hist. Ecclésiast.*
† *Hludovici, Germaniæ Regis, Conventus Moguntinus,* a. 851. ‡ P. 530.

the prosperity of the church; in this case, Charlemagne really did good service by interfering, but at his death abuses began steadily to manifest themselves, and went on increasing till the time of the Reformation.

We have now come to the end of our task; but we cannot dismiss it finally without briefly recapitulating the causes which brought about the downfall of the Carlovingian dynasty. There is no doubt whatever that Charlemagne was a man of consummate genius and of extraordinary ability; it is equally certain that Louis le Débonnaire, his successor, was a deplorably mean prince, yielding most easily to the slightest pressure from without; and yet it would be a mistake to ascribe the quick ruin of the second French dynasty exclusively or even chiefly to the imbecility of Charlemagne's immediate successors. "The destiny of empires rests upon more serious causes, and it cannot be accounted for from mere accidents." If the institutions which were then at the basis of political society had been strong enough, if they had been in accordance with the scheme of government devised by Charlemagne, they would have supported both Louis and Charles the Bald almost in spite of themselves, and enabled them to resist against the tide of foreign invaders and the disasters of civil war. But the fundamental conditions of stability were wanting, and we must name, first, the important desideratum of *political unity*. The Merovingians had committed the fault of leaving the tribes which they conquered isolated, and of merely requiring from the chieftains who commanded them an oath of allegiance which was unscrupulously set aside on the first convenient opportunity. There were dukes of Thuringia, Suabia, Champagne, Provence, Aquitaine, Burgundy, and each of these petty rulers felt to a considerable degree independent. The Carlovingians committed exactly the same mistake after the extinction of the rival dynasty, by the creation of dukedoms, marquisates, and kingdoms, which were so many centres of resistance to the emperor. Instead of incorporating the conquered tribes with the empire, they left them under the care of native chiefs, who availed themselves of the earliest means of asserting their freedom. Hence the incessant revolts of the Saxons, the Thuringians, the Bavarians, the Lombards, the people of Aquitaine and of Friesland, even under Charlemagne. There was no cohesion between the parts which constituted the empire; Charles Martel re-established the unity by dint of energy; but it was like the rolling stone of Sisyphus, and the task had to be done over and over again.

2. *The principles which determined amongst the Germans the transmission of property and of power* must also be remembered. When a prince became of age he could always ask for the partition of his father's dominion, and all males enjoyed an equal share; moreover, every warrior was at liberty of selecting as his lord the prince he liked best amongst the members of the royal family; finally, the relations between uncle and nephew were such that the former had, in the great majority of cases, a legal right over the inheritance of the latter, and when *that* failed, he tried to employ violence. Now, all these influences combined are to be found in the events which hastened the dissolution of the empire. Unity, there, was never but an accident, and as soon as it had been established, a fresh partition broke it up once more, for the benefit of the contrary principle. Thus Pepin le Bref divided the empire with his brother Carloman. At the treaty of Verdun the three sons of Louis le Débonnaire made another partition, and their sons acted according to the same rule. Charles the Bald gave in succession to the people of Aquitaine his sons Charles and Louis; the latter being already Count of Maine and of Meaux. When Lothaire the Young died, his two uncles Charles the Bald and Louis the Germanic took possession of his kingdom, notwithstanding the evident rights of Louis II. brother of the deceased; and when Louis the Germanic in his turn was dead, Charles the Bald claimed his inheritance likewise. The same Charles the Bald wanted to seize upon Provence under the pretext that Charles, the young son of Lothaire, was incapable of governing; and it was on the same plea that the possession of Aquitaine was disputed for the space of twenty years by three princes who had equal rights to it and were equally incapable: Charles, son of Charles the Bald; Pepin the Young, son of Pepin and grandson of Louis le Débonnaire; and Louis the Young, son of Louis the Germanic.

If we examine the foundation of that colossal greatness of Charlemagne which historians are so fond of celebrating, we shall see as its origin a series of domestic iniquities of the grossest nature. The glory of the emperor has been flung around them like a cloak to conceal them, but posterity is bound to drag them out to the broad daylight. Thus Charles Martel, before destroying the Merovingian dynasty, began by spoiling his young nephew Theudoald, who survived but a short time the flagrant act of injustice from which he was made to suffer. Drogo, another brother of "the Hammerer," having died in 708, his two sons Arnold and Charles were spared at

first, because their youth did not allow them to claim their father's dominions; but in 723, probably just as they had reached their fifteenth year, they were thrown into chains and compelled to enter a monastery. If Hugh, the eldest brother, escaped the like treatment, it was no doubt because he had already taken holy orders. At the death of Charles Martel, Carloman and Pepin in their turn took possession, the former of Austrasia, the latter of Neustria, and left to their younger brother Grippo as his share only a few countries, on the ground that he was the son of a Bavarian captive. But as the unfortunate prince persisted in claiming an equal partition of the empire, they pursued him and put him to death at the moment when he was going to seek the protection of the Lombards, after having wandered successively, a helpless fugitive, amongst the Saxons, the Bavarians, the Germans and the Aquitanians. During the same year (753) Carloman, who had given up the toilsome government of Aquitaine for a cell in the monastery of Monte Cassino, presented himself at the assembly of Kiersy in the name of Astolph, King of the Lombards, with the view of dissuading the Franks from carrying out this projected war; Pepin, irritated at this interference, seized upon Carloman and shut him up in a convent, where the monk-prince soon breathed his last. Finally, when Carloman, son of Pepin and brother of Charlemagne, died at the castle of Samoncy near Laon (771), his two sons became likewise the victims of an odious persecution, and they were obliged, together with their mother Gerberga, to flee for refuge at the court of Didier, King of the Lombards, where the usurper followed them. This struggle of ambition against the rights of nature, which had lasted for one hundred and fifty years amidst deeds of violence of every kind, was a kind of permanent protestation against the prevailing state of things in the political world, and it unavoidably brought about a spirited reaction. Iniquities, either social or domestic, are always sooner or later visited with condign punishment, and in the sphere of government, as well as in every other, those who "sow the wind," are sure "to reap the whirlwind;" and surely the history of the Carlovingian dynasty supplies us with one of the best refutations of that immoral and dangerous theory of *providential men* which Louis Napoleon has lately attempted to lay down as the law of history. If we trace the career of those bold adventurers who in the course of ages appear like stupendous monuments, stamped with a kind of grandeur from their very isolation, we find in them, not the heralds of

civilization, not the rejected saviours of society, but unscrupulous despots, the obstructors and enemies of progress. If Charlemagne had really been the exponent of the wants of mediæval Europe, his work would have survived him; but, on the contrary, the empire he had established was an essentially artificial building, all the elements of which fell to the ground as soon as the master-hand had been removed. A political system, which had cost torrents of blood and sacrifices of every kind, was rotting away in the course of a few years, and it then appeared that the whole structure of feudalism, or, in other words, the Teutonic framework of political society, had been, not destroyed, but merely eclipsed for a moment by the ephemeral splendour of Charlemagne's glory.

ART. III.—*James Brindley and the Early Engineers.* By SAMUEL SMILES. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1865.

WE have now before us the life of one of the most remarkable men that England ever produced; one whose persevering industry, under the direction of genius of the highest class, and of a sound judgment, effected in the commercial and social condition of his country changes greater than had been effected by any previous individual. This assertion requires no qualification, when the state of our commerce and manufactures immediately after, is compared with that before, the inauguration of the canal system, which we shall describe in the course of our review. But the changes produced appear still more extraordinary when it is considered that Brindley was not only a man of humble origin, but that he was through life an uneducated man, so far as a knowledge of the most common elements of learning are concerned, without connections or pecuniary resources in the early part of his career, possessing in fact none of those accessories considered essential to success in life. As a learner, too, in the branch of industry to which he devoted himself, he had to gain instruction from men totally unqualified to develop his powers of mind, or even to guide him in the most common affairs connected with their business. Under such disadvantages Brindley, apparently by intuitive genius, acquired knowledge sufficient to enable him to inaugurate a system which proved the foundation of England's commercial and manufacturing prosperity.

The term "engineer," in a general sense, implies indifferently the inventor, the maker, and the worker of an engine or machine. It also includes the planner or constructor of an embankment, an aqueduct, or bridge, or any other work of the kind for the exclusion, admittance, conveyance, or crossing of water. In former times it was chiefly applied to matters relating to warfare, whether by land or sea, and it was not until the year 1760 that a distinction began to be made between the military, the naval, and the civil departments of engineering. At that period the advancement of the arts and sciences, and the substitution of machinery for hand-labour in manufactures, brought into existence a new and distinct class of machinists who took the name of "civil engineers,"

in order to distinguish them from those who were engaged in works for warlike purposes. The profession assumed a more tangible form in 1771, when Mr. Smeaton established an association under the title of "Society of Civil Engineers." It continued in existence twenty years; numbering sixty-five members, of whom fifteen were professionals, the remainder being either amateur engineers, or skilled workmen or artizans. In May, 1792, the society was dissolved in consequence of disputes among the members. It was the intention of Smeaton to renew it on a better principle, which was prevented by his death the following October. The design, however, was taken up by others, and the first meeting of the new "Society of Civil Engineers was held on the 15th April, 1793, at which were present Messrs. Lessop, Milne, Rennie, and Whitworth, with other less eminent engineers." This society underwent a reconstruction in 1828, when the Railway System had been inaugurated; and it has since continued to increase annually in number of members and importance, especially since the wide extension of railways, and the application of steam power in all the industrial institutions of the country.

The life of Brindley is preceded by a short account of the most important engineering works that had been executed in former times. The first of these in point of antiquity was the reclamation of Romney Marsh, in Kent, a tract of land containing 60,000 acres. No record of this work is to be found in history; but it is supposed to have been executed by the Frisians, who early landed on the south-eastern coasts of Britain, and who, having reclaimed their own country from the water, were well qualified to appreciate the value of the tract in question, as well as to render it available by draining and reclamation. This operation appears to have been effected by degrees, and to have been assisted by the receding of the tidal waters, with the accumulation of shingle on the beach, by which several important seaports have been left far inland, whilst others have had their ports to a greater or less extent sealed up. But this withdrawal of the tidal waters on the coast, from Dungeness southward, is annually increasing the extent of the Marsh; and upwards of a mile has been thus added within the memory of persons living. So isolated is this tract, that the Marshmen are said to divide the world into Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Romney Marsh. So well has the embankment been constructed by the ancient settlers, that it has never been known to give way to any serious extent.

The embankment of the Thames, on each side, from London to Erith Marshes, on the south, and to Barking Level, on the north, bank, is believed to have been the work of the Romans; but here again there are no records to guide us in forming our opinion, and it is quite as probable that the same industrious people who reclaimed the Romney Marsh, had a hand in excluding the sea from that broad expanse of land, which was formerly an estuary seven miles wide. Southwark and Lambeth were included in this waste of waters; and even to the present day, when a very high tide occurs, the water flows up the sewers, and floods the cellars and lower parts of the districts.

The "Great Level of the Fens" of Lincolnshire, and adjoining counties, consisting of a tract of 680,000 acres of the most productive land in England, has been entirely redeemed from the sea, against which the proprietors and occupiers have still to maintain a persevering resistance. Formerly it constituted the estuary of the Wash, and received the waters of five or six rivers. In winter it was an inland sea of two thousand square miles in extent, and in summer a pestiferous marsh containing lakes of almost stagnant water, swarming with fresh and wild fowl, which latter bred amongst the tall reeds and rushes of the higher grounds. The silt brought down by the rivers was deposited in these basins, which, from time to time, became choked up, causing the waters to form new channels in meandering courses, until they met the tidal waters of the Wash. It was supposed that formerly the whole body of water proceeding from the rivers fell into a lake that existed on the "Great Bedford Level," and found its way from thence by numerous channels into the sea. Naturally, the deposit of alluvial matter was greatest when the tidal and the fresh waters met, so that in the course of ages *deltas* were formed. These were the first lands reclaimed, according to general tradition, by the Romans, who raised causeways on various points to keep out the sea, some of which are still in existence. Murshland and Holland were thus the first reclaimed lands; the rest of the Fens remained subject to the dominion of the water until the middle ages, when the monks took them in hand, and formed their settlements on the high ground, amidst the reeds, rushes, and coarse grass, by which the surface was covered. The *Isle* of Ely, literally such at that time, was one of the first of these settlements, and it derived its name—Ely or Eely—from the abundance and goodness of the eels found there. A nunnery was first built, then a town; and it became one

of the most renowned places in the religious world. Other small portions of the Fens were, from time to time, brought under cultivation, but the Great Level of the Fens remained in its primitive state until the end of the sixteenth century, rendering the security of the reclaimed portions very precarious. The country between Lincoln and Cambridge was a vast morass, inhabited by a peculiar people, who walked on stilts, and lived by grazing, fishing, and fowling. Their flocks consisted of tame geese, which throve where no other animal could live, and where fever, ague, and rheumatism were the constant inmates of the wretched damp dwellings of the "Slodgers," as the inhabitants were called.

In 1607, James I. took the Fens in hand, in consequence of the banks being burst on the east coast, and a great number of farms, homesteads, and villages, swept away by the floods. A commission appointed to inquire into the case, reported that not less than 317,242 acres of land lying outside the existing dykes required drainage and protection. No English engineer being found willing to engage in a contest with the North Sea, a Dutchman, Cornelius Vermuyden, a man fully competent to the enterprise, was engaged for the work, and Flemish workmen were brought over to execute his plans. So much were the English behind the Dutch, Flemings, and other nations in works of this kind, that it was a common thing to employ foreigners both to plan and to execute them. Vermuyden had been bred as an engineer in a district where embanking was studied as a profession, and, as he employed a large number of hands, he was familiar with the detail of such works. He was first employed to fill up a break in the Thames bank at Dagenham, and afterwards to drain Windsor Park and Hatfield Chase, Yorkshire. These works established his credit with King James, for Hatfield Chase contained 60,000 acres, and was, in many respects, similar to the Lincolnshire Fens. The death of James, before he could commence the undertaking, did not prevent it. The agreement with Vermuyden was confirmed by his successor, and the Chase was drained in the face of a most determined opposition on the part of the inhabitants, in which many lives were lost. The engineer received the honour of knighthood, and obtained a grant of the reclaimed land, amounting to 24,000 acres, on paying to the crown £16,080 pounds, an improved rent of £425 from Christmas, 1630, with certain other privileges. The animosity, however, of the people continued; and in the struggle between Charles and the Parliament, the latter judged it expedient to break down the

dykes and sluices, thus destroying the labour of many years, and laying the greater part of the level again under water. Vermuyden had, fortunately for himself, disposed of his interest in the concern; but the poor settlers suffered to the extent of £20,000 by that night's work.

About the same time, Vermuyden undertook the drainage of Matorm Chase, and some other lesser works, which, having completed, he directed his attention to the reclamation of the Great Fen Level; for the effecting of which he offered to find the funds and carry out the works, on condition of a grant of 95,000 acres of the reclaimed lands as a recompense. This contract, however, with a foreigner was so distasteful, that the government were compelled to withdraw from it soon after. It was then taken in hand by the Earl of Bedford, who already was the owner of some of the old church-lands in the Fens. With other adjoining landowners he raised the funds required, in return for which they were to receive a proportionate acreage of the reclaimed lands. The services of Vermuyden were called into requisition, and his already elaborately prepared plans and staff of Flemish labourers were employed to carry out the undertaking. As in former cases of the kind, the Fen-men violently opposed the plan, and, assembling in large bodies, filled up at night the cuts made by the workmen in the day; so that these latter were compelled to carry arms to protect themselves from the violence of the mobs. Miserable as were the lives of these Fen-slodgers, as they were called, they valued the wild and romantic liberty they enjoyed. "Though they might alternately shiver and burn with ague, and become bowed and twisted with rheumatism, still the Fens were their native land, such as it was, and their only source of subsistence, precarious though it may be. The Fens were their commons, on which their geese grazed. They furnished them with food, though the finding there was full of adventure and hazard. What cared the Fen-men for the drowning of the land? Did not the water bring them fish, and the fish attract wild fowl, which they could snare and shoot? Thus the proposal to drain the Fens and convert them into wholesome and fruitful lands, however important in a national point of view, as enlarging the resources and increasing the wealth of the country, had no attraction whatever in the eyes of the Fen-men. They muttered their discontents, and everywhere met the 'adventurers,' as the reclaimers were called, with angry, though ineffectual opposition."*

* P. 33.

Notwithstanding this hostility, the work went on, but it appears that Vermuyden adhered too closely to the system so successful in Holland, which the different features of the Lincolnshire Fens rendered inadmissible. The consequence was, that a commission of sewers, held at Huntingdon, 1634, "pronounced the drainage defective, and the 400,000 acres of the Great Level to be still subject to inundation, especially in the winter season." The king, Charles I., now took the affair in hand; and, still employing Vermuyden, set vigorously to work to carry out a new design. But political discord now stepped in to add fuel to the flame, and the attempt to raise taxes without consent of Parliament, threw the whole country into confusion. Cromwell availed himself of the discontent of the Fen-men, to increase the clamour against the king, who, it was asserted, had no other object in draining the Fens than to increase his revenue without the aid of Parliament. Cromwell placed himself at the head of the malcontents, who dubbed him "Lord of the Fens;" and so effectually did he manage the opposition, that the king, commissioners, noblemen, projectors, all were forced to retire, and the great project fell to the ground. Other similar undertakings which had been accomplished, or were in progress, were destroyed or arrested. Lindsey Level, in Lincolnshire, on which 35,000 acres had been reclaimed by the Earl of Lindsey, was again reduced to a marsh by the Fen-men, who destroyed the farmhouses and other dwellings, killed the cattle, drove out the inhabitants, and broke down the embankments. The same vandalism was practised in the fen district between Boston and Tattershall, where an extensive tract of such land, covered with smiling homesteads and cottages, was again reduced to a marsh or lake by the Fen-men. They burnt the houses and the corn, killed the cattle and many of the people, broke down the banks, and thus restored the tract to its original state.

Undismayed by their lawless and senseless proceedings, the Earl of Bedford and his coadjutors applied in 1641 to the Long Parliament for permission to recommence the works. But the death of the Earl soon after, and the civil war, prevented any steps being taken. Vermuyden also still urged the propriety of reclaiming so large a tract of rich land, nearly equal in extent to the Dutch United Provinces, and still covered with water. It was not, however, until 1649 that authority was granted to the Earl of Bedford and others, to complete what his father had commenced, and Vermuyden was again selected to direct the operations. He had great

difficulties to encounter, chiefly for want of funds: a want which appears to have always embarrassed the enterprise. But overcoming all obstructions and opposition, in March, 1652, the works were declared complete, and a public thanksgiving took place to celebrate the success of the engineer. "On this occasion (March 27, 1653) the Lords Commissioners of Adjudication of the reclaimed lands, accompanied by their officers and suite, the company of adventurers headed by the Earl of Bedford, the magistrates and leading men of the district, with a vast concourse of other persons, attended public worship in the Cathedral of Ely, when the Rev. Hugh Peters, Chaplain to the Lord-General Cromwell, preached a sermon on the occasion."* It is to be deeply regretted that in this grand and valuable enterprise, Vermuyden expended the whole of his own private property, and, in fact, appears to have been completely ruined. He applied to the parliament for redress; but he does not appear to have received any remuneration. From that time he was lost to sight, and is supposed to have gone abroad and died a poor broken-down old man; the extensive lands which he had reclaimed and owned having been conveyed to strangers.†

Thus 680,000 acres of the richest lands in the kingdom were reclaimed from the dominion of the sea and of disease, and rendered productive beyond example, and at least comparatively healthy, through the persevering efforts and skill of a foreign engineer, who, to the disgrace of the country, was suffered to retire from the scene of his labours, not only without reward, but divested of the property he brought with him from his native country.

The next engineering undertaking related by our author, is the cutting of the New River by Sir Hugh Myddleton. In ancient times London was supplied with water from wells and conduits: the former, which were numerous, being mostly private property; the latter, of which there were sixteen in different parts of the city, were all public. The site of some of these is still indicated by the name of the street in which they were situated. Water-carriers were employed to supply those who lived at a distance from the conduits and wells. The Thames supplied those who resided on its banks. In 1582, one Peter Morice, a Dutchman undertook to convey the water of the Thames to the inhabitants who lived at a distance from it. He erected a pumping engine in the first arch of London Bridge, which was worked by a wheel driven

* P. 44. † P. 45.

by the rise and fall of the tide. The pump threw the water over St. Magnus' steeple, to the astonishment of the mayor and aldermen who assembled to witness it. But the increase of the population rendered a further supply necessary, especially as the conduits began to fail. For this purpose, therefore, the corporation obtained an Act of Parliament, by which they were empowered to cut a river to the city, from any part of Middlesex or Hertfordshire, within ten years; but it appears the magnitude and expense of the undertaking alarmed them, and the term expired without any steps being taken towards its accomplishment.

Many of the large towns in England had been similarly destitute of an adequate supply of water. Hull in Yorkshire, Tiverton and Plymouth in Devonshire, were thus situated. The first of these towns was supplied by an aqueduct, constructed by the mayor and corporation; the second by a similar aqueduct, the free gift of Arnicia, Countess of Devon, in 1240; and the third by a noble aqueduct, undertaken and executed by Sir Francis Drake, about the year 1587, which conveys the water of the river Meavy a distance of seven miles.* Previously the townspeople had to carry their clothes a mile to be washed, and it was difficult and expensive to supply the ships in the harbour with water. The *Leet*, as the works are called, affords an ample supply for all purposes; and Sir Francis, who bore all the expenses with the exception of £200 granted by the Plymouth authorities, having obtained a lease of the works for twenty years at a nominal rental, presented it to the town as a free gift for ever, and it has since been vested in the corporation.

The design of supplying London with water from the springs of Chadwell and Amwell in Hertfordshire originated with the corporation of the city, who about the beginning of the seventeenth century obtained an Act of Parliament for the purpose. But they had not spirit enough to carry out the project. Two or three attempts were made by private individuals to enter upon the work, and it remained in embryo until the year 1609, when Hugh Myddleton, a Welsh gentleman, who had settled in London as a goldsmith, came forward and offered to execute it at his own cost. A short account of Myddleton's origin and life is given in the book, to which we refer the reader. The corporation at once agreed to transfer to him the powers they had obtained by the Act, and were

* This was as the crow flies; but the actual length of the cutting, with all its windings, was nearly twenty-four miles.

only too glad to be saved the labour and expense and risk the undertaking would involve. Although not a professional engineer, Myddleton had acquired some knowledge of the art by having engaged in a project of finding coal in his native country, and his natural quickness of intelligence and firmness of purpose enabled him to grapple with difficulties that, to a less powerful mind, would have been insuperable. The distance, as the crow flies, of the springs from London was twenty miles; but so circuitous was the route taken by Myddleton, to secure the best fall, that the New River cutting, as originally constructed, was thirty-eight and a half miles in length.

A swarm of opponents sprang up as soon as the works were commenced, chiefly amongst the owners and occupiers of land on the line of the proposed cutting. Their meadows would be turned into bogs and quagmires, their arable land into swampy ground, their farms mangled, their fields cut into "quillets and small pieces;" the cut, which is no better than a deep ditch, dangerous to man and cattle, would upon "soden raines" inundate the meadows and pastures, to the utter ruin of many poor men; the Church would be robbed of its tithe, the highway from London to Ware rendered impassable, and infinite evils and injuries inflicted upon them and their posterity, &c. &c. All these direful consequences were daily set forth in petitions to parliament, and a committee of ten were appointed to inspect and report upon the works; but in the meanwhile parliament was prorogued, and as it took a breathing-time of four years before it was again convened, no action was taken on the report of the committee: so the work went on, and "with an ill wille" the water was brought "from Ware to London." Four years was the specified time for the completion of the scheme; but in consequence of the opposition Myddleton met with, both from the landed interest, and from natural obstacles not foreseen, the corporation granted him five years more. He received pecuniary assistance from the king, James I., to the amount of £8,600, for which Myddleton assigned to him a moiety of the interest in, and profits to arise from, the New River "for ever," except a small pipe of water which was reserved by Myddelton to the poor of St. John Street and Aldersgate Street.

The completion of the works and the admission of the water of the New River to the metropolis were celebrated by a public spectacle and rejoicing; and, certainly, if any undertaking is worthy of honour, it is that of furnishing a large

city with so essential a necessary of life as pure water; and the patriotism and perseverance of Hugh Myddleton entitled him to all the honours and emoluments that accrued to him from it. The "New River" still exists in all its efficacy, with large additions from the river Lea; and, although it has long ceased to be adequate to the fast-growing wants of the population of the metropolis, it still constitutes the main supply of the city north of the Thames. Its value may be estimated by that of the shares, of which the original cost, according to our author, was about £250 each, while they are now worth £17,000, if intact; but they have been divided and subdivided to meet the means of purchasers. So unpromising, however, was the concern in the first years of its existence, that for twenty years no dividend was paid; and Charles I., who was pressed for money, disposed of his thirty-six shares to the company on condition of receiving a fee-farm rent of £500 a year, which is still paid into the exchequer, being not quite £14 per share per annum. The present dividend is £850 per annum. Myddleton also, who had expended a large sum, and wanted money for other enterprises, sold twenty-eight of his shares, reserving only eight for his own use.

No sooner was the New River completed, than the active mind of Hugh Myddleton was engaged in the planning of a new and formidable enterprise, namely, the reclamation from the sea of a large tract of drowned land, lying at the eastern extremity of the Isle of Wight, now laid down in the maps as "Braden Harbour," but better and longer known as "Brading Haven." It comprised eight hundred acres of wide mud-flat at low water, having the River Yar passing through its centre from near the village of Brading. At high tide, "it appears like an inland lake embayed between hills of moderate elevation, covered with trees in many places down to the water's edge." In the middle of this lake a strong sea-wall, cased with stone, was discovered, proving that it had, at some remote period, been so far enclosed, by a population no longer kept up. Projects for the reclamation of this tract had been entertained in the reign of James I., and a grant was made of the district to John Gibb, with certain reserved rights. The claim of the Crown to the disposal of it was contested by the landowners of the adjoining estates, but it was confirmed by the verdict of the exchequer. Gibb sold his right to Sir Bevis Shelwall, who, however, did not follow up the enterprise, although he commenced operations, and held the right eight years; and the king then granted

the right to Myddleton, who immediately commenced operations. We cannot follow him in the undertaking, which, indeed, proved unsuccessful, the sea breaking in after the reclamation had been effected. But it appears that Myddleton resold his right in the tract six years before to Shelwall, upon whom the loss of the cost fell, to the extent of £7,000.

Myddleton was proprietor of some silver mines in Wales, which appear to have been sufficiently lucrative to enable him to bear without injury whatever losses he sustained in other undertakings. He purchased the royalties from the "Company of the Mines Royal," and Sir Bevis Shelwall was admitted a partner in the speculation. So pleased was the king with the skill, talent, and perseverance displayed by Myddleton, that in 1622 he conferred a baronetcy upon him, exempting him from paying the customary fees, which amounted to £1,095. According to the report of Bushel, the lead alone procured from the mines was worth £5,000 a year, and the silver from them, taken to the Mint for sixteen years, averaged one hundred pounds weight weekly.

Sir Hugh Myddleton appears to have been a man of exemplary piety, and ascribed his success in his various enterprises "to the Giver of all good." And he presented a cup, manufactured from his Welsh silver, to the Corporation of Denbigh, and another to the head of his family, on which was inscribed: "*Mentem non munus, omnia a Deo.*"

It is beyond our province to follow this eminent man through all his career, finished by devoting his exclusive attention to the working of his silver and lead mines, which yielded a profit of two thousand pounds per month. The latter portion of his life, therefore, was successful, and he died in 1631, at the age of seventy-six, honoured and respected by all. A man of fortune, education, and ability, he devoted these talents to the welfare of the public, and had his reward in the favour of his sovereign and the approbation of his contemporaries, whilst the benefit of his enterprises are felt by the inhabitants of the metropolis to the present day.

Notwithstanding the general supposition that Sir Hugh Myddleton died in poverty, it is now certain that he left his family amply provided for, besides legacies to numerous relations, friends, clerks, servants, and the poor of Denbigh and other places, with a share in the New River Company to the Goldsmiths' Company, of which he was a member, for the benefit of necessitous brethren of that guild.

The next important engineering undertaking recorded by our author, is the stoppage of Dagenham Breach by Captain Perry, the nature of which we shall now describe. The embankment of the Thames, which has already been referred to, reaching almost from Richmond to the sea, was liable to be broken down by the north-east wind, which forced the waters, when the tide was running up the river, in unusual volumes into the narrow channel, by which, previous to the commencement of the eighteenth century, the banks were frequently burst on the south side, so that the adjoining districts were overflowed. But on the north side, owing to the greater elevation of the bank above the marshes, the inundations were much more serious, and the repairing of the breaches abundantly more difficult. The most destructive of these was that made in the north bank, a little south of the village of Dagenham, in Essex, by which the whole of Dagenham and Havering Levels lay drowned at every tide. A breach at this spot had occurred in 1621, which was stopped by Vermuyden, and Dagenham Creek was enbanked at the same time, the whole levels being laid dry. But in 1707 the concurrence of a heavy inland flood and an unusually high spring tide blew up the sluice, which shut out the Thames tidal water, and covered the whole area of the levels with the waters from that river. In the first instance, the gap was only from fourteen to sixteen feet wide, and might easily have been stopped. But through neglect it naturally increased, until a channel was formed, thirty feet deep at low water, and a hundred feet wide, by which a lake one mile and a half in extent was formed on the land-side of the embankment, a thousand acres of the richest land in Essex being submerged, and the entire soil of a hundred and twenty acres completely washed away by the egress of the water; in consequence of which, a bank of earth a mile in length, and reaching half across the river, was thrown up, to the serious obstruction of the navigation.

Many attempts were made to repair the breach. Ships laden with chalk and stones were sunk across it; immense boxes fitted to the space and linked together were let in; an old royal ship—the Lion—was given by Government, which, with two other ships, was loaded and placed across. But all these experiments only served to deepen and widen the breach; for the tide found its way under the stoppage; and when the Lion and its co-obstructions were swept away by a single tide and ebb, the cavity was found increased to fifty feet in

depth. It was not until some years had gone by, that an Act of Parliament (1714) was passed, authorising its repair at the public expense; and several more years expired before any engineer was found bold enough to undertake the works. At length; one Boswell contracted for it, but he failed to make the opening water-tight; all his caissons, pontoons, chests, &c., gave way before the mighty force of the tide, and the contractor, after spending a large sum, abandoned the undertaking in despair.

At this juncture, Captain Perry had just returned from Russia, where he had been employed by the Czar Peter, in executing extensive engineering works. A short account of his previous career is given in the work, but we pass over it to come to the undertaking before us, only remarking that, after fourteen years' service under the Czar, he was compelled, *by want*, to quit Russia, leaving large arrears of salary behind him, of which the royal scoundrel had purposely robbed him, as he robbed Peter Henry Bruce, who had faithfully served him as a soldier for many years.

Returning to England, he inspected the breach in the Thames embankment, and sent in a tender for its repair; but Boswell's offer being the lowest, it was accepted, and failure was the consequence. Upon this result, Perry made a fresh proposal, to execute the works for £25,000, which offer was accepted. In the meantime the breach had become much wider, and a lake had been formed from 400 to 500 feet broad, and nearly two miles in length. Perry commenced operations by making other openings in the bank in order to relieve the heavy pressure upon the main channel. Having made the preliminary preparations, he began by driving a row of piles across the opening, which he dove-tailed together so as to make them nearly water-tight. Coffer-dams were then made at the distance of forty feet from the central row, and about eighteen or twenty feet wide. These were filled with chalk, and were intended to prevent the "toe" or foot of the embankment from spreading out too far. Outside these coffer-dams a wall of rubble was raised, as a further security. Sluices were made at proper intervals, by which the water of the inland lake was discharged when the bank rose above high-water level, and did not return.

Not satisfied with his own failure, Boswell petitioned Parliament to prevent Perry from proceeding in what he pronounced an impracticable scheme. A parliamentary committee was appointed, before which Perry explained his views so clearly that the committee told him, "he had answered

them like an artist and a workman, and it was not only the scheme but the man they recommended." He accordingly proceeded with the works, which occupied five years, though he had a gang of 300 labourers to assist him. Various accidents retarded the operations. Under the pressure of unusually high tides, the new embankment repeatedly gave way, and it was not until the fourteenth year after the first breach was made that the third dam was completed, and the Thames water excluded. The inland lake, however, remained, being too deeply excavated by the rush of water to be got rid of; and for 150 years it has served no other purpose than affording the Londoners a place for fishing and boating. Strange to say, however, after this long period, a company has been formed to convert the lake into a dock, connecting it with London by a short extension of the Tilbury Railway. When this project is carried out, it will be the most extensive and convenient dock connected with the metropolis, and it will be constructed at a comparatively trifling expense, no excavation being necessary, there being depth of water enough already to bear the largest ships, whilst its close vicinity to the river will give it another great advantage. Perry was afterwards employed by the government in different undertakings, and in 1727 published proposals for draining the Lincolnshire Fens. He was actually employed on those works when he was taken ill at Spalding, and died in 1732, in the sixty-third year of his age.

We now come to the memoirs of the principal personage to whom the book has reference, memoirs which differ materially and in a most essential point from those that have preceded them. The works undertaken by Vermuyden, Middleton, and Perry, although of great and lasting value, were local and partial, rather than general and national, in their consequences; promoting the private interests of individuals and local corporate bodies, rather than those of the nation at large. On the contrary, the works undertaken and accomplished by James Brindley, whilst they increased the wealth of the individual whose interests were more immediately consulted, proved the inauguration of a system which laid the foundation of the prosperity of our British manufacturers. In one respect they were alike: they all had to deal with an element, which, like fire, is a "good servant but a bad master." Vermuyden and Perry carried on the contest against water, in order to confine it within due bounds. Myddleton and Brindley exerted their

powers and skill in collecting all the water within their reach, for the purpose of its utilization—the one as an aqueduct to supply the inhabitants of the metropolis, the other as a cheap and expeditious medium for the transit of goods from the seat of manufacture to the market or place of shipment.

James Brindley was born in the year 1716, being the third year of the reign of George I., at a cottage in a hamlet in the High Peak of Derby, about mid-way between Great Rocks and Tunstead, three miles from Buxton. A croft was attached to the house, which has long since disappeared; and the only standing memorial of the family is a tree that had sprung up spontaneously amongst the stones of the ruined house, and, being a healthy ashen sapling, was saved by the workmen in removing the rubbish. This tree is now six feet nine inches in girth, and is called "Brindley's Tree," being "Nature's own memorial of the birth-place of the engineer, and the only one as yet erected in commemoration of his genius."*

Brindley's father does not appear to have been a man likely to improve his own circumstances, or to prepare his son either by example or precept for a useful career. He was a cotter farmer, and supported his family by cultivating his crops. But he was more addicted to field sports and bull-baiting than honest labour, and this led him to a life of intemperance and poverty. As in many instances of a similar kind, it was the mother that saved the children from being ruined by the bad example of the father. Although not qualified to educate him, she instilled moral instruction and good habits into her children, which were strengthened by the example of her own steady industry.

James, who was the eldest, was set to work at an early age as a farm labourer, or on any other employment he could procure, until he was seventeen years old. But the mechanical genius which he displayed from his childhood by making models of mills with his knife, led him to turn his thoughts to an employment more suited to his wishes; and, encouraged by his mother, he determined to bind himself apprentice to a mill-wright, a scheme which he was enabled to carry into effect in the year 1733, when he was bound, or bound himself, apprentice to a wheel-wright and mill-wright (for both professions were at that period united in the same person) for seven years. Men of this class were alternately employed on

* P. 128.

the foot-lathe, the carpenter's bench, and the forge or anvil, and thus acquired dexterity in handling all kinds of tools. Destitute as Brindley was of all education, he was slow in acquiring knowledge; but his intuitive genius led him to examine everything connected with machinery with a true mechanical eye; and whilst his master and his fellow-workmen looked upon him and treated him as a dull and stupid lad, he was drinking in knowledge which in a few years enabled him to correct their blunders, and gained from him the confidence and respect of men in a far superior class of life. Both his master and the journeymen were addicted to intemperance; but Brindley fortunately avoided their pernicious example, although employed continually in running for beer for them.

In the third year of his apprenticeship, Brindley had an opportunity of showing his genius. A silk mill at Macclesfield had taken fire, and Brindley's master was called in to repair the damage. The apprentice was sent to remove the wreck occasioned by the fire; and, in conversation with the superintendent of the factory, made such pertinent remarks on the cause of the fire and the means of preventing like accidents in future, that the owner of the mill requested the mill-wright Bennett to allow Brindley to execute a part of the work by himself. This was reluctantly granted; but he performed the task to the perfect satisfaction of the superintendent, and the chagrin of his master and fellow-workmen. For himself, it formed an era in his young life, giving him confidence in his own powers, which he had soon another opportunity of developing.

A new paper mill was to be erected on the river Dane, and Brindley's master was employed to make and fix the machinery, and was directed to take for a model a similar mill near Manchester, which he went over to inspect. But Brindley was of opinion that he inspected the taverns rather than the mill; for so badly was the work executed, that the machinery would not fit; and between drink and perplexity, he got so bewildered that, after expending much time, labour, and money of his employers, there was not the slightest prospect of a successful issue. In this emergency, Brindley, who felt that the honour and credit of his master were at stake, determined to take the affair into his own hands. At the end of the week he secretly started for Manchester, inspected the model mill, and the next day returned to work at the new mill, having walked fifty miles. He could not make notes of what he saw, but he committed all the details to memory. Bennett,

who thought that his apprentice had run away on the Saturday night, was astonished to find him with his coat off, and at work with great energy. He explained the cause of his absence, and gave his master such convincing proof that he fully comprehended the details, that the latter gladly gave up the whole conduct of the contract to him. And in the course of a few weeks, the work was finished to the entire satisfaction of the proprietors of the mill. This success established Brindley's character as a mill-wright, as well with his astonished master as with his employers. He continued with the former several years, and maintained him and his family in comfort. After his death, when the affairs were wound up, he removed to Leek, in Staffordshire, in order to engage in business on his own account as a wheelwright.*

At this time (1742) Brindley was twenty-six years of age, without education, capital, or influence, beyond what his native talent had acquired for him. To this last he added steady perseverance, strict integrity, and scrupulous punctuality in all his undertakings. As these characteristics came to be known, business flowed in upon him from all quarters. His natural sagacity enabled him to originate improvements in the machinery of mills; and so frequently did he effect these, that he became known in his neighbourhood by the title of "the schemer." As to education, he had taught himself to write whilst at Macclesfield; but his spelling was of the phonographical order, as the extracts from his diary or memorandum book, from which we shall have occasion to give specimens presently, will show.

Brindley's new residence was situated in the midst of the Staffordshire potteries, and not far from Burslem. The earthenware manufacture was at that time in a very rude state; and the trade at Burslem consisted almost wholly of brown ware, which was hawked about the country on panniers carried by donkeys. The introduction of salt-glazing by a Dutchman, and of calcined flints by Ashbury of Shelton, were great improvements; but the levigation being done by hand with a mortar and pestle, the quantity turned out was small. The time arrived, however, when enterprise, in the persons of John and Thomas Wedgewood, and ingenuity, in that of James Brindley, united, laid the foundation of a manufacture the fame of which soon spread over the whole civilized world. The two brothers Wedgewood

* P. 133.

found themselves at a loss for a sufficient quantity of calcined flints, and having heard of the "schemer," sent for him to devise some method of levigating it by machinery. His success in this introduced him to Mr. Heathcote, the owner of some coal mines. The mines were drowned in water, and the proprietor hearing of Brindley, sent for him and described to him the state of affairs. The schemer set his ingenuity to work, and constructed an apparatus, which, aided by a river carried six hundred yards through a tunnel to reach the water-wheel of his machinery, soon cleared the pits of the water, and enabled the men to obtain coal from every part of the mines. It will give some idea of the low estimation in which engineering talent was then held, when we state that Brindley's pay, as *head engineer*, was 2*s*. per day. The present pay of men, in exactly similar posts, is ten guineas per day.

But we must not linger over the interesting details of the rise of this man, whose time was now occupied between the erection of silk mills and flint mills; in both of which he introduced valuable improvements. Soon, however, the steam engine attracted his notice, in the construction of which he also effected improvements, chiefly relative to the reduction of the consumption of coal, and a more economic expenditure of steam. The time was now approaching when his talents were to be called into exercise upon a work of national importance; one that will hand his name down to the latest posterity, as the leader in that system of internal intercourse, which, subsequently, by its extension, united the most widely separated districts of the country, and reduced the expense of the transit of merchandise to one-half or one-third of its previous rates.

In order that the reader may the better understand this, let us take a glance at the condition of Manchester and other towns (according to our author), at the time of Brindley's engaging in his enterprise. "Down to the middle of the last century," he says, "the trade and commerce of England were comparatively insignificant. This is sufficiently clear from the wretched state of our road and river communication about that time; for it is well understood, that without the ready means of transporting commodities from place to place, either by land or water, commerce is impossible. But the roads of England were then about the worst in Europe, and usually impassable for vehicles during the greater part of the year. Corn, wool, and such like articles, were sent to market on horses' or bullocks' backs; and manure was carried to the field, and fuel conveyed from the forest or bog, in the

same way. The only coal used in the inland southern counties was carried on horseback in sacks, for the supply of the blacksmiths' forges. The food of London was principally brought from the surrounding country in panniers. The little merchandise transported from place to place, in the same manner, "was mostly of a light description; the cloths of the West of England, the buttons of Birmingham and Macclesfield, the baizes of Norwich, the cutlery of Sheffield, and the tapes, coatings, and fustian of Manchester." *

Foreign goods, on being landed, were conveyed inland on pack-horses or on waggons, which was more expensive than the transit by sea; the freight from Lisbon to London being no greater than from London to Norwich by land; and the cost per ton of goods from Birmingham to London, was from £7 to £9, and from Leeds to London, £13. At this period, the Manchester manufacturers were a very humble class of men. Dr. Aiken describes "an eminent" one as being "in his warehouse before six in the morning, accompanied by his children and apprentices. At seven they all came in to breakfast, which consisted of one large dish of water-pottage, made of oatmeal, water, and a little salt, boiled thick, and poured into a dish. At the side was a pan or basin of milk, and the master and apprentices, each with a wooden spoon in his hand, without loss of time, dipped into the same dish, and thence into the milk-pan; and as soon as it was finished they all returned to their work." †

The manufacturers sent out their goods by "chapmen," with pack-horses, and these brought back wool from Yorkshire, feathers from Lincolnshire, and malt from Cambridgeshire and Nottinghamshire. All mercantile transactions were carried on by these chapmen, whose life was anything rather than easy or safe. Even wine was conveyed on horseback, and, in fact, could not be carried otherwise, for the roads were impracticable for wheel-carriages of any description.

One coach to London started from Manchester every other day, and made the journey in four days and a half, there being thus a post only thrice a week. All provisions, and even coals, were conveyed to the town by pack-horses, so that in the winter, when the roads were frequently blocked up by snow and ice, the supply was so interrupted as to cause great distress to the inhabitants. A horse-load of coal was 280 pounds, which were carried in two panniers. The price of the load at the pit's

* P. 119. † P. 160.

mouth was 10*d.* per cwt., but by the time it was delivered to the consumer in Manchester, the carriage added nine or ten shillings to its value. If sent by the Irwell, the charge was but little reduced, as there was horse-carriage at both ends of the navigation; and the charge by water was 8*s.* 4*d.* per ton. Between Manchester and Liverpool, the intercourse was equally expensive. By road, the charge for goods was 40*s.* per ton, and by water 12*s.* per ton. The boats were drawn up and down stream by men; and the risk of delay, loss, and damage on the way, rendered it both tedious and expensive. Such was the state of things when the Duke of Bridgewater directed his attention to the construction of a water-road from his coal mine at Worsley to Manchester.

It appears that the Duke's father had obtained an Act in 1737 for making the Worsley brook navigable to the Irwell, but the expense alarmed him, and he suffered the powers of the Act to expire without attempting to carry it out. His son now determined to revive the Act in another form, and in 1759 applied to Parliament for the requisite powers "to enable him to cut a canal from Worsley mill eastward to Salford, and to carry the same westward to Hollen ferry on the Mersey." He bound himself to limit the freights on all boats brought from Worsley to Manchester, to 2*s.* 6*d.* per ton, and to sell the coals so brought thither from the mines, at 4*d.* per cwt., the previous price being 10*d.*, as stated above. The Bill was well supported by the Houses, and, passing without opposition, received the royal assent in March, 1759.

For executing this important work, the Duke, on the recommendation of Gilbert, his land agent, sent for James Brindley, who appears to have been almost the only man in England competent, from previous habits and knowledge, to undertake it. And it is to the credit of both, that as soon as the Duke found out the man he thus selected, he gave him the entire conduct of the works. Brindley began, to use his own orthographical account, by making an "ochilor survey or a reconitoring" of the ground. He soon found that the line proposed by the Duke would involve the construction of immense and expensive series of locks, and recommended that the canal should be carried right over the valley of the Irwell on a massive embankment. This plan was the subject of much debate between the Duke, Gilbert, and Brindley, in the Old Hall at Worsley, the residence of the first, and where the third had now taken up his abode for a time. A fresh application to Parliament was found necessary. When the plans were completed, Brindley "set out to London, to lay them

before the Legislature, which, as in the first instance, passed the Bill without opposition in 1760."

If this, however, was the case at head quarters, it was otherwise with the friends of the Duke, who advised him "not to throw away his money on such a desperate undertaking." Another engineer, said to be Smeaton, was called in, and concluded, what no doubt he intended to be an able and crushing report, in the following words:—"I have often heard of castles in the air, but never before saw where any of them were to be erected." Notwithstanding these discouragements, the confidence of his Grace in Brindley never gave way, and he authorized him to commence the works, which in the Barton valley formed an aqueduct two hundred yards in length, and twelve yards wide, having a bridge of three arches which carries the water over the Irwell at a height of thirty-nine feet above that river. The earthen part of the aqueduct was formed of strong clay "puddled," that is, well-tempered by the spade while in a semi-fluid state, so that when dried it is impervious to water. It is laid on to the depth of about three feet. Other embankments were necessary, and many serious difficulties occurred in the course of the works; but the engineer's practical knowledge and ingenuity enabled him to overcome them, and, to the astonishment of everybody, the ten and a quarter miles of open navigation, with an extensive basin at the Worsley end to accommodate a large number of boats, was completed, and the first boat-load of coals sailed over the Barton viaduct to Manchester on the 17th July, 1761, and certainly laid the foundation for the future greatness of that manufacturing town.

No sooner was the canal completed, than his Grace the Duke of Bridgewater employed Brindley in surveying the country between Stretford and the river Mersey, for the purpose of carrying out a similar enterprise for the accommodation of the trade between Liverpool and Manchester. In September, 1761, he was "recconitoring" and taking the levels for a canal to join the Mersey at Hempstones, eight miles below Warrington Bridge, whence the tide would convey the boats over the fifteen miles between that and Liverpool. The object of this was to convey the raw material of the manufactures, the cotton, wool, and silk, to the districts where they were to be worked up, and the manufactured goods to the places of export. Previously they were conveyed both ways by two modes, namely, the common roads and the navigation on the Mersey and the Irwell. The quantity carried by land was about forty tons per week, at an

expense of £2 per ton, and chiefly manufactured articles; the raw materials being sent by water—a tedious mode on account of the obstructions by shallows in the summer and floods in the winter and spring. Such was the condition to which the trade of these important towns was subject, when the Duke of Bridgewater began the construction of the canal.

Equally, or even more, difficult was it for persons to travel between these two places. In summer they could ride or walk the distance, (30 miles), stopping the night at Warrington, and thus making a two days' journey of it. In winter, the road was impassable, and no coach could pass the distance at any season of the year, the first stage coach between Liverpool and Manchester not having been started till the year 1767, when it performed the journey up one day and down the next, thus making three double journeys per week. From six to eight horses were employed in drawing the heavy vehicle, which started at six o'clock, breakfasted at Prescot, dined at Warrington, and supped at the destination.

Whilst making his survey, we find Brindley taking a holiday on account of "the crounation of Georg and Sharlot." After this, when his inspection of the line was completed, he started in November for London with £7 18*s.* in his pocket. But his whole expenses of going and coming were only £4 8*s.*, being four or five days on the road, and eight days in London. His diary at this time exhibits in a striking light the meagre charges of an engineer at that period, and also Brindley's total ignorance of the rules of orthography. Many such entries as the following occur, "To masuor the Duk's pools, Smeaton and I—An ochilor survey from Saldnoor (Salemoor) to Stockport"—and his cash accounts are perfect pictures of a deficient education, which, had he been a man of less energy and confidence in his own powers, must have been an insuperable bar to his success.

The proposal of the new canal met with violent opposition on the part of the proprietors of the Mersey and Irwell navigation, who were quite aware that it would break up their monopoly. They attempted to buy the Duke off by reducing the tonnage of coals to 3*s.* 4*d.*, and other articles in proportion, if he would join their navigation at Barton, and give up the rest of his project. They also offered him exclusive advantages; but the Duke turned a deaf ear to all their proposals, being supported by the landowners and others on the line of the proposed works, who were worn out by the extortion and monopoly of the "junto of the old

navigators." In the Legislature, the Bill for the canal was carried by the following majority, as given in Brindley's own words,

Ad a grate division of 127 for 't Duk
98 nos

For the Duk 29 me jorete.

Brindley had a curious way of supplying his deficiency in graphical knowledge. Being "asked to produce a plan or drawing of an intended bridge, he replied that he had no plan on paper, but he would illustrate it by a model. He went out and bought a *large cheese*, which he brought into the room, and cut into two equal parts, saying, 'There is my model.' The two halves of the cheese represented the semi-circular arches of his bridge; and by laying over them some long rectangular objects, he could thus readily communicate to the committee the position of the river flowing underneath, and the canal passing over it."* In the same practical though homely way he described the mode and operation of "puddling" clay, by having some clay brought into the room in its natural state, showing that in that state it would not retain water; then he worked it up with water, and when well-tempered, made a trough of it, which, being filled with water, retained every drop. When asked to explain what a lock was, he took a piece of chalk from his pocket and drew a diagram on the floor, which, rough as it was, explained the thing at once. His account of the passage of the Bill through the House is very amusing:—"4th (March) a debate at the Hous with grate vigor, 3 Divisions, the Duke carried by numbers every time, a 4 Division moved but noos yelded." The Bill passed the House of Lords without any serious opposition, and Brindley gladly returned home, after nine weeks of London life, which was far from being to his taste.

The length of the canal was about twenty-four miles, and its greatest peculiarity was that a dead level was preserved all along the line until near its junction with the Mersey, when all the locks were concentrated in as short a space as possible, forming "a flight of water-steps" into the Mersey. This arrangement was considered by Lord Ellesmere as among the most striking evidences of the genius and skill of Brindley, who had no previous experience or knowledge to guide him.

* P. 196.

Nor were the energy and perseverance of the young Duke of Bridgewater less meritorious. Discarding all the amusements and trifling pursuits in which the youth of his class too often indulge themselves, he steadily followed up these industrial enterprises, which, whilst his own resources were increased to an extraordinary extent by them, "paved the way for the creation and development of the modern manufacturing system existing in the north-western counties of England. Will it be believed, in these halcyon days of engineering, that this gifted man, whose genius added £20,000 per year to the Duke's income, worked for him at the rate of 3*s.* 6*d.* per day, whilst his foreman received 1*s.* 9*d.* per day?"

Brindley's genius and correctness were displayed as well in the arrangements of the labour department, as in the efficiency of the works. "One who visited the canal during its construction in 1765, wrote thus of the busy scene which the works presented:—'I surveyed the Duke's men for two hours, and think the industry of bees or labour of ants is not to be compared to them. Each man's work seemed to depend on, and be connected with, his neighbour's, and the whole *posse* appeared as, I conceive, did that of the Tyrians, when they wanted houses to put their heads in at Carthage.' At Stretford, the visitor found four hundred men at work, putting the finishing stroke to about two hundred yards of the canal, which reached nearly to the Mersey, and which, on drawing up the flood-gates, was to receive a proper quantity of water, and a number of loaded barges."* The number of locks at Runcorn was ten, and the total fall not less than seventy-nine feet from the level of the canal to low-water of spring-tides.

It may easily be imagined that, to engage in such an expensive undertaking single handed, especially after completing the previous private affair, was sufficient to tax heavily the resources even of a duke. Before the works on the second canal were half finished, and while the large capital invested in them lay dead, he found himself short of funds. Determined, however, to carry out his enterprise, the young nobleman—at thirty years of age, the owner of several mansions in the country surrounded by ample domains yielding a large income—denied himself the most ordinary enjoyments, cut down every expense and superfluity, except his pipe of tobacco, gave up his carriage and town residence, and confined his ducal establishment to an expen-

* P. 213.

diture of £400 a year. All, however, was insufficient, and he was frequently put to great shifts to raise the money to pay his workmen. Many were the consultations between the Duke and Brindley, as to the way of "raising the wind." "One evening," says a contemporary, "the party was unusually dull and silent. The Duke's ready money was exhausted; the canal was not nearly finished, his grace's credit was at the lowest ebb, and he was at a loss what step next to take. There they sat, in the small parlour of a little public house, smoking their pipes, with a pitcher of ale before them, melancholy and silent. At last the Duke broke silence by asking, in a querulous tone, 'Well, Brindley, what's to be done now? How are we to get at the money for finishing the canal?' Brindley, after a few long puffs, answered through the smoke, 'Well, Duke, I can't tell; I only know that if the money could be got, I can finish the canal, and that it will pay well.' 'Ay,' rejoined the Duke, 'but *where* are we to get the money?' Brindley could only repeat what he had already said; and thus the little party remained in moody silence for some time longer, when Brindley suddenly started up and said, 'Don't mind, Duke; don't be cast down; we are sure to succeed after all.'" And so they did; for after every expedient had failed to obtain money in the country, the Duke sent to London, where, at the bank of Child and Co., upon a mortgage of the Worsley and Manchester Canal, the firm agreed to advance him whatever funds he required, which, according to their books, was £25,000 at different intervals.*

All other difficulties in the way of the undertaking were now overcome, and on the 1st January, 1773, the locks were opened, and a vessel of fifty tons' burden, for Liverpool, passed through them. It was a grand day for all. Six hundred of the Duke's workmen were regaled upon the banks of the locks, with an ox roasted whole, and plenty of good liquor. Those land-owners who had in the first instance opposed the scheme, now applauded it, and all saw the benefit that must accrue to every one on the line, from such a medium for conveying their produce to market. The total cost of the two canals was £220,000, being, probably, the largest sum ever up to this time expended by an individual on such an enterprise. Smiles records the striking fact that, although the canal realized to the Duke, eventually, an income of £80,000 a year, it was planned and executed by Brindley, at a rate of

*Pp. 221, 222.

pay considerably less than that of an ordinary mechanic of the present day. The highest wages he received was 3*s.* 6*d.*, and, for the greater part of the time, only 2*s.* 6*d.* per day. What is still worse, and to the Duke's lasting disgrace, a considerable sum was due to Brindley at the time of his death, he having received nothing from 1765 to 1772. Of this debt, his widow received, in 1774, the small sum of £100, which was *all* that was ever paid to her, her letters to the Duke remaining unanswered. It was supposed that Gilbert was the cause of this default, as the Duke referred, in general, all matters of payment to him; but he well knew that his faithful and devoted engineer had not received what was due to him.

To his numerous workmen, however, the Duke was a kind generous employer, although strict in regard to their time and general conduct. Our author gives a pleasing account of the arrangements he made for their welfare and civilization; for the colliers at that period were half savages. Sobriety, honesty, and steadiness at work were encouraged and rewarded in the most substantial way. But he looked to everything himself, and made himself acquainted with the character of his workmen, not only in that capacity, but in their private conduct, and discouraged to the utmost intemperance and dissipation. Though strictly economical of both time and money, his conduct to his numerous dependents was generous and considerate, and evoked their gratitude and blessing, especially that of the wives and children, who felt the benefits of the strict discipline he enforced;*—a discipline which soon acquired for his colliers a higher character than any of the operative classes around possessed. Many details of his life and habits are given in the work, showing that whilst one idea—canal navigation—held a paramount influence over his mind, he was equally attentive to all the minutiæ connected with or involved in it. "The Duke," says our author, "was a great public benefactor. The boldness of his enterprise, and the salutary results which flowed from its execution, entitle him to be regarded as one of the most useful men of his age. A Liverpool letter of 1765 says, 'The services the Duke has rendered to the town and neighbourhood of Manchester have endeared him to the country, more especially to the poor, who, with grateful benedictions, repay their noble benefactor.' If he became rich through his enter-

* This renders the more unaccountable his mean conduct to Brindley, who certainly was the founder of his prosperity, and ought to have shared it instead of being deprived of the mean pittance he was really entitled to.

prises, the public became rich with him, and by him. His memory was long venerated by the people among whom he lived—a self-reliant, self-asserting race, proud of their independence, full of persevering energy, and strong in their attachments. . . He was the first great Manchester man," &c.

The rapid growth of both Manchester and Liverpool since the Duke's time, fully justifies the tribute paid to him in the above passage. The following statements of the population of the former at four different periods, will give an idea of the progress it has since made,

1774	1801	1821	1861
41,032	84,020	187,031	460,028

The growth of Liverpool has been simultaneous and on a par with that of Manchester, and its trade now vies in extent with that of the Metropolis itself.

But we must not lose sight of the man who was the moving agent in these results. Before the Duke's canal was completed, Brindley was engaged in a still more formidable enterprise—a canal to connect the Mersey with the Trent, and both with the Severn, forming a grand line of water-way between the ports of Liverpool, Hull, and Bristol. He had, also, even at the commencement of the Liverpool and Manchester canal, made a survey of the ground for one in Staffordshire, but the scheme remained in abeyance for some years. No sooner, however, was the success of the Duke's projects ascertained, than the gentlemen connected with the salt works and the potteries determined to unite with the landowners in taking measures for opening a line of canal to the Mersey and the Trent. We have already spoken of Brindley's improvements in the mode of preparing the flint for the use of the potters. Before this time both flints and clay were conveyed at a great expense by land in waggons, or on the backs of horses through roads scarcely passable in summer, and still less so in winter, and the manufactured goods were carried out in the same way. The population was in a most degraded condition, brutal in their manners and amusements, and consequently poor and wretched in their domestic relations.

About this time, however, another man of mark sprang up from the humble class, to give impetus and energy to the department of trade in which he was engaged. This was Josiah Wedgewood. Born of poor parents, he was early a martyr to disease, superinduced by virulent small pox, which settled in his knee and issued in amputation. The forced

leisure of this calamity enabled him to indulge himself in reading; and thus, what was justly looked upon as a heavy calamity, was, by the right use he made of it, converted into a blessing not only to himself, but the country at large, and especially the neighbourhood in which he resided. A short account of his early progress is given in the work, which we must not further refer to. Suffice, that being one of the first to understand the advantage of water-communication for the conveyance of the raw materials and the manufactured products of the potteries, he was one of the earliest and most steady supporters of Brindley's scheme for the construction of the Grand Trunk Canal. Other projects of the kind were started at the same time, but the Duke of Bridgewater gave all his weight of interest to Brindley's "Grand Trunk Line." His reason for giving it this name was that he foresaw that other canals would soon branch out from it "like the arteries of the human system." The result proved the correctness of his views. Violent was the opposition in Parliament; but the great success of the Duke's canals, and the interest he possessed with the Whig party in the House, enabled him to carry the measure, to the great joy of the potters and all other manufacturers situated on the line. On the 26th of July, 1756, the works commenced, by Wedgewood cutting the first sod.

This was the most formidable undertaking of the kind ever attempted in England, and rendered more difficult by the nature of the country through which it passed. In length it reached 139½ miles, and in its course five tunnels—Harecastle, 2880 yards; Hermitage, 130 yards; Barnton, 560 yards; Sallonford, 350 yards; and Preston, 1241 yards, respectively, in length—were necessary; a species of work that was then quite new in England. Of the five, the Harecastle tunnel was the most difficult, and the opponents exercised all their powers of denunciation and ridicule upon it. Undismayed by the opposition, and confident in his own judgment, Brindley set to work on this part first, by sinking shafts at different points on the hill top. The large quantity of water met with proved a hindrance, but Brindley calculated upon this as affording a supply of water for the summit level of his canal. When he had found the proper line, the work of tunnelling was proceeded with at both ends on the outside, and right and left internally. The water was pumped out and the earth lifted by a steam engine of Brindley's own construction. Six hundred men were employed, whose labour was directed and superintended by himself; and he was justly looked upon as

the most wonderful man in the world. "Gentlemen," says the writer of a letter, "come to view our eighth wonder of the world; the subterraneous navigation which is cutting by the great Mr. Brindley, who handles rocks as easily as you would plum-pies, and makes the four elements subservient to his will. He is as plain a looking man as one of the boors of the Peak, or as one of his own carters; but when he speaks, all ears listen, and every mind is filled with wonder at the things he pronounces to be practicable,"* &c. The tunnel occupied eleven years (1777), but Brindley did not live to see it completed, his death having taken place in 1772.

During the progress of the Grand Trunk Canal, various other lines were projected, and Brindley as a matter of course was called upon to undertake their construction. Of these the Wolverhampton Canal, the Coventry and Oxford Canal, the Birmingham Canal, and the Droitwich Canal—all connected with the Grand Trunk, although not all carried out on Brindley's plans, were based upon them. Besides the above, the Chesterfield and Stockhurst Canal was constructed upon his plans; and it was found, after his death, that when a deviation was made from the plans he laid down, it was always a subject of regret to the companies. In one instance in which Smeaton and Telford had thus deviated, it cost the company £30,000 to rectify the mischief.

Independent of the above undertakings, in which Brindley was immediately concerned, he was consulted on many other projected canals, of which other engineers had given in plans. Thus the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, which took away the manufactures of Leeds, Bradford, Keighley, and the neighbouring towns, and which was 130 miles in length, was surveyed and laid out through the whole line by Brindley, who also drew up the estimates for the company. The latter would have appointed him engineer, but he was already overwhelmed with business, and declined undertaking it. Being now at the head of his profession, by universal consent, he was applied to on all occasions in which water-works were required, and was at all times ready to draw plans himself or examine those of others. But whatever plans he made, he freely laid them open to the public, and in no case sought to secure the benefit to himself by a patent. He was accessible to all, and was more desirous of promoting the public good than of enriching himself.

* P. 270.

Brindley did not marry until he had reached the age of fifty-one, when he was united to a young girl, the daughter of his friend Henshall, still in her teens, with whom he lived happily the few years of their married life. These unfortunately were but few; his marriage took place in 1767, and in 1772 the scene was closed by his death, at the comparatively early age of fifty-six. It is scarcely to be wondered at, that extraordinary labours, irregular living, exposure to all weathers, long fasting, &c., should have told upon even his robust constitution; and it only required an accidental strain upon it to sever the frail thread of life. Whilst engaged in surveying a branch canal between Leek and Froghall, he was drenched by rain, and went about all day in his wet clothes; and what was worse, at night was put into a bed between damp sheets, at an inn. The next morning he was too ill to rise, and, after a protracted illness, expired at his house, at Turnhurst, and was interred in the burying-ground at New Chapel, a short distance from his dwelling.

It is impossible to estimate the immense amount of benefit accruing from the labours of this untaught man—untaught at least, so far as literary education is concerned. The specimens, given in the work, of his writing *(fac similes)* and of his spelling, fully show that, in this respect, he was below the mediocrity of the humblest school-boy; nor does he appear even to have displayed any ambition to improve himself in this matter. "Nevertheless," says our author, "Brindley was a highly-instructed man in many respects. He was full of the results of careful observation, ready at devising the best methods of overcoming material difficulties, and possessed of a powerful and correct judgment in matters of business. When any emergency arose, his quick invention and ingenuity, cultivated by experience, enabled him almost at once unerringly to suggest the best means of providing for it. His ability was so remarkable, that those about him attributed the process by which he arrived at his conclusions rather to instinct than reflection—the true instinct of genius. . . His mechanical genius was, indeed, most highly cultivated. From the time when he was bound apprentice to the trade of a millwright—impelled to do so by the strong bias of his nature—he had been undergoing a course of daily and hourly instruction. There was nothing to distract his attention, or turn him from pursuing his favourite study of practical mechanics. The training of his inventive faculty and constructive skill was, indeed, a slow, but a continuous process;

and when time and opportunity arrived for turning these to account—when the silk-throwing machinery of the Congleton Mill, for instance, had to be perfected and brought to the point of effectively performing its intended work—Brindley was found able to take it in hand and carry out the plan, when even its own designer had given it up in despair. But it must be remembered also, that this extraordinary ability of Brindley was, in a great measure, the result of close observation, painstaking study of details, and the most indefatigable industry."*

The work closes with an appendix, containing an account of the construction of the Grand Canal of Languedoc, by Pierre Paul Requet de Bonrepos, in the reign of Louis XIV., in the year 1662. The narrative is a very interesting one; but we have no space to refer to it further, having already exceeded our limits.

* P. 289.

ART. IV.—1. *Le Catholicisme Romain en Russie: études historiques.* Par M. LE COMTE DMITRY TOLSTOY. Tome premier, 1863; Tome deuxième, 1864. Paris: Dentu.
2. *La Papauté Schismatique, ou Rome dans ses Rapports avec l'Eglise orientale.* Par M. L'ABBE GUETTEE. Paris: Librarie de l'Union Chrétienne. 1863.
3. *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Civilisation en Russie.* Par NICOLAS DE GEREBTZOFF. Deux volumes. Paris, Amyot. 1858.
4. *Œuvres d'Adolphe Lèbre.* Bridel, Lausanne et Paris. 1856.

THE schism between the great Eastern and Western communities of Christendom was brought about gradually during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, through the ambition of the bishops of Rome, favoured by the absence of the emperors, the misfortunes of the eastern churches, and the barbarian energy of the newly converted populations north of the Alps.

The pontificate of Gregory the Great, at the beginning of this period, marks a point at which the See of Rome had not yet created the theory of a universal spiritual monarchy in its own interest, and was prepared to resist to the uttermost any such assumption on the part of others. In its eyes, the Bishop of Constantinople was "the precursor of Anti-Christ," when he assumed the title of "Universal Patriarch." A very few years later, Boniface III. modified this attitude so far as to claim and receive from the usurper Phocas, for the supposed chair of Peter, the designation, "Head of the Churches," only as a title of honour, however, unattended as yet by the meaning which its far-sighted, audacious, and persevering possessors were in time to give it. As the Mahometan conquests now destroyed the material importance and moral weight of three out of the five originally equal Patriarchs in less than half a century Rome and Constantinople were practically left alone to dispute for supremacy.

Early in the eighth century, the growing antagonism between the two sections of the church was increased by the Eastern provincial synod *in Trullo, i.e.* at the imperial palace; the canons of which prescribed the marriage of all priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, and were, consequently, protested against by Rome. It is not probable, however, that the religious schism would have ever come to a final crisis, if it

had not been accompanied by political separation; and the successive steps in this long process of mutual alienation are seen to have been alternately ecclesiastical and political. The iconoclasm of some of the emperors, and their vacillations in religious matters generally, enabled the bishops of Rome to exhibit an independent bearing that contrasted favourably with the forced subserviency of their Byzantine rivals. The influence of the imperial court did not the less continue to be so great at Rome that, as the learned Döllinger observes, all the popes, from A.D. 685 to 741, were either Greeks or Syrians, and until the latter date they reckoned upon the imperial representative—the Exarch of Ravenna—to protect them against the Lombards. It was when the iconoclastic emperors had confiscated the extensive property of the See of Rome in the East, that the popes seem to have first conceived the thought of substituting their own power for that of the empire in Italy, and of exchanging its protection for that of the warlike Franks. Gregory III. offered Charles Martel "the consulship," upon this condition, in 741. Both the Pope and the chieftain of the Franks died this same year, but the idea was carried out by their successors. Stephen II. entreated Pepin, in 756, to take up the cause of the church; "We earnestly pray thee so to act that the Catholic faith may be maintained among the Greeks, *that the church may be delivered from their malice*, and may recover its patrimony." Pepin made over to the See of Rome the Exarchate of Ravenna, as soon as he had succeeded in wresting it from the Lombards; and, on their final humiliation, in 774, Charlemagne added other provinces to this grant, thereby constituting the Papacy a temporal power.

It is to this period that must be referred the forged donation of Constantine to Sylvester, and there is every reason to believe that the fraud was perpetrated at the instigation, or at least with the connivance, of Pope Hadrian the First. Dean Milman, indeed, puts it some fifty or sixty years later*; but it appears from the more recent investigations of Döllinger and Guettée that Hadrian was the first person who mentioned the false decretals as genuine documents. He delivered them as such to Ingelramm, of Metz, in the year 785, though he had himself, ten years before, given Charlemagne the collection of genuine Papal letters made by Denis the Little in the sixth century. The most important of these forgeries is the one purporting to be a donation to

* History of Latin Christianity ii., 305, 2nd edition.

Pope Sylvester and his successors for ever of "the City of Rome, and the provinces, towns and castles of all Italy, *or* of the western regions." There is much art in the apparent awkwardness of this phrase:—Italy alone is specified, in order not to give umbrage to the Franks; but the terms are intentionally elastic, *or* being meant to be exchanged for the more natural *and*, at the first convenient season. Papal like Pagan Rome, from the moment that it was a power at all, believed itself to be predestined to empire.

When the Patriarch Tarasius proposed to the court and people of Constantinople the convocation of the second Council of Nice, it was, he said, in order to restore and to secure the unity of the Catholic Church, "because the West anathematizes us every day." Hadrian consented to send legates to the council, because he knew it would re-establish image worship in the East; but in his letter to the Emperor and Empress, Constantine and Irene, he claims the primacy of the Christian world in the most imperious language, protests against the title of Œcumenical Patriarch, given to Taraisius, and says the Bishop of Constantinople could not even have the second rank without the permission of the Roman See. This was written in 785, two years before the actual meeting of the council, and in the very year that he sent the false decretals to Archbishop Ingelramm. He took advantage of the ignorance of the Germans, but neither he nor any of his immediate successors dared to speak of the donation of Constantine to the more learned Greeks! "Hadrian," says Abbé Guettée, "is the true creator of the modern Papacy." As every great evolution is accompanied by its outward symbols, it was, we believe, this same pontiff who introduced the ceremonies of prostration before him, and the kissing of his foot in the house of God.

The political side of the separation was consummated when Leo III., on Christmas Day, 800, set the Imperial diadem of the West on the brow of Charlemagne. The ecclesiastical side may be considered as consummated when Nicholas I. and Photius mutually excommunicated each other, A.D. 863-7, and the latter drew up a formal list of the matters in which Rome had departed from the faith and discipline of the ancients. That the rupture might have its full interpretation and emphasis, it coincided with a momentarily successful effort of the Pope to separate the Bulgarians from communion with the See of Constantinople, to which they had but recently owed their conversion. The chair of Peter, wrote Nicholas to the Bulgarian King, is the

source of all episcopacy, and of all apostleship: "Peter ever lives, and presides upon his seat; he gives the truth of the faith to those that seek it." The theory was now, indeed, complete; and in practice, altar was raised up against altar with the most unscrupulous and unblushing sectarianism. Immediately afterwards, Hadrian II. claimed the power of absolving from oaths; that is to say, of making wrong to be right, and *vice versâ*, according to his own will.

Neither the subsequent vicissitudes of Photius, nor the strange concatenation of events and complication of interests which led another Pope, John VIII., to concur in one of his precarious restorations to the patriarchal dignity, can be said to have substantially modified the situation. The links which united the two churches were broken, says Dean Milman with truth. Henceforth "the darkness which gathered round both churches shrouded them from each other's sight." Rome had "disjoined herself for ever from the effete and hopeless east, and placed herself at the head of the rude, as yet, and dimly descried and remote, but more promising and vigorous civilization of the West."

We need not notice here the subsequent relations of the Papacy with the centre of ecclesiastical government in the east; but, independently of these, Rome never lost sight of the outlying populations that had attached themselves to her rival, and neglected no opportunity of trying to win them over. Had she succeeded with the Greek churches generally, or even with that of Russia alone, the consequences would have been more momentous than the most sagacious minds of former ages could have conceived. The most recent and accurate statistical inquiries show that the Romanist populations of Christendom are about equal in number, or slightly superior, to all the non-Romanists united. They also prove, however, that this equilibrium is unstable, and that, unless a wholesale change of religion take place among the non-Romanists, their natural increase must give them an overwhelming majority in the course of a few generations. According to Mr. Maurice Block, the already immense population of Russia increases faster in proportion than that of any Roman Catholic country in the world except Italy, and that of Italy has not much room for further expansion. The Prussian people will be more numerous than the French in 1960, if they both maintain their present ratios of increase. The immense drain through emigration from the British Isles does not hinder the home population from increasing faster than that of Spain, Belgium, or France; and if we follow in

thought the emigrants to their new homes beyond the ocean, we see Protestantism predominant in North America, with its vast resources, while another Protestant continent rises up in Australasia, and South Africa throws its weight into the same scale. Were the present Roman Catholic emigration from Ireland and South Germany directed to Australia, it would change the whole future of the southern hemisphere; or had it been directed to North America two hundred years ago, it would have made that continent Catholic, whereas now the stream flows to the territory of the United States just too late to change its destinies. The only wide field for future extension offered to Roman Catholicism is South America, and of that it seems unable to take possession; everything is stationary there except in one corner of Brazil, which the enterprise of German colonists, partly Protestants, has begun to affect.

Of the three races which form the great bulk of the population of Europe, the Romanic is generally, though not universally, Roman Catholic; nearly three-fourths of the German race are Protestant; the Slavonic is generally, though not universally, Greek. Out of Europe the power of the Romanic race only bears upon the north of Africa and Cochin China, and its colonies are hopelessly effete. The Germanic race, on the contrary, spreads itself over every unoccupied area of the earth's surface, and governs the teeming millions of India. The Slavonic race has before it a prodigious development in vast and fertile regions now thinly peopled or wholly uninhabited. The soil of temperate Siberia sometimes yields fifty for one; and if the calculations of Gerebtzoff are correct, it is capable of supporting a hundred and seventy millions of human beings. To Russia will probably belong the future control of China, and its hold over South-eastern Europe and Western Asia is unfortunately far too firm.

To sum up the prospect in a few words. The Roman Catholic nations increase slowly, while a non-Romanist population, more than equivalent to the whole population of Great Britain, has been added to that previously existing during the nineteen years of the pontificate of Pius IX. The ratio of increase is continually advancing, as the simple result of the excess of births over deaths among the nations who have cast off or refused to accept the Romish yoke. *It now exceeds two millions yearly. A city like Edinburgh might be peopled by the additional heretics and schismatics that every revolving month sees taking their place under the sun!* A sad prospect this for the Vatican; and as the poor old Pope looks abroad upon the

world, he may sigh *non possumus* in more senses than one. Whether he counts the ships that plough the ocean, or the cities that rise as if by enchantment at the antipodes, or the settlers that hew their way in primeval forests, or the shepherds that watch over their flocks in Australian plains; whether he visits the Missouri, or the Sacramento, or the Murray, or the Jeniseï; whithersoever he turns, the sight is equally disheartening.

These are ascertainable matters of fact and figures, altogether independent of the moral progress to which the friends of evangelical truth may confidently look forward. Providence has so arranged things that the silent expansion and material progress of the nations whose mission it is to spread the Gospel, and of those who at least repudiate Rome, makes itself be felt irresistibly at the very crisis in which Rome stands out in avowed contradiction to all the interests and all the liberties of modern society. The instincts of the great Spanish ultramontane—the late Donoso Cortez—did not deceive him, when he confounded everything English and everything Russian in the same implacable hatred.

Russia cannot, alas, be reckoned among the nations who spread the truth abroad; but it holds the highest rank among those that resist a most dangerous form of spiritual despotism; and this aspect of its religious history is consequently a very interesting study. Count Tolstoy tells us that he had meditated a work upon the state of the Latin Church in Russia during the reign of the Emperor Nicholas, but that, when he had collected and arranged his materials, he felt it was necessary to acquaint his readers with a whole preparatory history too little known in general; and this intended preface gradually grew into the two formidable volumes before us. It is to be feared that the work originally proposed will prove to be an attempt to justify the late Emperor's treatment of the Poles; however, it must be admitted that the present history of Roman Catholicism in Russia, and of the relations of the Vatican with the Imperial Government, up to the death of Alexander I., is written with an evident regard to truth, and with as much fairness and moderation as could be expected from a writer not professing to be impartial. Count Tolstoy has had free access to the imperial archives, and found at Warsaw, especially, documents illustrating the views and intrigues of the agents of Rome, such as have rarely fallen into the hands of their adversaries. We have compared his allegations, wherever it has been possible, with those made on the opposite side by the friends of

Poland, in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, during the last twenty years.

The celebrated Hildebrand was the first Pope who tried to interfere with the internal affairs of Russia. We find him in 1075 recommending the King of Poland to try to re-establish an exiled grand duke on condition of acknowledging the Papal supremacy; and from this time forward similar offers were repeated whenever the different Russian states were suffering particularly from civil dissensions or foreign invasions. Alexander III. sent a bishop to Russia under pretext of informing himself what were the real differences between the two communions. The bearded metropolitan of Kiew dexterously replied, it would be better for the Pope to address himself to his holiness's brother in spirit, the Patriarch of Constantinople.

More serious efforts were made during the first half of the thirteenth century. While the Latins reigned at Constantinople, the Teutonic order was strengthening itself in Livonia, and the Tartars were carrying their frightful ravages throughout the land. In 1204, the very year that the Crusaders seized Constantinople, Innocent III. sent an embassy to tempt the Prince of Galicz with all manner of temporal advantages. The latter, drawing his sabre, asked the legate "Is Peter's sword of the same kind as this?" and proceeded to intimate that while he could fight with a good conscience, the Saviour had forbidden Peter to take the sword. Several other pressing embassies from the immediate successors of Innocent to various Russian chieftains had no better success.

It was not so much the political side of Romanism, or the doctrine of Papal supremacy, as the differences of ritual and discipline, that then as now struck the half-barbarous Russian mind. There is still extant in the imperial library of St. Petersburg a treatise in manuscript on the Latin Church by Theodosius, Prior of Peczersk, a cotemporary of Gregory VII. This writer dwells essentially upon these external divergences, and upon the worldliness, the immorality, and the persecuting spirit of the Romish clergy. "The Latins," he complains, "do not ask the remission of their sins from God but from priests, and these do not take lawful wives, but live in concubinage, which adulterous state does not hinder them from officiating. Their bishops have mistresses, go to war, and wear rings . . . Great are the persecutions which the Christians of other rites who live among them have to endure at their hands." "The orthodox," he proceeds, "must flee from the religion of the Latins, must not follow their customs, imitate

their genuflexions, or listen to their sermons. . . It is unlawful for Christians to give them their daughters in marriage, or to take wives from among them, to become sponsors for their children, to kiss them, or to eat out of the same vessels. If they ask food from thee, give it them for God's sake, but in their own vessels; if they have none, lend them thy crockery, but when they have eaten in it, wash it and purify it by prayer . . . for he that keeps apart from them and preserves his faith pure will be admitted to the right hand of God, and enter into eternal bliss; but they that pass over to them will be on God's left, in weeping everlasting, for there is no salvation for those who live in the Latin religion. . . And if any one should say to thee: God has given this religion, answer him: Miscreant, believest thou that God has two religions? Accursed and perverted as thou art, knowest thou not that it is written, the Lord hath said, there is one God, one faith, and one baptism?"

It is evident that if the worthy prior had cause to complain of the active intolerance of the Romanists, he met it with a counter intolerance, passive indeed, but equally blind and equally tenacious. The feelings he expresses were those of his countrymen generally. Thus there is a confession of faith attributed to Saint Alexander Newski, the ruler of the "Great Principality," of which Vladimir was the capital, from 1252 to 1263, which document ended with this phrase: "Such is our faith; may they that do not profess it or that profess it otherwise be accursed; and therefore we anathematize you, ye execrable Latins."

The Russians, like all the Slavonians, exhibit a kind, gentle, and generous disposition towards each other. The peasants always address men of their own age as "brothers," and older men by the term "uncle" or "father." They are singularly unselfish and considerate for others, and for this reason have always possessed great aptitude for mutual association and co-operation. They were the original inventors of trial by jury; and to this day, in order not to crush minorities, they require unanimity in the decisions of the commune. The wretched exile on his way to Siberia, never passes through a village without receiving alms; nay, on the main roads, by which convicts pass, there is a board fastened in front of every house upon which the housewife deposits her little offering. Unfortunately, the ignorance and barbarism of the people has hitherto confined these ready sympathies within the circle of those with whose circumstances and ideas they have enough in common to be able

to understand them. The Russian peasant looks upon aliens as less than men; he thinks that those who cannot speak his language are *dumb*, only imperfectly imitating human speech; and that foreign soldiers are rebels against the Czar. In matters of religion, this prejudice of uncultivated natures against the stranger is aggravated by the most inveterate formalism. Won over to Greek Christianity at first by the gorgeous pomp of its ceremonies, Russians cling to every traditional detail of their ritual with an ardour more childish and more intense than can be understood by foreigners of any persuasion; and the use of the unleavened wafer for the sacrament, or even the least variation from the prescribed movement of the fingers in blessing oneself, seems to them an act of treason against the primitive orthodox faith, only equalled by the sin of adding an iota to the decrees of the seven œcumenical councils. It is a remarkable illustration of their low and materialistic conception of religion, that almost the chief, if not the chief, attraction the ingenuity of Rome was able to hold out to them during the middle ages, was the holy house of Loretto, which alighted upon the Apennines, when the Sultan Khalil had driven the Christians out of Palestine, just in time to supply a place of pilgrimage for those to whose religious wants it was indispensable.

At the time of the Tartar invasion, the principal Slavonian States were the kingdom of Poland, the Republics of Novogorod and Pskov, then on the eve of entering into the Hanseatic League, the still Pagan Duchy of Lithuania, the great principality of Muscovy, and that of Riazane, both in the Valley of the Volga, the Duchy of Halitch, containing Gallicia, Volhynia, and Podolia, and finally Ruthenia, or Red Russia, in the Valley of the Dnieper. The Red Russians boasted of the possession of Kiew, the ancient metropolis of Ruric, and of a Slavonic ancestry more unmixed than their brethren of Muscovy. They have also at all times shown a greater spirit of independence; the wild though short-lived liberty of the Cossacks originated among them; and Prince Troubetzkoï says, that while Northern Russia early constituted itself as an absolute Asiatic monarchy, the ancient social organization long survived in Gallicia and in Volhynia, and the sovereign power was tempered by a council composed of the voivodes, boyards, and higher clergy.

The Red Russians were crushed by Genghiz Khan in person, in 1224, at the fatal battle of the Kalka, a little river that falls into the Sea of Azoph. For a short space, the cruel conqueror turned back into Asia; but the turn of the

northern princes, who had selfishly refused to help their brethren, soon came. The Tartars destroyed Riazane in 1237, and Vladimir in the following year. Turning south again, they made Kiew a heap of smoking ruins, and burned their way throughout Gallicia, until their advance was checked at Lignitza, in Silesia, in 1260. From this time forward they contented themselves with establishing a capitation tax throughout Russia, making the princes their vassals, and establishing *Baskaks*, or inspectors, in every town, from whose caprice and cruelty the nobles and clergy suffered at all times, while occasionally some trifling act of insubordination drew down upon whole populations a sentence of indiscriminate extermination. That most politic of saints, Alexander Newsky, secured his own principality, and made it the nucleus of the future Russian Empire, by becoming the most obsequious vassal of the oppressor.

The boundaries of the several states were continually changing, and some of the changes that then took place bear upon the religious interests of the present day. Many districts of Red Russia threw themselves into the arms of the milder Pagans of the north, in order to escape from the Tartars, so that towards the close of the thirteenth century Lithuania extended itself for a short time from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The line of the old Norman princes of Ruthenia became extinct in 1319, and in 1340 Casimir the Great incorporated the Duchy of Halitch with Poland. The Romish clergy must have begun to persecute the Greeks from the moment that they became fellow-subjects, for, only three years later, we find the Greeks of Volhynia imploring the Tartar Khan to deliver them from the yoke of the Romanists of Poland!

In 1396, Hedwig, the young Queen of Poland, sacrificed herself for the advancement of the church, and by marrying Jagellon, the rude old Pagan Duke of Lithuania, won him over to Roman Catholicism. Many of the Duke's subjects, even in Lithuania proper had already joined the Greek Church; but no sooner had Latinism got a hold over them, than it exhibited its innate intolerance. An ordinance of Jagellon, issued the year after his marriage, made it criminal for any of the Lithuanians, newly baptized into the Romish Church, to contract marriages with members of the Greek confession, unless these should change their religion. Notwithstanding this cause of discord, the generous and sympathetic side of the Polish character must have recommended itself to their new fellow-subjects, for at the great diet of Horodlo, in 1414,

it was resolved with enthusiasm that Poland and Lithuania should no longer be connected merely by the person of the sovereign, but become altogether united; public liberties and privileges were to be confounded, and even private families exchanged armorial bearings, *ut sub umbra alarum caritatis quiescamus!* So complete was Poland's assimilation of the leading Lithuanian and Ruthenian families to her nationality, that some of the noblest names in her political and literary history, those of Radziwil, Potocki, Czartoryski, Sobieski, Koskiusko, Miskiewitz, &c., belong to this class.

Moscow became the capital of the "Grand Principality" in 1327, and the foundation of its greatness was laid by the successful cunning of John Kalita, who bore arms for the Tartars against more patriotic princes, and became receiver-general of the taxes imposed upon his countrymen, and co-religionists. From this reign onward the order of succession was regular from father to son. The Russian princes and people began to understand that a central power was necessary for their deliverance. They gradually grouped themselves around that of Moscow, recognized its sovereignty, and enabled it to resist the common enemy, who was now enfeebled in his turn by intestine strife. John the Third, a cotemporary of the Tudors and of Louis XI., finally threw off the yoke altogether. He also subdued the Republic of Novogorod, which struggled in vain to exchange his protection for that of Poland, and he assumed the title of Grand Prince of all the Russias.

Pope Paul II. negotiated the marriage of this Ivan or John III. with Sophia, niece of the last Greek Emperor Constantine Palæologus. The princess had taken refuge in Rome, where her father Thomas brought her up as a Roman Catholic. She went to Russia in 1472, accompanied by a Papal legate, and His Holiness naturally reckoned upon her influence, but she ended by becoming a zealous Greek.

The grandson of John III. and Sophia was the celebrated John the Fourth, Ivan the cruel and the terrible, the destroyer of Novogorod, the merciless warrior who more than once exterminated peaceable populations upon his march, lest the news of his approach should reach the enemy. He was a sort of Russian Henry VIII., but as much more ferocious than the English monarch as the Russia of his time was more barbarous than the England of the Tudors. According to the English captain, Chancellor, who sailed to Archangel and negotiated a treaty with him, the outward material magnificence of the court of Moscow, the rude abundance, sump-

tuous dresses, precious metals and jewels, surpassed anything of the kind at Paris or London; but Ivan was not the less a savage at heart: the ensigns of his body guard were a dog's head and a broom, to intimate that they were to tear his enemies and to sweep them from the face of the land. He erected gibbets as a permanent institution on the great square. He caused troublesome monks and degraded favourites to be scalded to death in boilers and baked in ovens. He had other unfortunate beings cut up bit by bit, or sawn asunder with ropes, or skinned alive; he presided in person over the executions, and he beat out the brains of his son with his own hand. Once, when a long letter from a fugitive noble was brought to him, he pinned the foot of the messenger to the ground with the iron spike of his staff, and in that posture had the memorial read to him.

There was method, however, in this tyrant's madness. All his acts tended to establish absolute power in every sphere. He reduced the church to a state of servile silence, putting to death his own favourite confessor Sylvester, and ordering to execution, not only the monk Philip who reproached him with his crimes, but also the relations and friends of the latter, and the very inhabitants of the villages who happened to belong to them. He destroyed every element of independence, exterminated the most powerful boyards, crushed the local communes as well as princely Novogorod and Twer. Like Genghiz Khan, he made terror the sanction of his despotism. He mongolized Russia, says Adolph Lèbre; the dark spirit that had haunted the forest and the steppe, brooded over the Kremlin, and roused these passions in the soul of its terrible master. He taught his people preternatural docility, a complacency in slavery that was to be transmitted like a temperament for successive generations. He scrupulously attended every service of his church, observed its multiplied fasts, married or divorced his seven wives with duly attested permissions of metropolitans and councils. And so his system commended itself to the conscience of the nation, as Asiatic tyranny and superstition had formed it. His atrocities awakened no indignation; there were no plots against his life; his tortured victims blessed him as they died; and, if Miskiewitz is to be believed, all Moscow was in tears and lamentations when his end came! It is characteristic that Ivan was the first to take the title of Cæsar, or Czar, and that Siberia was conquered in his reign.

Hitherto, in all negotiations for ecclesiastical union between Rome and Russia, the first overtures had been made by popes,

and had been more or less directly evaded by the rulers to whom they had addressed themselves. Towards the close of Ivan's reign, however, finding himself hard pressed by the Swedes on the north, the Turks and Nogay Tartars on the south, and the Poles on the west, he took upon himself the initiative of an embassy to Rome to ask the Pope's intercession with Stephen Bathory, King of Poland, the most formidable of his enemies. Such an application of course awakened unwonted hopes in the mind of Gregory XIII., who chose a very clever and experienced Jesuit, Possevin, as his legate. Possevin was dispatched in May, 1581, with instructions to improve this unexpected opening in every possible way. He was to try to impress upon the Czar's mind that all Christian potentates were bound to recognize the Papal supremacy; that the Greek emperor and clergy had themselves done so at the Council of Florence; that the subsequent misfortunes of the Greeks, and their humiliation under the yoke of the Turks, were the judicial punishment of their having subsequently wavered in their allegiance; that it was unworthy of a great prince like Ivan to remain religiously dependent upon the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was himself the slave of an infidel sultan. He was to appeal as much as possible to John's self-love, and to make him feel that all titles, honours, and dignities were in the gift of the Pope.

The Czar proved himself a diplomatist capable of measuring himself with the Jesuit. His only object was to procure the good offices of the Roman See in the present distress, by raising hopes which he was determined never to fulfil. His first wish at the outset was to avoid all controversy, and anything that might commit him for the future. The dignitary who was to accompany the legate from Smolensk to his court, had orders to eschew all conversation about religion, and if hard pressed was to pretend he could not read. Upon Possevin's arrival the same system was carried on; the Czar refused to treat with him as to the union of the churches, or a crusade against the Turks, or any other object of his mission, until he should have succeeded in reconciling him with Stephen; at the same time he appeared willing to let himself be convinced at the proper time of the identity of doctrine between the two churches.

Possevin, thus obliged to begin by a substantial service, upon the performance of which his future success was to depend, set out for the camp of the Polish king. His instructions to the subordinate Jesuits left behind him at Moscow,

are a curious counterpart of the manœuvres which had been played off against himself. They were to maintain a prudent reserve, were to avoid controversy, if addressed on religious matters they were to ask questions rather than to express their own opinion. They were not to commit themselves either for or against the worship of those saints canonized by the Greeks who happened to be unknown to the Latins. They were not to kiss the metropolitan's hand, or to accept his blessing, &c.

The legate succeeded in obtaining a ten years' truce from Stephen Bathory, though flushed with victory and on the point of taking Pskow. He returned in triumph, sure of a hearing, and persuaded that to be heard was to prevail. He prepared a memoir pleading for the union of the churches, the sending young Russians to Rome to be educated, the giving liberty to Latin priests to settle in the empire, and the expulsion of all Lutherans. He asserted that the first four œcumenical councils had recognized the supreme authority of Rome, but that the Greek bishops intentionally concealed their decisions; any apparent differences between the doctrines of the two churches arose from falsified or inexact translations; the best proof that the ancient Greek fathers were at one with the present Latins, was that their autograph works still existed at Rome, that the relics of St. Chrysostom and St. Gregory were at St. Peter's, those of Athanasius at Venice, &c. He renewed his request to be allowed to enforce these arguments upon the Czar personally, and in private.

Ivan expressed himself very grateful for the legate's services, but refused private interviews; and was only induced to grant a more public one in order to avoid the alternative of giving the Jesuit a written answer to his memorial. When received at last in presence of a select circle of boyards, Possevin made a long speech, which the emperor interrupted more than once to advise him to keep clear of controversies which might endanger the friendly relations that had arisen between him and His Holiness. Ivan, however, was himself a defender of the faith after his own fashion, and he was at last tempted to ask Possevin by what canon of the holy councils he—being a priest—could justify himself in shaving off his beard?

Taken unawares by this personal attack, the Jesuit answered, let us hope with some little confusion and hesitation, that by nature he had no beard! However, he was not to get off so easily; the demon of controversy was let loose, and Ivan

continued, "My envoy told me that the Pope is carried on a throne, and that his shoe is embroidered with a crucifix which is kissed. If that be true, is it right? . . . We adore the wood of the holy cross according to the tradition of the holy apostles and the fathers of the church; that is the reason why the cross is not worn among us below the waistband, just as the images of the Saviour, of the blessed Virgin, and of all the saints are not placed lower, in order that the image may be seen with the eyes of the soul, and that these eyes may look up to Him who was our example. For the same reason altars in churches are made breast-high, for it is not seemly that holy things should be placed lower than the waistband. Thus Pope Gregory does not act according to the statutes of the apostles and of the holy fathers of the seven œcumenical councils. These ceremonies have been invented by human pride."

Possevin here attempted to excuse the honours given to the Pope, by the words of our Lord to Peter; but Ivan retorted, "Thou wouldst play the wise man; but thou speakest not according to the commandments of God, nor according to apostolical tradition. Pride doth not beseem bishops. Remember the words of the Saviour to his disciples: Call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters; for one is your master, even Christ. But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant. The Lord also told his disciples to provide neither gold, nor silver, nor scrip for their journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet a second staff. Bethink thee again of the first epistle of Peter, in which he saith: Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. . . . In our empire there is a metropolitan, archbishops and bishops; we respect them, and we hearken to them in spiritual things: we call the Russian metropolitan, father, we bow before him and implore his blessing; when he comes here, we go to meet him with our whole court, but we do not treat him as God. Neither should Pope Gregory seat himself upon the throne, and call himself the equal of the apostle Peter and even of Jesus Christ. The Pope is not Christ, the throne on which he is carried is no cloud, and they who carry it are anything but angels. . . . Saint Peter did not ride on horseback, or get himself carried on a throne; he trudged on foot, and that barefooted."

It is probable that the Czar's theological weapons did not all come from the same arsenal. The childish symbolism of the beginning, and the conception of Peter as a barefooted friar, are evidently of native origin; but Tolstoy speaks incidentally of an English tract proving the Pope to be Antichrist, presented by some English merchants to the Czar, which he had caused to be translated into Russian about this time, and of which Possevin wrote a refutation. We suspect that if its contents were known the Scriptural parts of the imperial harangue would be found among them.

Be that as it may, the Jesuit attempted to turn away the jealous autocrat's attention from that apotheosis of the pontiff in the house of God, which was an offence at once to his common sense and to his despotic instincts, by dwelling upon the distinction between the person and the office. The infirmities of the Pope, as an individual, no more invalidated his claims inherited from Peter, than the weaknesses or vices of any of Ivan's ancestors invalidated the rights handed down to him from his mighty ancestor, Vladimir the Great. "Thou art, indeed, a great sovereign in thine empire! How shall we not exalt thee, and glorify thee? How shall we not cast us at thy feet?" And here, as if suddenly dazzled by the majesty of this barbarian Herod, Possevin threw himself down before him!

The legate thought that this theatrical prostration would do wonders. Unlike him who could say, "I seek not yours, but you," he was ready to flatter Ivan's evil passions, if he could thereby make him the instrument of his order, and of its head. He thought that the pride of the Pope would be the more easily forgiven, if incense were offered unblushingly to the pride of the Czar. But the Pope and the Czar really represented twin principles of evil, issuing, indeed, from the same source, but not more contrary to the truth than diametrically opposed to each other. These two wily men—so like, and yet so different—who confronted each other that 21st of February, 1582, represented—one, the absorption of the church by the state, in the selfish interest of its head—the other, the absorption of the state by the church, in the selfish interest of its head. An alliance was impossible, so long as each remained what he was. They were condemned by their essential principles to a duel that could only end by the fall, or the transformation, of either or both. Doubtless, these things were not as clear to the half-educated mind of the Czar, as they appear now; but the instincts of despotism are inconceivably wakeful and susceptible; Ivan smelt a rival,

and his senses were too acute to be put off by the arts of the legate, so he returned again to the same theme; a patriarch should set all men the example of humility, and since Gregory did not do so, he was no shepherd, but a wolf.

"If the Pope be a wolf," replied Possevin, "why didst thou send to ask his help? Why didst thou, like all thy predecessors, call him a shepherd of the church?"

At these words Ivan started up in anger from his seat, and striding towards Possevin, with his staff uplifted—that terrible staff with the iron spike, which he had used in the way already mentioned some twenty years before—"It seems," he cried, with a voice of thunder, "it seems that thou hast been brought up among peasants, that thou darest to use such language to me!"

The trembling churchman excused himself humbly. The Czar, too, cooled down immediately, for he had no mind that Stephen Bathory should break with him again; therefore, after telling Possevin he had warned him that religious discussions always ended badly, he put an end to the conference. The same day, he graciously sent the legate some dishes from his own table. With what appetite *they* were discussed, history saith not; but the next time Possevin was sent for to the palace, he was so possessed with the idea that the crown of martyrdom awaited him, that he received the communion before he ventured there.

The only practical concessions gained by the Court of Rome through this mission were, liberty of transit for Roman Catholic merchants to Persia and Central Asia, and liberty of establishment in the empire itself for Catholic priests in order to minister to the religious needs of merchants of their religion, but without building churches, or attempting to make proselytes among members of the orthodox communion. The Czar not only showed that there was no hope of converting him to Romanism, but seems also to have cherished the singularly *naïf* idea of converting the Jesuit himself to orthodoxy! He sent for him one day, explained to him some of the peculiarities of the Greek mass, and told him that a favourable opportunity was now afforded for witnessing the divine services of the Orthodox Church: "I am about to go in state to the Church of the Holy Virgin, and thou mayest accompany me. There thou shalt see with what faith we adore and implore the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin and the saints; thou mayest remark the profound respect with which we bow before images that have wrought miracles; thou shalt have the happiness of beholding

the picture of the mother of God, painted by the Evangelist Luke." Of course, this permission was equivalent to an order, and Possevin was led to the door of the cathedral by certain dignitaries, who had orders to keep him there, that he might see how the metropolitan and clergy would come out to meet the Czar, bearing a magnificent cross, and how the sovereign would then enter the building, following the cross. The legate did not like to be kept in this humble attitude at the door of a rival sanctuary, and wanted to go in without waiting for the arrival of the Emperor; but his attendants would not let him. He then insisted upon going home, but the sturdy pristaws, as they were called, would not allow of that either. It was not until permission had been obtained from the autocrat by a special messenger that the discomfited Jesuit could make his escape to his lodgings, devoutly wishing the Czar, the metropolitan, the boyards, and the pristaws, all together at the bottom of the Caspian Sea.

During this negotiation, one of the reasons given by Ivan for not entering upon the question of the union of the churches, was that he had not been authorized to do so by the metropolitan and the rulers of the church. Count Tolstoy takes occasion from this to dwell upon the mutual independence of the church and the state in Russia. It is, he would fain persuade us, an ideal condition of union and reciprocal respect, in which each of the contracting parties is useful to the other without intruding upon its sphere. He must be very indulgently disposed towards the institutions of his country to be capable of entertaining such an illusion. It is evident that Ivan merely sought a pretext for not meeting the overtures of the head of the Latin Church, and that the relation of the Greek hierarchy in general towards the civil power has been one of absolute and unresisting subjection. The czars at one time created the patriarchate of Moscow, and at another abolished it, at their own pleasure; for the consent of the see of Constantinople was a mere formality. The only ecclesiastical ruler in Russia who ever showed the least inkling after independence in anything was the patriarch Nikon, and it determined his immediate fall. The czars have ever taken their headship of the church in earnest, more so than even stout king Harry VIII. of England; for they look upon themselves as spiritual persons, and no longer laymen, by virtue of their office. And this, it must be admitted, is not bad logic; it is only reasonable that the supreme head of the church should bear an ecclesiastical character. Leo the Isaurian

once wrote to Gregory the Third that he possessed both the empire and the priesthood; and the Czars of Russia, with the same feeling, consecrate the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, and distribute them to the members of the imperial family and a select circle of dignitaries, as a part of the ceremony of their coronation.

There are, indeed, limits to the power of the Russian autocrat over the national church, but they consist altogether in the superstitious conservatism of the lower clergy and people. The Emperor can take a great deal upon him; Peter the Great, for instance, introduced preaching as an occasional substitute for the reading of the homilies translated from the fathers; but there are other and less important innovations, as to which, had he tried them, even his iron will would have had to give way to the tenacious immobility of the masses. The union of the civil and religious societies is untroubled only in the sense in which that of man and wife would be so if the latter were plunged in a magnetic sleep. The state has no aggression to fear from the church, and the church can be affected by no aggression of the state beyond a certain extent. The civil power has shown itself a vigilant and determined protector of the national church against the proselytism of alien forms of Christianity, but it never has had to moderate the zeal of that church in its turn. And though the lower clergy and people believe salvation to be impossible out of the pale of their communion, they do not seem to have ever dreamt of any independent action of the church to enlarge its borders: they understand no proselytism but that of material conquest.

Possevin returned to Rome undeceived as to the possibility of any immediate conversion of the Muscovites. The rival theocracies of the priesthood and the monarchy had met, looked each other in the face, measured their strength, and understood their mutual incompatibility. He did not, however, despair for the future, and the strategical principles which he laid down, as the wisest for pursuing the struggle, were acted upon for two centuries, that is to say, up to the partition of Poland. It was chiefly through Russia, said the Jesuit, that the Holy See could act upon the East generally, and it was chiefly through Poland that it could act upon Russia. He recommended also that young and intelligent Russian prisoners should be sent to be educated in the ecclesiastical seminaries of Olmutz and Prague, since the languages of Moravia and Bohemia belonged to the Slavonic family. Particular attention should be paid to Lithuania, since the Greek

church in that country was politically separate from Russia, and yet so closely connected with it that Kiew had once been the religious metropolis of the whole land. No means of winning over the Lithuanian and Ruthenian bishops should be neglected, and all the seminaries of the districts on the frontiers should be confided to the Jesuits. A nuncio should, if possible, reside at Moscow constantly, with a small but carefully selected suite, including a skilful physician who should learn to speak Russian. Every detail of the habits and bearing of the members of the mission was to be carefully calculated. Subordinates should dress splendidly, but the nuncio himself should lead a very abstemious life, and dress plainly, in clothes cut like those of the Russian prelates.

Unfortunate Poland was then, as this man foresaw, preparing to become the fortress of the Jesuits—the fulcrum on which they were to rest their lever. This generous and enthusiastic people had been apparently better prepared than others to receive the Reformation. The names of both Wycliffe and Huss were early respected there; Jerome of Prague himself had preached in both Poland and Lithuania. The first trumpet call to Reformation from Germany and Switzerland was responded to with acclamation by the greater part of both the Polish and Lithuanian nobles. Liberty of the press was established by law in 1539. It became for a time a land of liberty, anticipating Holland and England as an asylum for illustrious exiles from all parts of the continent. There were, however, in operation three causes of fatal weakness for Polish Protestantism. One was the spread of Socinianism among the adepts of the new religion: Faustus Socinus himself and many of his adherents from various countries made this their refuge; and while these doctrines spread more than in any other country, they served to discredit Protestantism in the eyes of the people generally. In the second place, here, as everywhere else, the Lutherans were so blindly and incorrigibly sectarian, that they helped the Romanists against the Reformed, put their own religious liberty in jeopardy, and ended by forfeiting it rather than contribute to maintain the religious liberty of all alike. Lastly, the Reformed doctrine spread preeminently among the higher classes, who continued in a state of selfish isolation, did not try to enlighten the masses, or raise them up morally, or reverse the process of civil and social disfranchisement which had been going on for ages; and who, moreover, when the hour of trial came, showed themselves much more ready to sacrifice their religion at the bidding of the court than humbler classes would have been.

In short, Poland proper, together with Lithuania, inhabited partly by Greeks, partly by Romanists, and partly by Protestants at variance with each other, was a miniature of Europe, and its fate is a startling revelation of what the fate of Europe would have been had rationalism, despotism, and Jesuitism been able to work out their several results over the whole continent.

Throughout the last half of the sixteenth century there took place that mighty reaction in favour of Romanism from end to end of Europe, which can be best studied in the dispassionate pages of Ranke. The weak, immoral, or worldly popes who had preceded the Reformation, were replaced by a succession of able and stern pontiffs, distinguished by the asceticism as well as the bigotry and cruelty of monks. The Jesuits were indefatigable, and in that age the very name inspired as much confidence as it does suspicion now-a-days. In 1551 there were no Jesuits in Germany, and within fifteen years from that time Spanish, Italian, and Flemish members of the order had overspread two-thirds of the country, exercising influence everywhere, chiefly through the education of the young. In 1558, a Venetian envoy, in his private report of the state of opinions to the home government, asserts that only one German in ten had remained faithful to the mother church. But Protestantism had not then, as it has since, become a tradition among the nations who had embraced it. It must have been less rooted in the popular mind than we can now easily conceive. Behind a zealous, a really intelligent, convinced, and spiritually minded minority, there lay a mass religiously indifferent, and capable of being swayed in all directions: to this mass the Jesuits addressed themselves with practised ability and unwearied perseverance, sustained by all the power that the reigning houses of Spain, France, Austria, and Bavaria could wield, by the moral weight of apparent and real austerity, and by the lustre of false miracles.

The first burst of joy among men at the re-discovery of redemption, and of the possibility of finding peace with God, was now over; and the world, so far as it was not savingly influenced by the doctrine, was disappointed at the result. It felt the evils of the new state of things, and had forgotten the still greater evils under which it had been previously perishing. It was scandalized by the disunion of Protestant teachers, the rapacity of Protestant nobles, and the selfish policy of Protestant princes. It saw the spiritual absorbed in the secular character of Protestant communities, and the common religious tie of Christendom broken up by so many

national religions distinct from each other, like the old paganisms, more or less hostile to each other, and controlled by the several civil rulers for their own purposes. The dark side of Calvinistic doctrine withal, exaggerated by its implacable foes, enabled them to represent all Protestantism as an inhuman faith, calumniating God, and consigning men to despair and perdition. From all these influences united, the reaction was such that a Venetian spectator in France could write home in 1580, that he believed the reform had already lost seventy per cent. of its adherents in that country. In the year 1586 alone, Bishop Julius of Wurzburg, with the help of the Jesuits, brought back to Rome fourteen towns and 200 villages, and a similar movement was taking place all through Southern Germany.

In this same year, 1586, while Holland was struggling for its liberty and its existence, and those of England were menaced, while the galleys of the Invincible Armada were getting ready in all the ports of Spain, Sixtus V. and Philip II. hoping to fasten upon the neck of the nations the same yoke at once political and religious, and to put to silence throughout the universe every voice but two—the Escurial and the Vatican, proposing to ring to each other the knell of truth and freedom—in this same year, 1586, Sigismond III. ascended the throne of Poland. He was a Swedish prince, and had been a Lutheran, but he apostatized, became the pupil of the Jesuits, and devoted his reign of forty-three years to making the order omnipotent in his kingdom. Our accomplished countryman, Sir Philip Sydney, was actually put in nomination as a rival candidate for the throne: ah why did Queen Elizabeth, with her usual caprice and envy, oppose his advancement? Why did the chivalrous Poles fail to appreciate a man so fitted to be their leader, a man who might have founded a dynasty under which they would have remained great and free? The reign of the Jesuits inaugurated by Sigismond III. was one long effort to extirpate Protestantism in Poland and Lithuania, and Greek orthodoxy in Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine—an effort almost entirely successful as regards Protestantism, but only partially successful in the case of the Greek Church. Under the influence of the court, the great aristocratical families soon left the Reformed Church, as they did everywhere else, in France, in South Germany, in Hungary, &c. The descendants of the famous "Black Radziwil," who had had the Polish Bible printed at his own expense in 1563, were among the most zealous Romanists fifty years later. The education

of the young was put into the hands of the Jesuits; and their control of the press was so complete and effectual, that in the course of one or two generations they had reduced the number of printing presses at work in the kingdom from 130 to four. The children of mixed marriages were made Roman Catholics by law; nay, when a Protestant widow married a Romanist, her children were compelled to conform to the religion of their father-in-law! The minds of some of the humbler classes were thrown into such a state of confusion and perplexity at this time, that a phenomenon, unexampled in any other history, occurred in a part of Samogitia: the population had only recently abandoned idolatry through the labours of Calvinistic preachers, and when local magnates had imposed upon them by force a nominal Catholicism, they lit up once more their sacred fires, adored oaks and offered sacrifices—they relapsed into downright idolatry!

Events occurred in Russia at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century which for a moment renewed those hopes of the Vatican that had been crushed by the iron hand of Ivan IV. The line of Ruric became extinct in the person of Ivan's son Theodore, who died in 1598. His wife's brother, Boris Godunoff, was chosen his successor by a great national assembly held at Moscow. Five years later, however, a young Russian groom in the service of a Volhynian nobleman, gave himself out to be Theodore's younger brother Demetrius, whom partizans of Boris had murdered, or were supposed to have murdered, several years before. The young adventurer's first statements about his origin were made under circumstances which leave it a matter of doubt to this day whether he was a deceiver or not. Be that as it may, his story gained universal credence in Poland; the Jesuits undertook his education in order to prepare in him a future instrument for their service; and when received by Sigismond, in a diet at Cracow, he promised to choose for himself and for his people "the sole true faith—that of the Holy Catholic Church."

The Russians were disposed to believe in the claims of the professed Demetrius; town after town, and province after province, submitted to his arms, and Boris dying of an apoplectic stroke, his young rival entered Moscow in triumph, June 20, 1605. Even the widow of Ivan IV. recognized him as her son. The Pope wrote to press him to take measures for the immediate reception of his people into the bosom of the Church; but Demetrius did not exhibit as much zeal as had been expected. He made no public profession of Roman

Catholicism; his Polish bride, Marina Mniszec, was wedded and crowned according to the Greek rites; and the Jesuits and Latin bishops who had accompanied him, found him somewhat difficult of access. For all this, the inhabitants of Moscow were not the less offended by the levity of the Polish soldiers in the Czar's suite, who laughed at everything that was sacred in their eyes, and allowed their dogs to follow them into the churches. The engagement that Demetrius had taken to extirpate their faith was noised abroad, and it was the more readily believed as he had ventured to solemnize his marriage on the eve of St. Nicholas' Day, which was contrary to the canons, and on the eve of Friday, a fast day, which made it a double transgression of pious usages, and, what was worse than all, the marriage had taken place at the very hour of vespers, and had been followed by dancing. The people could not believe that a true descendant of the orthodox czars could be guilty of such things; and when it was observed, in addition to all the rest, that Demetrius did not attend divine service punctually, and that he sometimes ate veal, food which they considered unclean, their suspicion that he was an impostor was changed into certainty: they broke out into a furious insurrection, and the unfortunate young man, after a reign of eleven months, perished with all his Polish attendants.

During the state of confusion and civil war that followed, the leaders of various parties at different times entertained the idea of choosing Vladislas, the son of Sigismond, to fill the vacant throne of their country. Some boyards would have submitted to him without conditions; others stipulated guarantees for the security of the Greek Church, that no churches should be built for worship according to the Latin rite, that no proselytism should be permitted, &c. Others wanted Vladislas himself to embrace the orthodox faith. "Give us thy son," wrote the patriarch Hermogenes to Sigismond, "thy son whom God loveth, and hath elected to be Czar; let him enter into the pale of that orthodox Greek Church which the Prophets foretold, which the Apostles preached, which the Holy Fathers strengthened, which all orthodox Christians maintain unchangeable, and which shineth as the sun unto this day." The fixed idea of this monarch being to make Russia Roman Catholic, he could not, of course, consent to a semblance of a change of religion, which, in the case of a very young man like Vladislas, might become a real change; for all the rest he made vague promises, and sought

to gain time, pushing his military operations all the while as actively as possible, in order that he might get possession of Russia by conquest rather than by treaty. Hermogenes, seeing the progress of the Poles, and the lassitude or complicity of a great many of the boyards, fell into despair, and gave the signal for a general rising. "I foresee," he shouted before the assembled people of Moscow, "I foresee the profanation of the orthodox faith, and the desolation of the holy churches of God; I cannot abide this Latin chaunting!" The poor man's zeal cost him his life, for he was strangled by the Polish faction, but the great body of the nation rose at the summons; the patriotic butcher, Minin, organized the crowds that poured into the centre from all the provinces; Prince Pojarski headed them in the field; finally, the heroic defence of the monastery of St. Sergius discouraged the invaders and gave the Russian forces time to assemble. In this terrible conflict between two fierce fanaticisms, that which had the advantage of resisting rather than attacking, and of resisting upon its own soil, proved victorious: the Poles were driven out of the empire in 1612; Romanism had become more odious to the Russians than ever, and orthodoxy more inseparably associated with the idea of their nationality and with their most stirring remembrances. As the Spaniards learned intolerance in their long struggle with the Moors, so was the intolerance of the Russians confirmed and increased by having to do with cruel Tartars, and with bigoted Sigismond, and their mild nature has since shown itself capable of unrelenting cruelty.

The principal feature in the history of the whole Slavonian race has been the world-long antagonism between Russia and Poland. They have not merely been two states, but two poles of the whole group of Slavonic nations gravitating now towards one, and now to the other. This has been a fatal mistake, for the mission of Poland should have been the civilization of Russia, and the rendering it capable of appropriating the culture of Central and Western Europe. It was the theocratic principle that put these kindred nations in a state of chronic hostility to each other, determining the ruin and humiliation of one, and delaying, for we know not how long, the spiritual and temporal development of the other. They severally represent the two varieties of theocracy—the monarchical and the sacerdotal. The former has triumphed in the Slavonic group, and now frowns upon its rival throughout the world. Intelligent friends of religion and of mankind can sympathize with neither, but it is doubtless well that

both should be tried for a long time, and upon an immense scale, since man is never cured of his errors until he has suffered from their effects; and it is well that their means should have been so adjusted as to neutralize each other in critical periods. There is this advantage in the study of their relations, that the motives of all parties are simpler here than in the relations of the Papacy with the powers of Central and Western Europe. The method and strategy on both sides are more open to observation. In the dealings of the Vatican with the Kremlin, the Pope has never been embarrassed by his interests as a temporal prince to the same extent as has been the case in his dealings with other courts.

One cannot help asking one's self, with melancholy interest, what might have been the consequences if Poland had continued to be a school of religious liberty, and if Protestantism had continued to spread there as it did at first? M. de Rougemont, in his report prepared for the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Geneva, in 1861, answers, that the anarchy which destroyed it would have become impossible: the fire of the national character would have been brought under the control of manly piety; the literary development of the nation would have made it the light of all Eastern Europe: Germany would not have been laid waste by the Thirty Years' War: Ferdinand II. would not have extirpated the Reformation from Bohemia, nor crushed it in Hungary: nor would even Louis XIV., demi-god as he was, have dared to revoke the Edict of Nantes. We may allow ourselves to carry the speculation a step farther, and to say that on such a supposition Louis XIV. himself could not probably have been what he was, for it was the apostasy of Sigismond and of a Duke of Baden, that set the example to Henri IV.

In the course of the negotiations between Sigismond and various influential Russians, it appears incidentally that the laws of the empire punished apostasy from the Greek Church by death and confiscation, and did not tolerate mixed marriages: any member of a non-orthodox communion, male or female, marrying a Russian was obliged to conform. This absolute and supercilious negation of the rights of conscience was but too natural in a theocracy which the ignorance and want of religious enterprise of its clergy condemned to a wholly defensive attitude in presence of aggressive and intriguing Romanists. According to M. de Tolstoy himself, even in the palmy days of Novogorod, the clergy were hardly able to repeat the creed; and one of their most triumphant arguments against the Latins, was that a thunderstorm had

washed out the pictures the latter had painted upon a wall. Such men could only defend themselves by the force of superstitious prejudice in the first instance, backed by the secular arm for cases of emergency. When Roman Catholic powers asked that their subjects should be allowed to erect churches in the cities of the empire, the Russians of the seventeenth century knew how to answer that there was no Greek Church as yet allowed at Rome, which shows they would not have been incapable of understanding religious liberty had they seen the principle exhibited in the conduct of others.

Michael Romanoff, son of an ecclesiastical dignitary then languishing in a Polish dungeon, was elected Czar of All the Russias in March, 1613, and all hope of Romanizing the empire by conquest was over. Nothing remained for Sigismond and the Jesuits but to follow out patiently the plan traced by Possevin, and romanize, as well as they could, such of the provinces disputed between the two churches as remained under the Polish sceptre.

As may be supposed, they had already set to work with a will. Throughout Lithuania, Volhynia, and the Valley of the Dnieper, the Greeks, and—unkindest cut of all—even the priests, had to pay tithes to a rapacious Romanist clergy, and found themselves directly or indirectly deprived of almost every civil right. The local magnates had all become Roman Catholics: a great many churches were appropriated by the authorities without ceremony, and handed over to the Latin priests. The Greek priests were hardly left any means of subsistence, and every precaution was taken that their successors should receive even less education than their predecessors. At the same time the Jesuits told stories of miracles accomplished by saints of their order, more numerous than those wrought throughout all the rest of Europe, and these miracles were of a different character too from those of Spain or Italy; they were such as exactly to suit the ideas and tastes of the Russian peasant.

The aristocratical and democratical elements were pitted against each other. On one side were the Polish clergy, noble, relatively cultivated, immensely rich, possessed of important political privileges; on the other side the Greek priests coming to the service of the altar from public houses, or the peasant's hut, or from the ranks of the army, or from among the household servants of nobles, hardly able to write, poor as the serfs among whom they ministered, but sharing their sympathies, their few joys, and many sorrows. In the popular phraseology, *Panska wiara and Chlopska wiara* (reli-

gion of the nobles and religion of the peasants) corresponded to *Polska wiara* and *Ruska wiara* (Polish religion and Russian religion). It was a struggle of power, wealth, and comparative enlightenment against a stubborn national instinct, recalling very much the state of Ireland under the penal laws. The peasants sometimes defended their churches at the hazard of their lives, and massacred the most obnoxious of the Latin priests: at all times they submitted with docility to the most rigorous treatment from the pastors of their choice. The churches of Samogitia used to exhibit a sort of iron yoke fastened to the wall by a chain, and provided with a large ring that was fitted upon the neck of the culprit who had to perform penance. It is characteristic of the religion and the people, that Rome's reform of the kalendar was one of the things that militated most against her, counterbalancing the united influence of false miracles and of the power to persecute!

The master stroke of Romish policy was the creation of what was called the United Greek Church. In 1596, the metropolitan and a minority of the Lithuanian bishops having been gained over, they held a so-called provincial council at Bresc, which recognized the Papal supremacy, and inserted in the liturgy a prayer for the Pope. In return for these concessions they were considered to be in communion with the Church of Rome, without changing anything in their rites or ceremonies, or adding the obnoxious *filioque* to the Nicene Creed, or officially recognizing the doctrine of purgatory. They retained their old liturgical language, received the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and ordained their own priests and bishops. Thus nothing was changed in appearance; the cautious and obstinate peasant saw the church in which he worshipped remaining as before, the holy images in their time-honoured places, the same priest officiating in the same vestments, the same venerable beard sweeping his breast. The peasant was not expected to understand that the document which set the seal of Papal approbation on the act of union, confirmed the doctrines and rites of his communion only so far as they agreed with those of Rome, *Dummodo veritati et doctrinæ fidei catholicæ non adversentur*. The Court of Rome did not intend to draw attention prematurely to all the meaning that this elastic clause could be made to bear. This was to be done gradually, imperceptibly, with a happy mixture of effrontery and circumspection, as events should dictate and men's minds should be found favourably disposed.

That it was the purpose of the Vatican to lead a whole people hoodwinked whither they knew not and would not,

is evident from the contrast between two acts of Pope Clement VIII., issued both of them on the same occasion—the establishment of the union. In the bull *Dicet Romanum Pontificem*, which was destined for the public, His Holiness enumerates at length all the concessions made to the united Greeks. In the bull *Magnus Dominus et Laudabilis*, which was destined for immediate circulation among the higher clergy only, it is set forth that two Lithuanian delegates, Bishops Pocej and Terlecky, had brought the submission of their countrymen to the chair of Peter, and that they had made oath in presence of the whole conclave that they believed in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father *and the Son*, in purgatory, in communion in one kind, and in the utility of indulgences, that they adopted all the decrees of the Council of Trent, and that they would, to the best of their ability, inculcate this doctrine upon the faithful of their dioceses. Thus there were issued at the same date two schemes of faith and practice, one ostensible, the other secret; one marking the state of things which Rome felt herself obliged to tolerate for a moment, the other indicating the point which she was bent upon reaching; and a whole people meantime were allowed to hold fast a creed and practices which their chief spiritual guides were constrained secretly to disavow upon oath!

A great number of the Greek priests and clergy, headed by some bishops and a much respected layman, Prince Constantine d'Ostrog, protested against the united church, the Council of Bresc, and the mission of Pocej and Terlecky; so that Sigismond and the Jesuits did not succeed in imposing the union upon the whole population by either force or fraud, though the use of force was unsparing, and that of fraud unscrupulous. However, it did embrace the majority of the people, and for two centuries nearly the Jesuits could pursue their great object under the most favourable circumstances: as the substance of a metallic wire is passed through various successive apertures in the process of fabrication, so was the raw material of the "schismatic Greeks" continually transferred to the "United Greeks," and these last, as a community, were made to approximate gradually to the Romish type of doctrine and practice; and, finally, every inducement was offered to the United Greeks themselves, individually, to attach themselves to the Romish church, which last part of the process was chiefly effected in the parts of Lithuania and Samogitia bordering upon Poland proper, and most under its influence.

Both the Romanists and the United Greeks were allowed to

publish what calumnies they pleased against the so-called schismatics; the latter were little able to defend themselves by controversy, and were not allowed to do that little. Twenty years had hardly elapsed from the institution of the United Church before the first symptoms of an insidious work of assimilation to Rome began to appear, and that in things the most trivial and puerile, as well as in the more important. The priest's hair was cut short as a preliminary to the tonsure; his beard was kept trimmed and rounded without being shaven altogether; the marriages of the younger parish priests was disapproved of, and difficulties thrown in the way, without its being generally forbidden. Step by step, the doctrine of purgatory was recognized, the *fête Dieu* was introduced, baptism began to be performed by aspersion, the disputed clause *filioque* was added to the creed, and, by the middle of the eighteenth century the marriage of priests was forbidden. The communion in both kinds, the more numerous fast days, the liturgy in old Slavonic, the use of the Julian kalendar, and the signing of the cross from right to left, were almost the only remaining Oriental characteristics of the community.

The United Greeks, like the parent orthodox church, had only one monastic order, that of St. Basil. The Jesuit Aquaviva obtained leave from the Pope in 1613 for the members of his congregation to enter this order whenever they pleased, without having to ask, as before, for a special permission. Once introduced, they laboured to organize the order after their fashion, made it independent of the authority of the bishops in their several dioceses, put a general at its head, and used it to neutralize the influence of the secular clergy. The instincts and sympathies of parish priests and people remaining orthodox, they opposed a more or less sullen and passive resistance to the measures successively taken to assimilate the doctrines and rites of their church to those of Rome. The Basilians, on the contrary, soon consisted chiefly of Polish nobles; they grew immensely rich, and they horsewhipped and otherwise maltreated the secular clergy on the slightest provocation as so many mere serfs, despising them for a state of ignorance which they took care not to correct, for it was partly their own work.

Besides the remodelling of the order of Basil, convents of the avowedly Latin orders of every name were multiplied, especially along the Russian frontier, as so many advanced forts. That they were hardly centres of light, may be gathered from the simple fact that the convents for women were not allowed to teach even writing. Nominal bishoprics

were created in districts where there were hardly any Roman Catholics, in order that the pomp of cathedral services and processions might dazzle the people. The Polish government once sanctioned the institution of wealthy canonries for an object or a pretext very little ecclesiastical—the diffusion of vaccination!

Russia, of course, became, from policy and sympathy, the officious protectress of the Greek subjects of Poland. We find, in 1686, the empress Sophia making the freedom of the Greek Church of Lithuania the condition of an alliance with Holland against the Turks. We find Peter the Great, in 1718, pleading with the King of Poland that "matters of conscience concern God only, and that no sovereign has a right to proselytize by violence." A few years later, Count Gelowkin by his order sent a memoir to Cardinal Spinola in order that the Pope might use his influence over the Polish count and clergy, to put a stop to the vexations that were continually inflicted upon the Greeks notwithstanding the express stipulations of treaties. It is asserted in this memoir that Russian priests, for no other offence than of refusing to enter the union, were thrown into prison, were tied with ropes, were beaten with rods, were fastened stark naked to posts in the ground, had their arms and legs chopped off, &c. The Jesuits, it is added, entered the Greek convents by force and carried away the images that were most revered by the people, they fell upon funeral processions, broke the wax candles, and trampled upon the crosses.

As may be supposed, His Holiness's bowels of compassion were very little moved by all this. He only strove to gain time, and avoid openly refusing to interfere, by asking for further information on some insignificant details. So that afterwards, in the middle of the eighteenth century, when all Europe was marching towards civil and religious liberty, the Greeks of Lithuania were not allowed to build new churches, or to repair old ones, or to educate their clergy; they could hold no public employments; the censure of books destined for their use was confided to Romanists; they were constrained to join in Romanist processions, and to submit to Romanist ecclesiastical tribunals; and when the Empress Catherine protested against these multiplied forms of tyranny and injustice, Pope Clement XIII., in a brief of April 18, 1767, intreated King Stanislaus Augustus to allow of no change in the treatment of his schismatical subjects.

It is evident that the apostasy of Sigismond III., and the two centuries of fanatical ultramontanism that followed, were

the cause of the ruin of unfortunate Poland. They hindered it from taking possession of Russia and civilizing it, at a moment when its pacific conquest would have been easy. They involved Sweden and Poland in an interminable war, almost equally fatal to both countries, leaving them both prostrate and bleeding at the mercy of their powerful and ambitious neighbour. They stimulated ducal Prussia to assert its independence, which was recognized in 1667, and to make itself the protector of the Protestant subjects of Poland, thus giving the future kings of Prussia an excuse for interfering with the internal affairs of the country. They drove the Cossacks to rise up in despair and throw themselves into the arms of Russia, imperilling their primitive freedom, and finally sacrificing it rather than allow themselves to be forced into the Romish communion by whips and rack, by the gibbet and the wheel, and every form of martyrdom. Last and most terrible retribution of all—they drew Russia down upon Poland in the name of her persecuted co-religionists and of violated treaties; they armed her ambition with the most plausible of pretexts, and her fanaticism with the most imperious of motives.

At the accession of Stanislaus Augustus, the courts of England and Denmark joined their remonstrances to those of Russia and Prussia against the rigour shown to all dissenters, but the infatuated Poles only answered by decrees more stringently intolerant than before. The measure of their injustice and folly was now full, and within a few months of Pope Clement's letter urging that no leniency should be shown to the Greeks, Prince Repuin with a Russian army occupied Warsaw, and a diet hastily assembled recalled the penal laws that had been voted during the previous fifty years, allowed the Greeks to build and repair churches, and to establish seminaries, freed their clergy from the jurisdiction of the bishops of the United Greeks and from the obligation to pay tithes, and made it lawful to employ in the public service laymen belonging to the Greek communion. This diet of 1768 also recognized the official protectorate of Russia over the Greeks of Lithuania. The measure was doubtless intended by the ambitious Catherine as a preliminary to the incorporation of the eastern provinces, and would have so tended in any case, but the catastrophe was precipitated by the unavailing resistance of the confederation of Bar. At the call of the heads of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and of monks who preached throughout the country a crusade at once religious and patriotic, the proud, brilliant, and impetuous but thoughtless

chivalry of Poland flew to arms, and performed prodigies of valour. It was too late; the sabres of a Pulawski and a Beniowski could not avert the fall that the anarchy and the intolerance of many generations had been preparing; the long accumulating wrongs and sufferings of the Protestants and the Greeks were avenged all at once upon their oppressors —avenged brutally and fearfully.

During the hundred and fifty years preceding the first partition of Poland, there is little to be said about the attempts of Rome to gain a footing in Russia proper. A few Jesuits generally accompanied the ambassadors of the German Emperor to Moscow, as confessors for himself and his suite. They were also in the habit of disguising themselves as couriers of the German Embassy, and they made their missions to Persia and to India a pretext for taking years to cross the territory of the empire. They made a few proselytes by stealth among the Russians, and found access also among the Armenians of Astrakhan.

Peter the Great availed himself of the theocratic czarism of his people so far as it was subservient to his despotic temper. "Here is your Patriarch, your Pope, and your God," said he, touching his forehead, when the bishops came to ask him to appoint a new patriarch. He was ready, when the occasion called for it, to act as the sovereign of his people's souls, as well as the master of their lives and fortunes. When he had got his son, Alexis, into his power, after the flight of the latter to Germany, he summoned the unfortunate young man to confess his secret thoughts to him as the head of the church. Alexis trembled, and confessed that he had sometimes been tempted to wish for his father's death, though he protested he had struggled against the temptation; his own death was the penalty of his sincerity.

However, this assumption of the theocratic character was not sincere on Peter's part: he cared little for the religious prejudices of his race, or rather hated them whenever they did not further his purposes. "Those bearded buck-goats" was his habitual designation for the priests and monks. When he gave Russia the aspect of a vast camp, he enrolled them in the common staff, that he might the better disarm and enslave them. Some time after the accession of the Romanoffs, the church was owner of one-third of the soil of the empire; Alexis began to despoil it of this immense wealth, Peter continued, and Catherine II. completed the process. Though so anxious about the literary progress of the nation as to invent a new alphabet, Peter's distrust

of monastic writers was so extreme that he forbade their inditing chronicles, they were not even to be allowed to possess pens and ink without an express permission of the bishop in whose diocese they lived. He turned into ridicule all the traditional usages and ideas of his race, and created a class of nobles in a state of divorce from the life of the nation, like trees no longer rooted in the soil of the forest, but planted in tubs, and wheeled about at the will of the imperial gardener.

A man so disposed was not likely to be a very vigilant protector of the orthodoxy of his subjects. Accordingly he conceded to the agents of Catholicism privileges which his predecessors had refused. In December, 1705, we find him granting to all foreign Roman Catholics in the capital, or in the other cities of the empire, leave to build stone churches and celebrate their worship freely, and this, it is added, his majesty does on account of the particular esteem in which he holds the Polish Diet. Sixteen years later a more singular consideration was very near determining a degree of liberty of proselytism, which Count Tolstoy, after the lapse of a century and a half, cannot contemplate without shuddering. An agent of Peter's had purchased at Rome an antique statue of Venus. The Papal Government at first refused to allow the statue to be removed, but on second thoughts it relented, remembering, perhaps, that the influences of the Cytherean goddess had often been used for its own purposes by the Holy See; so the Russian ambassador, Count Ragousinsky, was able to send his master the plaything he coveted. Peter, in his gratitude, immediately wrote to promise Cardinal Ottoboni that he would procure him the relics of St. Bridget, then in Sweden. The Vatican complacently acquiesced in the edifying exchange, but as it probably considered itself already sufficiently rich in relics, and capable of multiplying them indefinitely, it forthwith proceeded to propose a new commercial operation more likely to leave a substantial balance in its favour. It offered to give the Czar other statues and antiquities, and to address him by the sonorous title, "*Serenissimo, Potentissimo, ac Magno Domino Czari et Magno Duci Petro Primo, universæ, Magnæ, Parvæ, et Albæ Russiæ autocratori, nec non Magnorum Dominorum Orientalium, Occidentalium, et Septentrionalium paterno, avitoque hæredi successori, Domino et Dominatori.*" In return, the Holy See asked for a concordat under the great seal of the Russian chancery, securing—first, freedom of worship outside as well inside of sacred edifices—*i.e.* leave to cele-

brate showy ceremonies and public processions in the open air; second, the right to build churches without having any authorization to ask—*i.e.* without being in any way brought under the control of the Government; third, freedom for all Catholic ecclesiastics, without exception, to perform Divine service; fourth, the right of establishing schools, colleges, and universities, to teach all the sciences, including Catholic theology, to the young of all communions; fifth, a formal confirmation of the freedom of passage which already existed for missionaries going to China and Persia.

Peter does not seem to have been startled by these demands. It was the death of Clement XI., rather than any scruples on his part, that cut short the negotiation. Count Tolstoy says the claims of Rome would have established ultramontanism as a state within the state. With the exception of processions on the highway, they contain, however, nothing more than Rome now enjoys in England, not as privileges guaranteed by a concordate, but as rights common to all religions. Protestantism, it is to be hoped, will show itself able to protect itself against the snares of Rome without the help of the secular arm; but our hope lies, under God, not in the universities or in the aristocracy, but in the manly and intelligent piety of our people.

It was only at the first partition of Poland, in 1772, that there existed for the first time upon part of the soil of the empire a native Roman Catholic population, with its hierarchy solidly established, and possessed of extensive property in lands and serfs. The Catholics of the annexed provinces, like those of all Poland, had hitherto been governed in all matters spiritual and ecclesiastical by the Papal nuncio residing at Warsaw, so that the control exercised over them by the Vatican was as immediate and direct as possible. This did not suit the views of the sceptical, sensual, sagacious, and strong-willed Catherine II. She resolutely and unhesitatingly determined to put herself practically at the helm of the Roman Catholic Church in her dominions, as she was already the head of the Orthodox Church. She peremptorily ordered that no bull or brief of any foreign ecclesiastical authority should be published in the empire without the formal sanction of her government. She issued a ukase appointing a person of her own choosing bishop of Mohilew, with the primacy of White Russia, the control of both secular and regular clergy, and authority to organize and carry on the administration of all the interests of his co-religionists. She sanctioned the creation of a seminary, in which, among other things, canon

law was to be taught "within the limits which the sovereign of the empire should determine for the Catholic Church enjoying her protection." The bishopric of Mohilew was afterwards changed into an archbishopric with ample revenues, and it must be avowed that Catherine seems to have given the part of the Roman hierarchy, of which she made herself pope, all fair play. She either bore with it as a necessary evil, or respected it as a possible means of enlightening and moralizing the population.

The measures of the Empress must have been extremely distasteful to the Vatican, but it was a moment at which the ability of Rome to maintain her pretensions was at a low ebb; the intentions of Catherine were felt to be friendly with regard to the efficiency of the Catholic community as an educational institution, and the Pope's councillors knew that it would be easier to make the Uralian and Karpathian mountains meet than to change her determinations. His Holiness made a virtue of necessity, therefore, and sanctioned all these measures without even remonstrating, thereby saving appearances, and letting it be supposed that they were taken with his free co-operation. Siestrencewicz, the Empress's nominee, was formally ordained bishop, and afterwards archbishop, of Mohilew by a nuncio, and even the oath of obedience to St. Peter's successors prescribed by the Latin liturgy was modified on the occasion. Catherine struck out among the rest the following clause, "I will pursue and attack to the utmost of my power all heretics, schismatics and rebels against our said lord (the Pope) and his successors."

At this time the higher ranks in the part of Poland which still retained a precarious independence, being about three-fourths of the ancient territory, were in a state of great exasperation against the Catholic clergy on account of their enormous wealth and rapacity. While ecclesiastics were themselves exempt from all secular jurisdiction, they interfered continually with civil and political affairs; their tribunals dealt with all matters connected with tithes and wills; they possessed a right of censure over all works treating of moral or religious questions; they filled in their own persons many important offices, and enjoyed the right of nominating the chancellor and vice-chancellor of Lithuania. Their landed property increased with every successive generation, and at the same time their one object of ambition seemed to be the lessening of the small share they bore of the burdens of their expiring country. On the eve of dismemberment at home, and revolution throughout the rest of Europe, they had

not abated one jot of their mediæval claim to be the supreme power in the world. "Almighty God," wrote an Archbishop of Llow, "has confided sovereigns, like children, like sheep, to the clergy to be brought up; He gave them no authority over the church, but on the contrary tells them to obey her, as Isaiah says, 'a little child shall lead them'; that means the humble clergy, which converts sovereigns to the true faith, is to lead and govern them." The diet of 1786, though consisting of Roman Catholic nobles exclusively, was so hostile to this proud and selfish priesthood, that it was made unlawful for convents to receive any additional bequests, or to make any further purchases of land; and the Poles would probably have secularized the property already accumulated by clerical corporations, if circumstances had allowed them to turn their attention to anything but the extremity to which their country was reduced. The portion of the hierarchy under Catherine's control was, on the contrary, actually raised in public opinion by her reform of abuses. It was one of her rules never to allow a legate or nuncio to reside permanently in the empire, because he would inevitably become the officious, even though not the official, head of the Catholic community; and to secure herself against this, she would not admit of any embassy from Rome, without ascertaining beforehand that it was for some special negotiation that was not to be indefinitely prolonged.

At the time of the first partition, Catherine wrote to the governors of the annexed provinces: "Make a list of the convents and schools of the Jesuits. You must watch over the motions of the Jesuits most particularly, as the most perfidious of the Latin orders, because among them subordinates can do nothing without the authorization of their superiors." And yet, the very next year, when Pope Clement XIV. abolished the order, the sovereign who wrote these lines gave its remains an asylum in her dominions, and even went to the length of prohibiting the printing of any works written against them! Count Tolstoy's explanation of this extraordinary inconsistency is, that the Empress thought the Jesuits would be very useful in consolidating her authority in the newly annexed provinces. Consisting as they did of individuals of all nations, Italians, French, Germans, &c., they were men without a country; the very Poles forgot their nationality when they entered the order; and now, since they disobeyed the Pope by remaining a corporation in spite of his decree, they seemed to have severed the one tie which had replaced all others. Catherine thought that men who were

thus homeless and exiles twice over, if attached to her government, would become at once its ablest and most docile instruments, and put forth in its service the wonderful zeal, address, and discipline they had already exhibited in the service of the church. It appears that the Jesuits really did act for many years after the annexation as a sort of secret police in White Russia; but, in thinking that they would continue to make this their chief object, Catherine's powerful mind underrated the force of religious motives in others, because they were wanting in itself. Czarism is really a religion for the simple Russian peasant; God is the Czar of Heaven; Russia is not an empire, but a *czarstvo* or czardom; the autocrat is really clothed with a reflected divinity; but the idea of the distinction of church and state is a progress upon that of their confusion, and the mind which has given itself wholly to the ideal of a priestly theocracy, cannot go back to the more elementary form of theocracy. The Jesuits showed that they cared more for their order than for the authority of the Pope. They managed, we know not how, to reconcile to their own minds their disobedience with the theoretical recognition of his supremacy and infallibility; but after the interests of their own order, they necessarily continued to put those of Rome in the second place.

The dismemberments of 1793 and 1794, as unprovoked and inexcusable as they were atrocious in the execution, increased by some millions the Roman Catholic population of the empire. As the ecclesiastical history of Poland proper does not enter into the plan of Count Tolstoy's work, he does not tell us how the church of that nucleus of the "Republic" was dealt with, but the Catholics of Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia were organized in three bishoprics after the system already pursued for the preceding conquest.

The total dismemberment of Poland led to the immediate return of about half the United Greeks, that now found themselves under the Russian sceptre, into the bosom of the mother orthodox church. It seems that the Jesuits had never been able to establish themselves firmly in Red Russia, and that the people who nominally belonged to the United Church in the southern provinces of mixed religion, were more impatient of the constraint that had been exercised upon them than were their northern brethren, or else had become more alive to the fact that the union was gradually drifting away from the doctrines and practices of their ancestors. Hence, as soon as they were convinced that the yoke of their late governors was irrevocably broken, almost all the United

Greeks of Podolia asked to be restored to the Greek Church; the movement was imitated by the majority of those of Volhynia, and by a few thousands in the government of Minsk, and in White Russia. Altogether the orthodox communion was enriched by the return of sixteen hundred thousand prodigal children, between 1794 and 1796. Tolstoy asserts that no constraint was used, and we believe him, both because he adduces tolerably satisfactory evidence to that effect, and because constraint under the circumstances would not have been politic. It seems to have been in a great measure the influence of the united monks of the order of St. Basil that maintained the artificial position of the remaining half of the community for half a century longer.

The reign of Paul, so soon and so tragically ended, is a striking illustration of the dangers to which all the interests of a great empire are exposed when left at the absolute disposal of a single will. That reign was a paroxysm of despotism; to understand it we need only suppose some weak-minded Puseyite raised to the pontifical chair, and an admiration of the principle of authority, which, even if disinterested, would have been extravagant, aggravated by the intoxication of self-love. A stranger once, in conversation with this emperor, expressed his wish to become better acquainted with the aristocratical society of Russia. "I have no aristocrats," replied Paul; "the aristocrat is the man to whom I speak, and that only so long as I continue speaking to him!" Paul considered himself as the representative of Divine right, outraged by the French revolution. He issued a series of ukases to inculcate upon his people the worship of the imperial majesty, and he assumed in his gait a dramatic strut which was intended to express it. Perceiving that the French emigrants who swarmed in Russia in the suite of the Count de Provence, the Count d'Artois, and the Prince of Condé, were not over-strict in the performance of their religious duties, he obliged them to go to confession, warned the priests not to give them absolution without being satisfied by their contrition, and finally withdrew their pensions when they laughed at him. For a while he patronized the monks of La Trappe, but then, bethinking him that silence was a questionable virtue, he ordered the novices to be sent home, "that their parents may teach them to speak, but not giddily."

When Paul, in January 1798, received intelligence that Berthier was marching upon Rome, and that in any case the death of the aged Pius VII. was daily expected, he sent for Siestrencewicz, the Roman Catholic metropolitan of Mohilew:

and having explained to him his fears that a new pope imbued with the detestable maxims of the French might be chosen: "We must be ready for events," he continued, "for I respect the Catholic religion, and will maintain it in its integrity. If the new pope shows himself orthodox in his acts and in his bulls, so much the better. But if, though canonically elected, he betrays French principles, I will declare you head of the Catholic Church in Russia, in order to save its sound doctrines." Pius VII. proved a less dangerous innovator and revolutionist than Paul had feared, and, learning the weak side of the Emperor's character, he flattered his mania of making himself Grand Master of the Knights of Malta. A Russian ambassador having been sent to Rome to settle about this last whim, Pius expressed to him his desire to have a nuncio permanently fixed in Russia, and then he continued in the most insinuating tone: "My wishes go farther: it would be my most earnest desire to effect the union of the Greek and the Catholic Churches; for an end so important in itself, and so suited to immortalize the name of the great Paul I., I am ready to go in person to St. Petersburg, in order to treat directly with your emperor, whose character is so noble, just, and chivalrous."

About the same time that he made this overture, Pius VII., at the solicitation of Paul, published the brief of March 7, 1801, partially re-establishing the order of the Jesuits, that is to say, authorizing their existence and their labours as a congregation within the limits of the Russian Empire. One Gruber, an Austrian Jesuit, had at this time acquired an almost complete sway over the Emperor's mind, at least in religious matters. Through his influence, Siestrencewicz had been disgraced, the various orders of Roman Catholic monks had been emancipated from episcopal control, imperial ukases were lavish in extravagant admiration of these holy men, and the Jesuits were spreading with magical rapidity over the empire in both Europe and Asia.

There is no knowing how far Pius VII. and the sons of Loyola could have gone with Paul had he been allowed to prolong his life. The church must have thought it a piece of wonderful good fortune thus to get the keeping of the conscience of a mad autocrat, but the unfortunate monarch's madness was too decided to make him a permanently useful tool. It is probable that his admiration for the daring soldier who had set himself at the head of the French nation was not called forth by the brilliancy of Napoleon's military genius, more than by the sternness of his will, and

the impetuosity of his character. Paul could perceive that most of the men about him, and the chief political characters of Europe, had but a wavering faith in the excellence of the principle of authority taken in the abstract, and every discovery of hypocrisy or hesitation on this cardinal point suggested doubts which exasperated him to fits of frenzy, in which he literally sent off entire regiments, officers and men, as exiles to Siberia! The cunning and fulsome letter with which Pius VII. accompanied his bull for the restoration of the Jesuits only reached Russia after the assassination of the emperor to whom it was addressed; and when etiquette forbids lecturers on history in Russian universities from explaining in words the manner of his death, a significant gesture of the hand touching the cravat is understood by the students.

It should be added that in his capricious impulsiveness Paul did more to Latinize the remaining section of the United Greek Church than Rome had ever dared to do herself. He did not like the United Greeks, because he said they were neither fish nor flesh, and so, with a sort of childish impatience, he took away all the administrative barriers that hindered them from being altogether one with the Romanists. He created anew united bishoprics that Catherine had suppressed, and filled them with ultramontanes, and he shut his eyes to the violence used by local magnates in order to force the United Greek peasants to become altogether Catholics. The clergy industriously spread a report that the Emperor had abolished the intermediate community, and under its influence, sustained by appearances, by local persecutions and by all manner of lying miracles, no less than two hundred thousand of the members of the United Church in White Russia passed over to Romanism, either during Paul's life, or within a short period after his death; and but for the energetic resistance of Lissowsky, the United archbishop of Polotsk, the movement would have been on a still greater scale.

The personal amiability of Alexander I., and his openness to all generous impressions, form a pleasing interruption in the history of the stern and selfish, or crack-brained rulers of Russia. So far back as May, 1795, he saw two young Czartoryskis arrive at the court of his grandmother, as hostages for their father's fidelity, and suppliants for the restoration of his fortune. He attached himself to the eldest, Adam, made him the secret confidant of the horror he felt at the barbarity with which Poland had been treated, and de-

lighted in talking with him over all sorts of Utopian schemes for the future. When he found himself upon the throne his first care was to send for his friend, and in 1802 he made him minister for foreign affairs. Suffering had given Czartoryski a precious experience of men and things; his trust in princes, even the best disposed, was very limited, and he was only induced to accept the office by being made at the same time curator of the University of Wilna, and director of public instruction in all the annexed governments in Poland. Czartoryski resigned the portfolio of foreign affairs in 1805, but retained his curatorship, and did everything he could for the intellectual development of his countrymen until 1812. It was with more sorrow than surprise that he saw all Alexander's early schemes melting into thin air; for there was more of vanity and romance, than of reason, principle, reality, and firmness in his liberalism. At the close of 1810 he wished to make the most tempting offers to the Poles, but he had allowed a more favourable season to pass away, and at that period their hopes were altogether fixed upon Napoleon, and destined to be disappointed by him.

At the congress of Vienna, Alexander forced Europe to let him try the constitutional kingdom of Poland, and then he sent his brutal brother, Constantine, to trample upon it practically. It had been stipulated that Russians should hold no offices in the kingdom, and they filled them all; the press was to be free, but its freedom regulated by special laws, and these proved to be the censure! Primary instruction in schools was suppressed, and the higher mutilated; according to the charter, the sittings of the diet were to be public, and this was determined otherwise by a ukase; individual liberty was guaranteed, and the police filled the prisons!

Many causes led to the pitiful result. In the first place, there was Alexander's own character; "He would have wished the whole world to be free," says Czartoryski, with melancholy irony, "on condition that the whole world should freely and spontaneously do his will, and his only." Czars are spoilt children, and the best of them are not so easily brought to allow their subjects to become wise, virtuous, and happy in their own way. Then, there was the association of Poland and Russia. It was impossible to allow the former country to become really self-governing, while the latter was under the wheels and hoofs of despotism; but neither Russia nor its master were yet ready for the peaceable revolution which is now, we trust, in process of accomplishment. Lastly, there were the extravagant aspirations of the unfortunate Poles

themselves. They could not rest and be thankful in the possession of the nucleus of their ancient republic, in which the whole population was Polish, they were ever ready to claim the more extensive territories over which their fathers had ruled for periods of various duration, and in which the portion of the population of Polish ancestry, or assimilated to it, consisted of the upper classes only, with a few dependents. It was hard for an energetic minority, who felt themselves historically, socially, intellectually, and physically superior to the peasants around them, to recognize that they had forfeited the right to impose their language and culture upon the inhabitants of the broad plains of Lithuania and Red Russia.

From the time that Madame de Krudener had forced her way to his tent, one evening during the campaign of 1814, Alexander's piety was genuine, though mystical and vague, and sadly hampered by those theories of divine right that led to the so-called Holy Alliance. Having little of his grandmother's practical sagacity, however, he did not watch against the encroachments of Rome at home, and with a misplaced magnanimity took pleasure in protecting the interests of the Pope abroad; Pius VII. addressed to him, one day, this blasphemous paraphrase of Scripture, "When your majesty is for us, of whom can we be afraid?" and, indeed, it was to Alexander, chiefly, that he owed the recovery of all the territory of the church in 1815.

At this period, the Jesuits exercised no little influence on the higher ranks; the Princess Galitzin became their convert and fervent adept, about 1808; many other ladies of the first families followed her example; and when their confessors thought it inexpedient that the change of religion should be known, the converts were forbidden to reveal it to their fathers or husbands. One of their number was the Countess Rostopchin, the wife of that stern Governor of Moscow who ordered the city to be fired when the French army approached, and began by his own house; though his resolution so far faltered that he could not bring himself to put the torch to his marriage bed with his own hand, and got Sir Robert Wilson to do it for him. We can conceive the feelings with which an old soldier, and staunch old Muscovite of this type, must have received his wife's communication of her apostasy from the traditions of their fathers. Yet the correspondence of the lady's confessor, Father Surugue, with his colleagues, shows that Rostopchin's indignation was almost equalled by the Jesuit's *stupefaction*—the word is his own—at the

Countess's disobedience and rashness in betraying his secret. Such is the morality of the confessional.

The celebrated Count Joseph de Maistre introduced the reverend fathers into the most fashionable society of the two capitals. He excelled in talking upon religious questions with tact at the dinner table, and with a lower and more earnest tone in the embrasure of a window. He detected the game that might be pursued with some hope of success, and started the priests upon the scent. He managed to get information beforehand of every intended step of the Russian Government that might bear in the least degree upon the interests of the Roman Catholics. In short, he acted all at once as master of the ceremonies, jackal, spy, and lay general of the order.

With singular inappropriateness, this was just the moment chosen by Alexander to take for his *Ministre des Cultes*, Prince Alexander Galitzin, the great protector of the aggressive strangers! Of course Jesuits and Romish monks were favoured in every possible way; they were allowed to emancipate themselves from the direction of their own bishops, and to withdraw their manuals and methods of education from the inspection of the Catholic university of Wilna; they intrigued against all the institutions of the liberal and enlightened Czartoryski, though their own co-religionist. They were allowed to send their correspondence post free, and to introduce merchandize for their own use from abroad without paying duty, and without its being overhauled at the custom house. They established boarding schools for children of nobles from which they excluded the Russian clergy as much as they dared. They offered their services as diplomatic agents in China, and spies upon the Russian embassy in that country. They seem to have revelled in an atmosphere of proselytism and mystery. "Minds are rapidly turning towards our faith," writes M. de Maistre, "and the movement is as remarkable from the numbers who share in it as from their position in society. Truly the multiplicity and rapidity of these conversions is an admirable spectacle." The Abbé Surugue writes to a colleague that the thing which gives him most trouble in his dealings with such neophytes as are obliged to keep their conversion secret, is the administration of the communion. "I can hear a confession and pronounce absolution while out walking, or in an open drawing room, without awaking the slightest suspicion, but the communion exposes me to more danger;" and he proceeds to describe his invention of a little box in which the consecrated wafers could be conveyed over

night to the room of the person, who could administer it to himself (or more probably, herself) in the morning.

The solemn restoration of their order throughout the world, proclaimed by the Holy See on the 7th of August, 1814, was calculated to increase the zeal and confidence of the Jesuits; and yet the first clouds that began to darken their prospects were nearly contemporaneous with this event. Alexander satisfied himself by personal inspection that the peasants on their properties were in a state of ignorance and destitution unparalleled elsewhere, even in Russia. Complaints were heard from all sides of the drunkenness and immorality of the lower Romish monks, and of the avarice and barbarity with which they and the united Basilians treated the 120,000 serfs who belonged to them in the provinces of mixed religion. There came to light all sorts of cruelties perpetrated by the Dominicans in particular, upon poor girls who had been induced to take vows while mere children, and who were whipped, half-starved, half-frozen, were exorcised with cross and holy water, and had the devil painted grimacing upon the doors of their cells, because they wanted to return to their parents. But the one thing which finally awakened the sleeping Russian bear, was the conversion of the *Ministre des Cultes'* own nephew, another Prince Alexander Galitzin, who was under age. The Jesuits, frightened by the storm their success called up, protested that they had done everything to hinder the young man from taking this step, he had become a Catholic by a miracle of grace for which they were not responsible—the simple perusal of a breviary *forgotten* in a stove by his tutor! It would not do; a ukase of December 20, 1815, ordered the expulsion of all the Jesuits from both capitals.

They received the blow with hypocritical humility, and their general, Brzosowski, wrote to assure the Emperor that he had always enjoined it upon his subordinates to abstain from receiving Greeks into the Latin Church, and that he did not believe the rule had ever been violated, except in this one unfortunate instance, &c., &c. The decree of expulsion was not the less extended to the whole empire, March 13, 1820.

Alexander died a disappointed and baffled man, the victim of an exaggerated idea of his rights and responsibilities as a sovereign, and of the vain attempt to put the likeness of freedom upon the brow of despotism. By none was he more sincerely regretted than by the friend of his youth—the high-minded Czartoryski. It is said that a whole generation later, when the news of the treaty of Villafranca in 1859 reached Paris, the aged exile, who had seen so many vicissitudes during a

career of ninety years, was sitting at his desk preparing a memoir to try to convince the powers that the restoration of the independence of Poland was possible. "You may put up your pen," said the friend who brought him these tidings so fatal to their hopes. "No," replied the morally heroic old man, "I will finish my memoir for a future day!"

The reign of Nicholas was one long resurrection of the old Russian spirit, one long attempt to reverse the work of Peter the Great, so far as by the separation of the nobles from the people, the latter had made mere cosmopolites of the one class, and plunged the other in a barbarism deeper than before. He himself once summed up the principles which he wished to inculcate upon the youth of his empire in these three words, "orthodoxy, autocracy, nationality;" and these were indeed the three tendencies characteristic of the man and the sovereign. He even tried to suppress home education as much as possible, in order that the young should be accustomed from the most tender age to habits of military order and passive obedience.

It was natural that such a ruler should try to give every possible advantage to the Russian religion and language in the districts in which both religion and language were mixed, and that the surviving half of the United Greeks in his empire should be drawn to reconcile themselves with the orthodox church as they did in 1839. Gerebtzoff affirms most positively that there was not a word of truth in the stories of tortures inflicted upon the adversaries of the union, which were industriously spread by the ultramontane press of the time, and generally believed in France and elsewhere. In 1844 or 1845, in particular, a person arrived at Rome who gave herself out to be a fugitive nun, and to have been one out of several victims of the most horrible and disgusting persecutions. She was patronized by Gregory XVI., and munificently provided for by wealthy Romanists. De Gerebtzoff being at that time civil governor of Wilna, in which government the facts were said to have passed, assures us that he took all possible pains to investigate the matter, and satisfied himself as to these four points,—First, that there never had been a nun of the name adopted by the adventuress at Rome; second, that no nun had disappeared between the years 1835 and 1845; third, that no Roman Catholic nun had embraced or been asked to embrace orthodoxy; fourth, that the very convent in which she said she had lived had never existed. It seems that this person's subsequent history was enough to betray her.

We are ready to believe that there was no distinctively religious persecution equal in degree, or even similar in kind,

to those of which Rome had been guilty in the same regions. Throughout this deplorable history we see popes and czars each acting after their kind; and their sins are not the same, though they are equivalent. The former have ever been characterized by intrigue, and when the opportunity presented itself, by religious persecution; the latter, by the brutal military executions with which they crushed the most legitimate attempts to resist them, and the most inoffensive manifestations of a wish for independence. It is for the Vatican to punish *heresy*, the Kremlin only punishes *patriotism;* the espionage, the prison, the knout, the gibbet, the wholesale deportations to the Caucausus or to Siberia, the indescribable horrors so repeatedly perpetrated at Warsaw and elsewhere—it is civil and political, not religious, offences that are visited with these.

To understand the feelings entertained by the Poles towards Russia, we need but ask ourselves what would be those of the Protestants of Ireland, if that country were to fall into the hands of some great Catholic and despotic power, disposed to retaliate upon them for all the civil disabilities which once weighed upon the Roman Catholics. Let us suppose such a power, confiscating, hanging, and transporting, without any fair trial, at the least appearance or suspicion of disaffection, the head of the state, like Nicholas, appropriating confiscated property of the value of twelve millions sterling for his private purse, and his great officers hastening to the spoil with the same avidity. Let us suppose an ignorant peasantry full of the remembrances of the old penal laws, and of many wrongs, stirred up by the authorities to act as spies upon their old masters, and, if needed, as their executioners. It is evident that there would be multiplied cases of maddening outrage, and that the sufferings of this high-spirited aristocracy, and of the minority of the population who belong to the same religion and race, would only be aggravated, and the temptation to hate their oppressors rendered more intense, by the consciousness of their own superiority.

The Pope and the Czar have stood like giants foot to foot, contending, though with different weapons, for the possession of the bodies and souls of prostrate millions. And these millions by right belong to neither of the combatants, but to God and to themselves. There is, however, this great difference—the Pope cannot change for the better, the Czar can. While the autocratic spirit subsists, the Czar can as little as the Pope look upon other powers as his equals; but it is to be hoped that neither civil nor religious despotism can long survive the emancipation of the serfs.

ART. V.—*Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* (1862-63). By WILLIAM GIFFORD PALGRAVE. In Two Volumes. London and Cambridge. 1865.

UNTIL the publication of these volumes, the memoirs of Captain Welsted and Mr. Wallin, read before the Royal Geographical Society, the now venerable quarto of Burckhardt, and the two octavos of Niebuhr, contained about all that was known of Central and Eastern Arabia. The province of Hejaz, with its notable cities, Medinah and Mecca, some portions of Yemen, and its desert neighbour, Hadramaut, and even 'Omān, particularly in the district of Muscat, its capital, had been explored by European enterprise. But of Arabia, as a whole, the world seemed satisfied to know that it comprehended three great divisions, bearing the fanciful names, Petræa, Felix, and Deserta; names which, it is hardly necessary to say, are entirely repudiated by modern research. Considering the traditional reputation of the peninsula, we cannot wonder that it failed to tempt even British adventure. Scientific investigation seemed quite impracticable in a country where the sight of the requisite instruments would be sure to rouse the fear and opposition of a superstitious people. There was little to tempt the sportsman or the naturalist in a land whose arid steppes were said to be incapable of maintaining animal or vegetable life. The chances of commercial profit were too precarious in a district swarming with lawless Bedouins, whose staple business was the plunder of caravans. The historical traditions of the country were too vague and scanty to offer any charm to the antiquarian. And even philanthropy was discouraged in its aspirations, by the fanatical hatred of the people towards Europeans, and their invincible repugnance to anything like change.

There was one consideration, however, which proved powerful enough to excite the spirit of research. Arab intermixture and colonization have very extensively modified the history and people of the East. Not only Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, but Persia, Kurdistan, and Anatolia, have been largely pervaded by the Arabian element. The study of the manners and characteristics of the Arab race at home might give some aid towards the solution of "many a riddle in the phases of the adjacent Ottoman empire, and even of other Asiatic

governments." Much, too, might be gained by a conscientious study of "the practical working and the results of that strange phenomenon of the human mind, Mahometanism," at the very head-quarters of its power. These considerations, added to "the hope of doing something towards the permanent social good of these wide regions,—the desire of bringing the stagnant waters of Eastern life into contact with the quickening stream of European civilization," induced Mr. Palgrave to undertake a journey through Central and Eastern Arabia in 1862-63. A man more fitted for the enterprise it would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, to discover. Long residence in the East; a perfect familiarity with the Arabic language, and with the habits of Semitic nations; consummate tact and presence of mind, linked with an imperturbable courage; as much medical knowledge as was sufficient to give some show of reality to his guise of physician; and last, though not least, the patronage of the Emperor Napoleon, who, with enlightened liberality, supplied the necessary funds; offered rare facilities to the success of the undertaking.

In the evening of June 16th, 1862, Mr. Palgrave and his companion, a young man from Cœlo-Syria, of great intelligence and fidelity, found themselves outside the eastern gate of the town of Ma'ān, *en route* for a land which they resolved to traverse from shore to shore, or make it their tomb. From the very outset their path was one of extreme peril. For though their first stage was but 200 miles, they were certain to be exposed throughout to an almost intolerable heat, to scarcity of water, and Bedouin violence. The aspect of their escort was not assuring. The chief guide, Salim-el-'Atneh, who belonged to the tribe of Howeytat Arabs, had already rendered himself notorious by acts of pillage, with now and then "a supplementary murder." He had a cold, calculating look, which savoured desperately of treachery, and which was not redeemed by his lean make and dusky face. But even he was hopeful in comparison with the others, who were Sherarat Bedouins; "utter barbarians in appearance, no less than in character, wild, fickle, reckless, and the capacity of whose intellect was as scanty as its cultivation." Their costume, however picturesque, did not add to the general fascination of their appearance. A long and very dirty shirt, a black handkerchief tied round the head with a twist of camel's hair, a striped black-and-white cloak in tatters, a well-worn girdle of leather, from which dangled a suspicious-looking knife, a cumbrous matchlock, and a long spear, made up their equipment. Trousers were conspicuous by their absence, for all

genuine sons of the desert are *sans culottes*. The ordinary dress of the travellers was of the same style, though of superior quality, and with the desirable addition of cotton drawers. But for state occasions they had a reserve suit of more elegant appearance stowed away in the depths of their travelling sacks.

It was necessary that they should assume some guise in order to save appearances, and avert suspicion. The pretence of travelling for pleasure would be fatal, such an idea being altogether foreign to the Arab mind. The popular plan with travellers in the East, has been to pass themselves off as wandering Darweeshes. Such a plan has recently succeeded in Central Asia, but it is perilous in the extreme. The Eastern Darweeshes are divided into almost countless schools, each having its own shade of creed and practice. A thorough acquaintance with all these minor points of distinction is next to impossible on the part of a European. A chance question might at any moment unmask him, and lead to fatal results, for a discovered impostor would at once be taken for a spy. A case of this sort happened but a few years ago. Under the guise of a Darweesh, a European traveller attempted to traverse the Wahhābee provinces. At Hofhoof, in Eastern Arabia, his conduct excited suspicion. Advices were sent on to the capital. On reaching Riad, he was forwarded by the king to a village on the Mecca road. Intelligence had been sent to the villagers that he was a European spy. Within a few minutes of his arrival in the village, he lay dead under a cluster of palm-trees. Seven years after the event, Mr. Palgrave was the first to bear tidings of his fate to his anxious friends. In some Eastern countries the person of a Darweesh is respected, and even reverenced; but among the Wahhābees it is looked upon with aversion. All Darweeshes, according to strict Wahhābee notions, are heretics. But there is a moral objection to the assumption by a European of the garb and profession of a Darweesh, which Mr. Palgrave puts well. "To feign a religion which the adventurer himself does not believe,—to perform with scrupulous exactitude, as of the highest and holiest import, practices which he inwardly ridicules, and which he intends to hold up to the ridicule of others,—to turn for weeks together the most sacred and awful bearings of man towards his Creator, into a deliberate and truthless mummery,—not to mention other and yet darker touches,—all this seems hardly compatible with the character of a European gentleman, let alone that of a Christian."

It is a mistake to suppose that the profession of Christianity is a serious obstacle to Eastern travel—at any rate in Central Arabia. The majority of the people have no idea what a Christian is—some supposing that he belongs to some section of Mahometanism, and others regarding him as an infidel. Even among the better informed, Christianity is looked upon with only an historical aversion, as a religion long since annihilated by Islam aggression. But where it is understood there is no particular disfavour towards it, excepting on the part of strict Wahhābees, who, however, vastly prefer a Christian to a Jew.

After due consideration, Mr. Palgrave resolved to travel in the character of a physician and his pupil. But as circumstances might occur in which the medical profession would be of little service, he made provision for acting the part of a merchant, when such a policy might be desirable. About fifty small, tight-fitting tin boxes, filled with drugs enough "to kill or cure half the sick men of Arabia," and a few volumes of Arabic medical lore, were provided to sustain the profession of physician. Liquid medicines were but sparingly used,—not only because of the danger of having the bottles broken by rough transport, but because of the rapid evaporation unavoidable in so hot a climate. The few bottles which were taken, though stoppered and doubly cased, retained nothing but their labels in a very short time. The mercantile stock consisted of cloth, beads, necklaces, pipe-bowls, handkerchiefs, and two large sacks of coffee.

Thus equipped, the travellers started. Before them and on either hand "extended one weary plain, in a blank monotony of lifelessness. Only on all sides lakes of mirage lay mocking the eye with their clear and deceptive outline, whilst here and there some dark basaltic rock, cropping up at random through the level, was magnified by the refraction of the heated atmosphere into the semblance of a fantastic crag, or overhanging mountain." There was no sign of life. The poisonous colocynth was the solitary herb, and the animal kingdom had no other representative than the jerboaa, or field-rat, and "the little dried-up lizard of the plain, that looks as if he had never a drop of moisture in his ugly body." The heat was intolerable, even to an old Indian; and matters were not mended by the remains of a tertian fever under which Mr. Palgrave was suffering. So that the days wore away like "a delirious dream," till the travellers were almost unconscious of the ground they traversed, or the business in which they were engaged. Long

before dawn each morning they were on the march, contenting themselves with but a snatch of rest. When the sun was half-way up to the meridian, they prepared their morning meal. There was little choice of situation. A patch of black pebbles, with a little sand, and without grass, in some hollow, was fixed upon as the scene of operation. The luggage was piled up, so as to afford a sort of screen. Next came the—

"Culinary preparations, in perfect accordance with our provisions, which, like those of genuine Arab travellers, were simple enough; namely, a bag of coarse flour mixed with salt, and a few dried dates, with no third item on the bill of fare. We now took a few handfuls of flour, and one of the Bedouins kneaded it with his unwashed hands, or dirty bit of leather, pouring over it a little of the dingy water contained in the skins, and then patted out this exquisite paste into a large, round cake, about an inch thick, and five or six inches across. Meanwhile, another had lighted a fire of dry grass, colocynth roots, and dried camels' dung, till he had prepared a bed of glowing embers; among these the cake was now cast, and immediately covered up with hot ashes, and so left for a few minutes; then taken out, turned, and covered again, till at last, half-kneaded, half-raw, half-roasted, and more than half-burnt, it was taken out to be broken up between the hungry band, and eaten scalding hot, before it should cool into an indescribable leathery substance, capable of defying the keenest appetite. A draught of dingy water was all its accompaniment."

There was little to vary the monotony of the desert journey, save here and there an encampment of Bedouins. Within the broad desert belt which stretches from the Dead Sea to the Valley of the Euphrates, there are occasional oases, formed by a slight depression on the surface, where rock and pebbles are displaced by a light sandy soil, under which, and at no great depth, there is a tolerable supply of water. These wadis, as they are called, are the favourite haunts of the Bedouins. The Wadi Sirhan, which lies in the direct route to Central Arabia, is infested by the Sherarat, who are, perhaps, the most degraded of the Arab nomades. A few days spent in their society sufficed to scatter all romantic notions as to the dignity and chivalry of the Bedouin. He is, indeed, but a sorry specimen of humanity, with little about him to admire, and much to disgust. The grand idea of his life is plunder. For this he goes to war; for this he roams the desert, disdaining the pursuits of industry; and for this, it is to be feared, he often discharges the rites of hospitality. Bedouin hos-

pitality has been very much overrated. Your desert host, though he may set before you his best, is probably a rascal, calculating on ample retribution in the shape of plunder, when you have proceeded a few miles on your journey in the morning. Essentially childish in his character, "to give, beg, or to plunder, are for him correlative acts—all arising in the main from the same immense ignorance of what property really is, and what its importance: and thus he is often scarce more entitled to commendation for the one act, than liable to serious blame for the other: in a word, he knows no better." He is not by nature bloodthirsty. A terrible braggart, he has the strongest objection to being killed, and no great fondness for killing others. Even in war, booty is his object, and not blood. He is an entire stranger to those national and religious principles which underlie the conflicts of nations. He "does not fight for his home,—he has none; nor for his country,—that is anywhere; nor for his honour,—he never heard of it; nor for his religion,—he owns and cares for none." The occupation of some bit of pasture or some brackish well, the desire to possess a camel, or horse, or matchlock, which belongs to some one else, these are the objects of Bedouin feuds, which are seldom attended with the fatal or even bitter results which follow the strife of other races.

The Sherarat Arabs, though living under a sort of subservience to Telāl, the sovereign of Shomer, and paying him a yearly tribute, acknowledge no common chief,—each of their very many bands having a separate head. Brigandage is less profitable within Arabian territory than in lands under Turkish rule. Hence they have to depend mainly on their herds. These are scanty enough. A very few sheep, here and there a horse, with a goodly number of camels, constitute their wealth. The chase of the gazelle and the ostrich occasionally offers them a chance of profit; while the fruit of the samh and the mesa'a provides them with vegetable food. The samh is a "small herbaceous and tufted plant, with juicy stalks, and a little ovate yellow-tinted leaf; the flowers are of a brighter yellow, with many stamens and pistils. When the blossoms fall off, there remains in place of each a four-leaved capsule about the size of an ordinary pea; and this, when ripe, opens to show a mass of minute reddish seeds, resembling grit in feel and appearance, but farinaceous in substance." Happily this plant requires no cultivation, for a Bedouin Arab would almost die rather than give himself the trouble of tilling the ground. All that is required is the

gathering of the capsules containing the seeds, when the ripening season sets in. These seeds are ground in a hand-mill, mixed with water, and boiled. When cooked their appearance is that of bran and ochre, and their taste something between that of wheat and barley meal. Though not over palatable to Europeans, it is a very favourite dish with the Arabs, who, but for the untilled growth of the samh, would often be exposed to the horrors of absolute famine. The mesa'a is a berry, in appearance and taste somewhat like our red currant, though more sickly. The Bedouins are very fond of it, and devour it greedily. Flesh meat is a delicacy reserved for high festal occasions. Sometimes the victim is a sheep, sometimes a camel, according to the number of guests. The cooking process is simple and unembarrassed by the refinements of European cuisine. A fire is lighted under a never-scoured cauldron full of water, into which the quarters of the slaughtered animal are thrown "to seethe in their own unskimmed grease, till about two-thirds cooked." The water is then poured off, and the fragments piled up, without garnish, in a dirty wooden bowl. A ring is formed, and at a given signal unwashed hands dart into the bowl, the half-raw joints are fished out and torn into manageable pieces, and in five minutes nothing is left for the dogs, but a pile of clean-picked bones.

The Bedouins are generally supposed to be Mahometans. In the company of the followers of Islam, and when dependent upon them, they assume the bearing and join in the religious services of the Mahometans. But they are not, and never have been, votaries of the Mahometan creed. From its earliest establishment, according to the testimony of the Coran, it was found impracticable to fix it in this region; not because of any aversion on the part of the Bedouins to the doctrine of the Divine Unity, but because they were, as they still are, "incapable of receiving or retaining any of those serious influences and definite forms of thought and practice." When they are at home, and unreserved, they hoist their own colours. Seldom has a stranger the chance of observing them under such conditions. Mr. Palgrave, however, was fortunate enough to witness the main act of Bedouin worship in their own land. It was on the first morning of the journey. "Hardly had the first clear rays struck level across the horizon, than our nomade companions, facing the rising disc, began to recite alternately, but without any previous ablution, or even dismounting from their beasts, certain formulas of adoration and invocation; nor desisted till the

entire orb rode clear above the desert edge." Such an act, altogether alien as it is to the creed of Mahomet, confirms the theory that the Bedouins are fire-worshippers, as their fathers were.

Their morality is of the lowest type. Their conversation is grossly licentious, but probably not more so than their lives. Community, rather than polygamy, expresses their connubial relations. Their idea of God is materialistic. He is to them but a chief, resident in the sun, and somewhat more powerful than their own chieftains. "What will you do on coming into God's presence, after so graceless a life?" said Mr. Palgrave to a spirited young Sherarat, whose long, matted love-locks and general appearance accorded with his loose conversation. "What will we do?" said he; "why, we will go up to God and salute him, and if he proves hospitable (gives us meat and tobacco), we will stay with Him; if otherwise, we will mount our horses and ride off." This is not an exaggerated specimen. Throughout his journeys among genuine nomades, Mr. Palgrave did not meet with any individual "who took a more spiritual view, whether of the Deity, of the soul of man, or of any other disembodied being soever."

The digression from the Bedouin to his camel is natural, especially as the latter plays a part almost as important as that of the former in desert travel. Mr. Palgrave's picture of the camel is not complimentary to that hapless beast. All one's romantic notions as to its docility and amiability are ruthlessly scattered to the winds. It is incapable of affection or gratitude. It will leave an old and generous master without compunction, and submit to the restraints of a new one with dogged indifference. It has none of the sagacity of the horse or the dog. When set agoing it walks straight on, and would probably walk against a wall if not pulled up. It has not sense enough to throw its rider, and if he should happen to fall off, it marches on, grazing with the utmost nonchalance. The only signs of interest which it exhibits in passing events are when a green branch overhangs its path, or when its rider is about to mount. In the former case it will make vigorous efforts to secure the branch; while in the latter, it will bend back its long neck, and open its jaws, as though it would like to bite, "and roar out a tremendous sort of groan, as if to complain of some entirely new and unparalleled act of injustice." It is an ill-tempered, unmannerly brute, amenable only to the discipline of a stout blow or kick.

But to return to the travellers, whom we left plodding their weary way over the barren steppes. On the morning of the

30th June, they found themselves in a narrow gorge, down which the sun was beating with terrible power. Two of the camels had broken down, the water in the skins was spent, the last morsel of food had been eaten; when, on turning a huge pile of crags, a new and beautiful scene burst upon their view. "A broad, deep valley, descending ledge after ledge, till its innermost depths are hidden from sight amid far-reaching shelves of reddish rock; below, everywhere studded with tufts of palm groves and clustering fruit trees, in dark green patches, down to the furthest end of its windings; a large, brown mass of irregular masonry, crowning a central hill; beyond, a tall and solitary tower overlooking the opposite bank of the hollow, and further down, small turrets and flat house-tops half-buried amid the garden foliage, the whole plunged in a perpendicular flood of light and heat,"—such was the first aspect of the Djowf, the vestibule of Central Arabia. This province, which owes its name "Djowf," literally "belly," to its excavated form and central position, is a sort of oasis, or oval depression, sixty or seventy miles long, lying between the northern and southern desert. An equilateral triangle having either Damascus and Bagdad on the north, or Medinah and Zulphah on the south, for its base, would have its vertex at the Djowf.

The only town in the district bears the name of the entire region. It is composed of some eight villages, which were once distinct. The entire length of this town, including the gardens, is about four miles, with an average breadth of half a mile. The houses are generally small; for in Arabia two families never occupy the same dwelling. The houses of the better class comprise an outer and an inner court, a large reception room, and a series of smaller apartments to which access is gained by a private door. The domestic architecture, which is generally as tame as possible, is varied by the frequent addition of a round tower, of unbaked brick, having a height of thirty or forty feet, and a diameter of twelve. To these towers, which are of great strength, the chiefs and their partisans were wont to retire for defence or refuge in times of war. The great political changes which have taken place in the district, and which have broken up this chieftainship, have done away with the use of these towers, which are now but memorials of a stormy past. The gardens of the Djowf are very beautiful and fertile. The date-palm, the fig-tree, the vine, the peach, and the apricot, grow in great abundance, with a flavour surpassing that of the productions of Damascus and Palestine. The fields are given up to the cultivation of corn, maize,

melons, gourds, and leguminous plants. The irrigation which the droughty climate renders necessary is kept up by running streams of clear water; whereas in the interior of Arabia it has to be laboriously procured from wells and cisterns.

The population of the town and district is about forty-two thousand. In the absence of all authentic records it is not easy to arrive at the true history of the province. The natives affirm that they were originally Christians, and that, like many others, they were converted to Islam at the point of the sword. Subsequently they lapsed into a sort of semi-heathenism, and were not reclaimed until the great Wahhābee reformation. After the overthrow of the Nedjean power by Ibrahim Pasha in 1817-18, the Djowf recovered her independence. The strifes of the petty chieftains and frequent Bedouin incursions made it impossible to maintain the new freedom. In 1855, Telāl, the monarch of Shomer, appeared against the Djowf, with an inconsiderable army, and two pieces of artillery. These decided the contest. Terrified by what was to them a new and almost supernatural engine of war, the inhabitants fled from their assailants in dismay. Telāl made one of his personal followers, Hamood, governor of the province; stripped all the native chiefs of their functions; and imposed a moderate land and cattle tax, to be paid to the established government. The new rule has proved very beneficial to the province, and the people are satisfied.

The Djowfites are liberally endowed by nature. "Tall, well-proportioned, of a tolerably fair complexion, set off by long, curling locks of jet black hair, with features for the most part regular and intelligent," they are an eminently good specimen of the pure Ishmaelitish Arab type. They are cleanly in their habits, courteous in demeanour, hospitable, somewhat skilful in agriculture, but strongly averse to mechanical pursuits. They enjoy the best health, and are remarkably long-lived. In point of civilization, they are much superior to the Bedouin, but they are considerably below the inhabitants of Shomer, Nejed, Hasa, and 'Omān. They have, for instance, no regular market—there is not a single shop in the Djowf; buying and selling are carried on in private houses. Their religious character is altogether anomalous. Converted from a kind of fetichism, from the worship of the sun and sacrifices to the dead, during the Wahhābee reformation, they are professedly Mahometan; but a religion forced upon them by the sword has but a superficial success. Naturally, the Arabs are not a religious people. With a capacity of faith ready to accept

the teachings of Christian, Jewish, Mahometan, or even Pagan creeds, they are impatient of religious restraint. For the Arab, faith to any extent, but no works. "Stated prayers annoy him, long prayers tire him, ablutions are inconvenient, and fasting, especially in presence of a fat sheep, is quite out of the question." In fact, according to Mr. Palgrave, whose judgment is worthy of acceptance, if the Mahometan scheme had been entrusted to Arab keeping alone, if Persian, Mozul, Turkish, and European influence had not come to its aid, the Coran would, ere now, have become a dead letter, and the fast of the Ramadhan a curiosity of history.

During the stay of the travellers in the Djowf they were the guests of Ghāfil-el-Haboob, the chief of the once reigning family. His house may stand sample for the dwellings of the better classes of Central Arabia.

"The K'hawah was a large, oblong hall, about twenty feet in height, fifty in length, and sixteen, or thereabouts, in breadth. The walls were coloured in a rudely decorative manner, with brown and white wash, and sunk here and there into small triangular recesses, destined to the reception of books . . . . lamps, and other such-like objects. The roof of timber, and flat. The floor was strewed with fine, clean sand, and garnished all round, alongside of the walls, with long strips of carpet, upon which cushions, covered with faded silk, were disposed at suitable intervals."

In one corner of this reception room, stood a fire-place or furnace of granite, "hollowed inwardly into a deep funnel, open above, and communicating below with a small horizontal tube, or pipe-hole, through which the air passes, bellows-driven, to the lighted charcoal, piled up on a grating about half-way inside the cone." On the edge of the furnace stood an imposing range of copper coffee-pots. Only three are required for the process of coffee-making; but the richness and munificence of the host are generally measured by the number of his pots. On passing the threshold, the guest exclaims *Bismillah*, "In the name of God." Advancing in silence to the centre of the room, and directing his eye towards the master of the house, he says, *Es salāmu 'alcykum*, "Peace be with you." Upon this the host rises, and, if he happens to be a Wahhābee, exclaims, *W' 'alcykum-s-salāmu, w'rahmat' ullāhi w'barakátuh*, "And with you be peace and the mercy of God and His blessings." If not a strict Wahhābee, he will offer a simpler welcome. All the company then rise, and the

guest places his open hand in the palm of his host, not grasping or shaking it, for that would be counted intolerably rude. Divers salutations then follow, which are repeated over and over again, until some one is obliging enough to say, "Praise be to God!" This ejaculation terminates the ceremony of introduction. Then commences the business of coffee-making. A few minutes having been spent in blowing up the fire, and filling the largest of the pots with water, the slave

"Takes a dirty, knotted rag out of a niche in the wall close by, and having untied it, empties out of it three or four handfuls of unroasted coffee, the which he places on a little trencher of plaited grass, and picks carefully out any blackened grains; . . . . then, after much cleansing and shaking, he pours the grain so cleansed into a large, open iron ladle, and places it over the mouth of the funnel, at the same time blowing the bellows, and stirring the grains gently round and round, till they crackle, redden, and smoke a little, but carefully withdrawing them from the heat long before they turn black or charred . . . He then sets the warm water in the large coffee-pot over the fire-aperture, that it may be ready boiling at the right moment, and draws in close between his own trouserless legs a large stone mortar, with a narrow pit in the middle, just enough to admit the black stone pestle of a foot long, and an inch and a half thick, which he now takes in hand. Next, pouring the half-roasted berries into the mortar, he proceeds to pound them, striking right into the narrow hollow with wonderful dexterity, nor ever missing his blow till the beans are smashed, but not reduced to powder."

The coarse, reddish grit thus produced is then thrown into one of the smaller pots, which has been half-filled with hot water. This is set upon the fire to boil, a small stick being used to check the ebullition. A few aromatic seeds are pounded and thrown in. The liquor is then strained through fibres of palm-bark, and the operation, which has taken up a good half-hour, and which has been conducted throughout with a gravity and minute attention worthy of the most august issues, is complete. While the roasting and pounding is going on, a lad appears, charged with a grass-plaited dish, which he throws with a graceful jerk upon the floor. He then produces a bowl of dates, with a cup of melted butter in the midst. At a given signal, all draw up to the dish; and each one picks out a date, dips it into the butter, and eats it. The coffee is then handed round in half-filled cups, about the size of an egg shell. This, of course, is only a meal of ceremony. The meal, *par excellence*, is eaten a little before sunset, and is substantial enough. It consists

of wheat coarsely ground and boiled, butter, gourds, cucumbers, and hard-boiled eggs, all heaped up together upon a large circular copper dish, and served scalding hot, without knife, fork, or spoon.

The travellers, notwithstanding a few drawbacks, spent their time at the Djowf very pleasantly. They were treated without suspicion, and had the run of all the houses in the place. Offers of partnership were made to them, and marriage alliances were not seldom suggested. Indeed, they had to defend themselves "more strenuously than Ulysses against the charms of more than one half-unveiled Calypso." But they were anxious to penetrate to the interior, and as it was necessary to secure the governor's sanction ere they could pass on to Hā'yel, the residence of Telāl, they paid a visit to Hamood. The castle in which he resides is "a large irregular mass of masonry, patched up and added to again and again, till its original rectangular form has almost disappeared." The building is evidently of very ancient date. The huge size and exact squaring of the stones in the lower tiers; and the windows, topped by the Cyclopean arch—two flat stones placed slantways against each other—point to an early age. Two deeply-cut crosses in one of the lateral walls convey more than a hint of the ancient prevalence of Christianity in the district. The governor, "a strong, broad-shouldered, dark-haired, dark-eyed man, clad in the long, white shirt of the country, and over it a handsome black cloak, embroidered with crimson silk, on his august head a silken handkerchief, girt by a white band of finely-woven camel's hair, and in his fingers a grass fan," received them with much courtesy, and offered them lodgings in the castle. The interview thus gained led to frequent and most friendly intercourse between Hamood and the travellers, and was of great value to them. During one of their visits to the castle they had an opportunity of witnessing the administration of justice in an Arab court. A Bedouin

"Was pleading his cause before Hamood, and accusing some one of having forcibly taken away his camel. The governor was seated, with an air of intense gravity, in his corner, half leaning on a cushion, while the Bedouin, cross-legged on the ground before him, and within six feet of his person, flourished in his hand a large reaping-hook, identically that which is here used for cutting grass. Energetically gesticulating with this graceful implement, he thus challenged his judge's attention :—'You, Hamood, do you hear?' (stretching out at the same time the hook towards the governor so as almost to reach his body, as though he meant to rip him open,) 'he has taken from me my

camel: have you called God to mind?' (again putting his weapon close to the unflinching magistrate;) 'the camel is mine, do you hear?' (with another reminder from the reaping-hook,) 'he is mine, by God's award and yours too; do you hear, child?' and so on, while Hamood sat without moving a muscle of face or limb, imperturbable and impassible, till some one of the counsellors quieted the plaintiff with, 'Remember God, child; it is of no consequence, you shall not be wronged.' Then the judge called on the witnesses, men of the Djowf, to say their say, and on their confirmation of the Bedouin's statement, gave orders to two of his satellites to search for, and bring before him, the accused party, while he added to the Ma'azee, 'All right, daddy, you shall have your own; put your confidence in God;' and composedly motioned him back to his place."

A party of Sherarat Arab chieftains, *en route* to Djebel Shomer, where they purposed to secure the good-will of Telāl, by tendering their allegiance in his capital, happened to arrive at the Djowf, just when our travellers were seeking the means of leaving it. They at once resolved to join the Bedouins. Furnished with "letters commendatory" from the governor, and with two camels "whose price, including all the services of their master as guide and companion for ten days of July travelling," amounted to but eighteen or nineteen shillings, they set out on the 18th of July, at sunset, for a march through the burning sand-passes of the Nefood. The journey was, if possible, more dreary and monotonous than that from Ma'ān to the Djowf. Nor were matters mended by the threatening aspect of the Bedouin escort, who, as it afterwards came out, had seriously proposed to pillage the travellers, and leave them, without camels and water, to perish in the desert. The scheme broke down only through the refusal of some of the company to join in it. After many days of almost suffocating heat, and with nothing on which to rest the eye but a measureless sweep of sand, stretching under torrents of light like a sea of fire, they reached "the verge of a large plain, many miles in length and breadth, and girt on every side by a high mountain rampart, while right in front . . . at scarce a quarter of an hour's march, lay the town of Hā'yel, surrounded by fortifications of about twenty feet in height, with bastion towers, some round, some square, and large folding gates at intervals." Crossing the plain, they made for the town-gate, and passed up to the open space in front of the palace, where, making their camels kneel alongside some forty or fifty others, they alighted, and took their place on a stone bench. Their arrival created some little stir among the crowd of loiterers, made up of citizens who

had come to enjoy the evening air, mechanics, a few ragged Bedouins, and subordinate officers of the palace.

In course of time they were accosted by Seyf, the court chamberlain, whose special duty is the reception and presentation of strangers. Greeting them with a decorous "Peace be with you, brothers," he proceeded to ask their business. They represented themselves as physicians from Syria. "And what do you desire here in our town? May God grant you success!" Schooled in the strict formulas of the country, they answered, "We desire the favour of God most High, and secondly that of Telāl." Things were going on very sweetly to this kind of tune, when a most untimely incident threatened a fatal termination. Everything depended upon their maintaining the strictest incognito. The barest suspicion of Mr. Palgrave's European birth would have destroyed all chance of further progress or intercourse. Just as the chamberlain was pronouncing his welcome, Mr. Palgrave's eye rested upon the face of an old associate in Damascus, who, coming forward with all the confidence of a prolonged friendship, saluted him, and enquired what wind had blown him thither. In utter dismay, Mr. Palgrave could do nothing but fix upon him a cold, vacant stare, indicative of astonishment; when, to complete his confusion, a second friend, of sinister features, claimed acquaintance, and said, "I too have seen him at Damascus." Here was a dilemma! The fate of the travellers seemed to be sealed; when a third, with yet more enthusiasm and confidence than the other two, exclaimed, "And I also knew him perfectly well; I have often met him at Cairo, where he lives in great wealth in a large house, near the Kaisr-el-'Eynee; his name is Abd-es-Saleb, he is married, and has a very beautiful daughter who rides an expensive horse, &c. &c." This witness was discomfited at once by a flat denial; the second, of whom Mr. Palgrave had no recollection, was repudiated; and when the hapless traveller was driven to despair as to the answer he should give the first, the chamberlain cut the knot by sharply rebuking the astounded Damascene, and leading the travellers into the palace.

Telāl, the monarch of Shomer, to whom the travellers were then introduced, is a man of short stature, "broad-shouldered and strongly built, of a very dusky complexion, with long black hair, dark and piercing eyes, and a countenance rather severe than open." He has an eagle eye, unresting and brilliant. Affable, courageous, not over strict in religious matters, of severe but not sanguinary temperament, he is the

type of an Arab prince. He succeeded his father in 1845. His first care was to improve and adorn the capital. He built a palace, a mosque, several warehouses, a market place, and a line of forts. With true catholicity he invited Jews and Christians to reside at Hā'yel. Pleasing as these innovations were to his own people, they were most distasteful to the Wahhābee faction. Rumours were published very industriously respecting his general laxity—that he smoked, that he wore silk, that he was seldom at the mosque, that he was too merciful to criminals. By a wise policy of conciliation, he managed to negative the effect of these rumours. He enjoined public prayer, prohibited the public sale of tobacco, commanded that cotton should be mixed with silk, and even married the daughter of Feysul, the Wahhābee king. By a large hospitality and a liberal policy, he soon became, and is yet, the most popular sovereign in Arabia. His interview with the travellers was in every way satisfactory. He was persuaded that they were Syrians, but had a suspicion that, under the guise of physicians, they had come to buy horses. He, however, ordered a home to be provided for them at his cost. To this dwelling they at once removed their effects, and on the following morning "opened shop." "I," says Mr. Palgrave, "sat in cross-legged state, with a pair of scales before me, a brass mortar, a glass ditto, and fifty or sixty boxes of drugs, with a small flanking line of bottles." A few Arabic books on medical science, somewhat ostentatiously displayed, a few English works on the same subject, hidden from public view, a flowered dressing-gown, &c., completed the equipment of the self-styled physician.

They had not long to wait for patients. The reception room was soon crowded. The two sons of Telāl, Abd-el-Mashin, his favourite courtier, the chief justice, and other noblemen of note flocked to consult the Syrian sage; and as the cases admitted of very simple and successful treatment, the renown of their medical adviser was spread far and wide. Twenty days thus passed away; and the travellers meanwhile gathered all the information they sought, by personal observation and unrestrained intercourse with the people. It was time, therefore, to prepare for the journey to Riad, the capital of the Wahhābee territory, and the very goal of the whole enterprise. No such journey could be prosecuted with any hope of success, without Telāl's cognizance and good-will. Unless furnished with a passport, bearing the royal signature, any attempt to reach Riad would have been the act of a madman. But it was by no means

certain that Telāl would grant such a passport, especially as he evidently regarded the travellers with a vague suspicion, which, at any moment, might take a sinister turn. After much discussion they resolved to seek a private interview with the king, and tell him their whole secret. This confidence they felt to be not only due to the frankness with which he had treated them, but essential to their own chances of success. They, therefore, opened their minds to Zamil, the king's treasurer, who, after due deliberation, put the matter before his royal master. A private interview with Telāl was thus secured, the travellers gave him a full account of themselves and the object of their journey, the king listened with the profoundest attention, and promised a second audience, in which he would give a definite answer. The arrival of Telāl's uncle, 'Obeyd, a fanatical Wahhābee, who from the first regarded the travellers with distrust, rendered matters somewhat critical. Telāl, however, managed to get rid of his uncle, by sending him on a military expedition against the Bedouins. He left a letter behind him, which Mr. Palgrave and his companion were requested to deliver, on their arrival at Riad, to 'Abd-allah, the eldest son of the king. They took the liberty to open this letter, and found, as they expected, that it would have led to their immediate assassination, had it been delivered.

After some delay they obtained their passport. Before evening of the same day, three men who had been appointed to act as guides knocked at their door. Many of their newly-made friends came to bid them farewell, among whom were the treasurer, and 'Abd-el-Mahsin. The former gave them much good counsel, and entreated them to send word of their personal safety to his royal master and himself, on their arrival at Riad, "under covert phrases" so worded as to seem to have medical import. At sunrise on the next morning they passed through the portals of Hā'yel, and were again on the road. In many respects the new route was most promising. There was no more desert to traverse, for the district of upper Kaseem is an elevated plateau, crossing the northern half of the peninsula diagonally, and exhibiting everywhere a singular fertility. The cool season had now set in, lines of villages lay in the route, there was a plentiful supply of water, and generally a very refreshing breeze. Indeed, the Nejed breeze, sweeping over this plateau, scented with aromatic plants, is famous in Eastern poetry. The retinue was no longer made up of Bedouins, but of the inhabitants of towns, who, though a somewhat motley crew, were in the main civilized and

respectable. The whole district is very fruitful. The staple cultivation is that of the date-palm; but corn, millet, vetches, maize, and melons grow in tolerable abundance. The cotton plant, too, is successfully cultivated, but in quantities too scanty for exportation. There is no coffee grown. The poisonous thorn-apple is not uncommon. A very curious narcotic plant is plentiful. "Its seeds, in which the deleterious principle seems chiefly to reside, when pounded, and administered in a small dose, produce effects much like those ascribed to Sir Humphrey Davy's laughing gas; the patient dances, sings, and performs a thousand extravagances; till after an hour of great excitement to himself, and amusement to the bystanders, he falls asleep, and on awaking has lost all memory of what he did or said while under the influence of the drug."

The first station on the route was Bereydah, where the travellers fell in with the great caravan of Persian pilgrims on their return from Medinah. A vexatious delay in this town was brought about, partly by the selfish intrigues of the governor,—as thorough a rascal as ever lived,—and partly by the unwillingness of the people to act as guides to men whose mission was at least suspicious. But happily they fell in with a native of Aleppo, Aboo 'Eysa by name, who held the appointment of guide in the annual transport of Persian pilgrims across the Nejed. He was altogether the prince of guides; honest, courteous, generous, and most Catholic in his religious principles. He had no antipathies, national or religious. A master in the art of conciliation, he was the friend at once of the laxest Shiy'aee, or Mahometan heretic, and the most punctilious Wahhābee. His morals were as untarnished as his honour, his word was above suspicion, and his conversation was never tainted by the license which even the highest Arab society tolerates. To add to the list of his excellences, he was a most hospitable fellow: "His coffee was always on the fire, his tobacco pouch invariably open, his supper at the mercy of every neighbour." Such a man was a prize indeed, especially as he expressed a willingness to guide the travellers to Riad, where his company would lift them above suspicion. The bargain was soon made: and after a few weeks the expedition started, consisting of our travellers, a Persian envoy and his servants, a few pilgrims from Mecca, and the necessary attendants.

This is the place for a brief digression on the great Islam reformation under Mohammed ebn-'Abd-el-Wahhab. This personage was born somewhat before the middle of the last

century, and began life as a travelling merchant. Led by business to Damascus, he fell in with some learned, but very bigoted, sheykhs; whose conversation and instruction "aided him to combine, once for all, and to render precise, notions that he had long before, it seems, entertained in a floating and unsystematized condition." A mind of strong analytic and deductive power, associated with great energy and boldness of will, fitted him remarkably for the endeavour "to appreciate accurately and distinctly the innermost thought and purpose of the first founder" of Islamism; no easy task, considering the period that had elapsed since the death of Mahomet, and the complicated strata laid over the original system by commentators and factions. Difficult as the task was, he succeeded; and not only discovered among the ruins of Islam its neglected keystone, but "dared to form the project to replace it," and by means of it, to reconstruct the broken pile. "This keystone, this master thought, this parent idea, of which all the rest is but the necessary and inevitable deduction, is contained in the phrase, far oftener repeated than understood, *La Ilâh illa Allâh*, 'There is no god but God.'" However literally these words may translate the Arabic formula, they are quite inadequate to the representation of the primary idea. They "not only deny, absolutely and unreservedly, all plurality, whether of nature or of person, in the Supreme Being . . . but besides this, the words, in Arabic, and among Arabs, imply that this one Supreme Being is also the only Agent, the only Force, the only Act, existing throughout the universe." Pure, unconditional, inevitable passiveness, is the characteristic of all other being. Nor is this "tremendous Autocrat" above the influence of passions and inclinations. He is jealous of His creatures, lest they should arrogate to themselves the power and glory that are His. It is, therefore, His delight to punish, rather than reward; so that all His creatures may feel that they are nothing but slaves and tools. His inflexible will is not modified by the virtues and obedience of those whom He has made. A Mahometan tradition clearly teaches this. Its purport is that when God "resolved to create the human race, He took into His hands a mass of earth . . . and having divided the clod into two equal portions, He threw the one half into hell, saying, 'These to eternal fire, and I care not;' and projected the other half into heaven, adding, 'and these to Paradise, and I care not.'"

Such were undoubtedly the tenets of Mahomet; and the theoretical conclusion which the son of 'Abd-el-Wahhab drew

from all this was, naturally enough, that "later doctrines and schools, introducing now free-will, now merit, now hierarchical institutions, and mutual dependence of man on man, now devising intercession and mediation, living or dead, selecting holy places, honouring saints and tombs, framing ascetic brotherhoods and Darweesh associations;" were "innovations, corruptions, and distortions of the great and simple vision of one solitary autocrat, over one even mass of undistinguished and undistinguishable slaves." Impelled by these reasonings, the son of 'Abd-el-Wahhāb resolved to consecrate the remainder of his life "to the restoration of this primeval image of Islam." Full of this project, he returned to his native land, after an absence of six years. Almost every trace of the true Islam had vanished. The worship of the Djann, the invocation of the dead, the offering of sacrifice at their tombs, had usurped the place of the ritual of Mahomet. The Coran was never read, and the mosque was empty. Quietly he set to work, to gain by his personal character and reputation for learning that esteem which, in Arabia especially, it is sure to command. At length the time came for unfolding his mission. "One evening, while he was sitting on his house-roof, overlooking the market-place, a townsman, who had lost a camel, passed by beneath, invoking, with a loud voice, the local patron or demi-god, Sa'ad, to restore him his stray beast. 'And why do you not rather call on the God of Sa'ad?' exclaimed the Wahhābee, in a voice, audible, not only by the individual below, but by all comers and goers in the market and street." Language so unusual led to enquiry, enquiry to controversy, and ere long the new teacher had gained many disciples. The sword came to the help of the teacher, and soon the whole of inner Arabia submitted to Wahhābee rule.

Riad, the capital of the Wahhābee realm, is a large and strongly fortified city, lying in the centre of an immense plain, in which "a sea of palm trees" waves above green fields and well-watered grounds. The landscape is almost unrivalled for beauty, fertility, and breadth. Entering the north-eastern gate of the town, which was flanked with thick square towers, and answering the challenge of the guard, the travellers passed into "the lion's den," not without some qualms. On arriving in front of the palace of Feysul, they were met by 'Abd-el-'Azeez, the minister for foreign affairs, who, after the usual preliminaries, invited them into the palace to partake of the hospitality of the king. Following his guidance, and passing through a perfect labyrinth of corridors, they reached the guest room, in the wall of

which there is said to be a closet in which Feysul ensconces himself, in order that he may overhear what escapes his unsuspecting guests in moments of convivial freedom. Here they were regaled with mutton, rice, and dates. But, notwithstanding this show of hospitality, the arrival of the strangers was most unwelcome to the king. He knew that the Persian envoy had the justest grounds for the complaints which he had come to make respecting the extortionate conduct of some of Feysul's governors—and he felt assured that the so-called Syrian doctors were spies, or at least magicians, of whom he had the utmost terror. Besides, an ancestor of his had been assassinated in that very palace by the dagger of a Persian. The old man, who is stone blind, and incredibly superstitious, went nearly mad in a paroxysm of disgust and fear. A council was called, and it was concluded that "his most sacred majesty should, without delay, escape from the capital, and from the ill-omened vicinity of so many infidels and sorcerers, spies and assassins, and conceal his royal person in some secure retreat." Accordingly, he left the palace, as secretly as possible, and buried himself in the recesses of a secluded garden, where, surrounded by guards, by an almost impenetrable foliage, and by the sacred influences of orthodoxy, the old man found some hope of escaping the pollutions of polytheism, and the evil eye.

While his majesty was in seclusion, the great engine of Wahhābee government, the spy system, was put in play. Scarcely had the travellers unpacked their baggage in the dwelling allotted to them, than a modest tap at the door ushered in 'Abd-el-Hameed, one of the palace favourites; who, under the pretext of a medical consultation, sought to betray the travellers into confidence. He had but just left, when a more dangerous visitor arrived, a "Meddey'yee," or, as Mr. Palgrave renders the word,—its derivation involving the idea of zeal,—"Zelator," one of the secret council of the Riad government. The existence of this order of men dates from the year 1855, when the cholera fell on the Nejed like a thunderbolt, and depopulated the district. Riad alone lost one-third of its inhabitants, many members of royal and aristocratic families falling victims to the plague. Instead of connecting this visitation with ill-ventilated and ill-drained dwellings, the superstitious king assigned it to another cause. For some years a lax observance of the strict sectarian peculiarities of Wahhābeeism had been gaining ground. Tobacco had been smoked, silk had been admitted into costume, and other abominations had been tolerated. To this laxity the

cholera was at once attributed; a council was called, and twenty-two men were selected from the most exemplary inhabitants of Riad. They were entitled "Meddey'yeeyah," that is, "Zelators," and absolute power was conferred upon them for the discovery and extirpation of everything contrary to Wahhābee doctrine and practice. They were invested, too, with the right of inflicting summary punishment, in the shape either of fines or blows, there being no appeal against their judgment. The list of offences of which they were to take cognizance was imposing indeed: smoking, chewing tobacco, snuff-taking, wearing silk or gold, neglecting any of the five daily services, talking or burning a light after evening prayers, singing or playing on any musical instrument, children's games, swearing by any other name than that of God, or, in short, doing anything which might afford suspicion of irregular conduct. Of course the Zelators themselves are about the choicest hypocrites and the most sanctimonious rascals in the world.

The Zelator in question fared no better in the work of espionage than his predecessor. He found the travellers as well versed in the Coran as himself; and after a long interview, left with a very favourable impression of their orthodoxy. This brightened their chances a little; but the next day, a message came from the king that he did not consider Riad a likely sphere for medical skill, and that in consequence he would prefer their continuing their journey to Hofhoof. A camel, a new suit of clothes, and a sum of money would be furnished to each of them out of the royal purse. Nothing could have been more awkward. To be sent out of the city, for a residence in which they had endured so much, was nothing short of a calamity. Aboo-'Eysa was equal to the emergency. He knew that incorruptibility was not among the natives of the Riad court, and therefore suggested that a bribe might possibly clear the way. That evening two pounds of scented wood were left in the name of the travellers at the doors of two of the most influential ministers. This worked the oracle. Before noon of the next day, permission was given them to remain in the town, and exercise their profession under Feysul's personal patronage, without fear of interference or opposition.

It was evident, however, that their position was likely to be one of difficulty, if not of positive danger. The favour of Feysul and his ministers was but an unsafe tenure. If a few pounds of scented wood could work so sudden a change in the policy of the court, it was clear that very insignificant

events might reverse that policy. Aboo-'Eysa, their guide, was evidently their friend, and upon his action their future fate seemed very much dependent. They, therefore, resolved to give him the same confidence as that which they had given to Telāl. They explained to him who they were, the purpose of their journey, and everything else requisite for him to know in order to afford his help. Their confidence was appreciated; their guide promised to stand by them; and the compact was sealed by a meal, which passed off more cheerfully than any other meal of theirs within the walls of Riad. It was now time to begin business. A more convenient house was taken, at a decorous distance from the palace, and in the quarter where the Zelators had but few residences. Installed in their new dwelling, with the prospect of a month's continuance, they arranged the following division of labour: Aboo-'Eysa was to undertake their "foreign relations," to keep the court in good humour, and give them everywhere a first-rate medical reputation; Barakat was to do the household work; and Mr. Palgrave, of course, was to act as Æsculapius. Their first patient was Djowhar, the king's treasurer, a tall and handsome negro, whose disorder Mr. Palgrave was fortunate enough to cure in a few days. This was a feather in his cap, and brought many more patients, among whom was 'Abd-el-Kereem, a powerful member of the Wahhābee family, and himself of the straitest and bitterest order of that sect. The intercourse between the physician and his patient led to an unreserved confidence on the part of the latter, which was of the utmost value to Mr. Palgrave in collecting information respecting the less intelligible tenets of Islam. Among other questions which were discussed was that of the "bipartition of sins," a question on which there is considerable difference among Mahometans. The Wahhābee affirmed that "the first of the great sins is the giving divine honours to a creature." What, then, might the second be? "Smoking tobacco" was the unhesitating answer. To the inquiry of Mr. Palgrave as to the place in the catalogue assigned to murder, adultery, and false witness, the reply was, "God is merciful and forgiving," clearly indicating that in the Wahhābee creed these are but lesser sins. Indeed, 'Abd-el-Kereem seriously asserted that polytheism and smoking were the only two great sins. When pressed to give a reason for the alleged enormity of the crime of smoking, he replied that it was intoxicating, and it was unlawful to use food which had been burnt or singed by fire. The true reason probably lies in that passion for sectarian dis-

crepancy which lay at the root of so many of Mahomet's injunctions.

This Wahhābee patient was more ready to give holy advice to his physician than to pay his fee. It was Mr. Palgrave's practice to agree upon the fee before treating the case, and to seem particularly anxious for payment. Any indifference on this point would have awakened suspicion. Broad hints were, therefore, given to 'Abd-el-Kereem, but with no results. The thing became the town's talk, and the popular merriment was considerably tickled when the careful Wahhābee delivered a discourse in the mosque, the theme of which was the dependence of all things on God. The divine will, he contended, was the only effective cause of health or sickness; and, in consequence, no physician had any right to recompense either in the shape of money or thanks. The day after the delivery of his discourse, he appeared at Mr. Palgrave's reception room. After the usual courtesies, and in the presence of a number of guests, Mr. Palgrave said: "There can be no doubt that health and recovery come from God alone, and small thanks to the doctor. In the same manner, neither more or less, I expect that God will give me so much by your passive instrumentality, and when I have got it, small thanks to you also." The shabby fellow was quite shamed, sent the money the same evening,—it was but eleven shillings,—and came again no more.

The whole central plateau of Arabia is one of the healthiest regions of the world. It affords, therefore, few varieties of disease, as compared with other countries. Gout, cancer, hysteria, measles, typhus, and typhoid fever are quite unknown. Cholera and small-pox, as might be expected, are fearfully prevalent and fatal. Rheumatism, with all its kin, and bronchial affections of all kinds, are common. Cases of abdominal phthisis, dropsy, dyspepsia, chronic gastritis, apoplexy, and paralysis are not rare. Cutaneous disorders of the worst species, and ophthalmia, are a terrible scourge. One man in every five has his eyes more or less damaged by the latter disease. Amaurosis, cataract, and "that peculiar and capricious-seeming species of blindness which supervenes from sunset to sunrise only," are not seldom met with. Pure pulmonary phthisis is scarcely known. The medical practice in Arabia is necessarily crude, and generally barbarous. Anatomical investigation is impossible, and hence the knowledge of the sources of disease is but superficial. A few drugs are used,—especially in the form of tonics. But the grand panacea is cauterizing. For heart disease the

breast of the patient is seared all over with hot irons. Rheumatism is similarly treated; and Mr. Palgrave knew a poor girl, who was suffering from pericarditis, whom they tortured by branding her on the abdomen at the hands of a farrier!

During their stay at Riad, the travellers had no reason to lament the unprofitableness of their profession. Patients flocked in from all sides. The king did not honour them with a consultation; and knowing his temperament, they avoided all unnecessary intercourse with him. But 'Abd-Allah, the king's son, was not at all disposed to let them remain long without the favour of his personal acquaintance, though they studiously avoided him. He sent for them, over and over again, and extended to them a large share of his confidence, while, in return, he sought information on matters of medical science. The favour of 'Abd-Allah secured for Mr. Palgrave an introduction to the royal stables —a priceless privilege—for the Nedjean horse is the "primal type" of the Arab steed, and he who sees the steed of Feysul "sees the most consummate specimens of equine perfection in Arabia, perhaps in the world." The pure Arabians which find their way to the English market are myths. Only in Nejed can these horses be procured, and even there never by purchase. They are acquired either by war, legacy, or gift. When policy requires a present to Egypt, Persia, or Constantinople, the Nedjeans never send mares; but the poorest stallions, which in other countries are looked upon as perfect beauties. Mr. Palgrave draws his picture of the horses in Feysul's stables *con amore*. "Never," says he—

"Had I seen or imagined so lovely a collection. . . . Remarkably full in the haunches, with a shoulder of a slope so elegant, as to make one, in the words of an Arab poet, 'go raving mad about it;' a little, a very little saddle-backed, just the curve which indicates springiness without any weakness; a head broad above, and tapering down to a nose fine enough to verify the phrase of 'drinking from a pint pot,' did pint pots exist in Nejed; a most intelligent, and yet a singularly gentle look; full eye; sharp, thorn-like little ear; legs, fore and hind, that seemed as if made of hammered iron, so clean, and yet so well twisted with sinew; a neat, round hoof, just the requisite for hard ground; the tail set on, or rather thrown out, at a perfect arch; coats smooth, shining, and light; the mane long, but not overgrown nor heavy; and an air and step that seemed to say, 'Look at me, am I not pretty?' Their appearance justified all reputation, all value, all poetry."

The friendship of 'Abd-Allah turned out in the end a misfortune. He had a brother, by name Sa'ood, a very distinguished

soldier, and a great favourite with the people. But he was no favourite with 'Abd-Allah, who had special political, and domestic reasons for hating him. Sa'ood arrived at Riad from some military expedition, during the stay of the travellers,—and 'Abd-Allah, encouraged by the presence of the doctors, conceived the idea of poisoning him. Mr. Palgrave had recently used strychnine in a medical case, and had explained its power to 'Abd-Allah. He made every effort to secure some of this poisonous drug. First he tried to persuade the travellers to settle at Riad. Then he begged Mr. Palgrave to leave some drugs behind him, especially strychnine, which had worked so wonderful a cure. Mr. Palgrave declined all his requests,—and when 'Abd-Allah in anger demanded the strychnine, he answered, "I know well what you want the poison for, and I have no mind to be an accomplice to your crime, nor to answer before God's judgment seat for what you will have to answer for. You shall *never* have it." The baffled prince grew almost black in the face with rage, and turned the conversation. In a short time he sent again for Mr. Palgrave, and had evidently made arrangements to take his life. The boldness of his intended victim, who dared him to do him harm, fairly cured the would-be murderer and his associates, and Mr. Palgrave was permitted to leave the palace unscathed. But hints of this kind were not to be slighted. A storm was brewing. Taking advantage of the bustle in the city occasioned by the departure of the military expedition, the travellers slipped out of Riad, thankful that they had escaped with their lives. The limits of this paper forbid us to follow them in their interesting journey through the more eastern provinces of Arabia to the coasts of 'Omān—a description the less necessary because much of the district of 'Omān at least is familiar to travellers, and open generally to strangers. Nor do the manners of the people of Eastern Arabia differ so materially from those of the inhabitants of the central districts, as to warrant any lengthened notice.

It was not Mr. Palgrave's design, in writing the record of his travels, to combine scientific observation with details of personal adventure. Scientific investigation was next to impossible. Any use of scientific instruments, any sketching or note-taking, and, indeed, any particular enquiry not bearing upon his immediate profession, would have been fatal to his success. He was bound, in order to avoid suspicion, to act throughout as a travelling physician, anxious to make money. The few notes which he was able to write in privacy

were lost by shipwreck. And it is wonderful that, with these drawbacks he has been able to produce so full and instructive a record of his travels. Nor, if scientific research had been practicable, would it have proved fruitful, for the whole district is barren in objects of interest to the student. The scantiness of the flora and fauna is not redeemed by any special variety in the strata. But as a sketch of the people of the land, as a picture of the habits and manners of an almost unknown race, the work is beyond praise. Happy would it be if Mr. Palgrave's noble aspirations could be in any way realized, and if such a current of civilization could be turned into the stagnant waters of Arab life as to vitalize and purify them. There are elements of greatness in the character of the Arabians. They are not a dwarfed and incapable people. Nor are there many indications of that dissolution to which isolated tribes generally tend. Yet we cannot indulge any radiant hope as to the future of Arabia. There is not enterprise enough among the people to encourage commercial relations with other lands; and if there were, the almost impassable desert would offer a fatal obstacle to mercantile success. The stereotyped prejudices of all classes seem to render political interference impracticable. They might be conquered, but they cannot be changed. Even Mahometanism has failed to assimilate the Arab. Whatever religion there is in Arabia is fanatical, and outside that there is indifference. Fanaticism might be grappled with, and disarmed; but indifference would proye more impracticable. For it is ever easier to deal with a faith, however crude and superstitious, than to work upon a people without any religion at all. The only course open even to Christian philanthropy seems to be that of waiting for the indications of His will. Who long ago designated the sons of Ishmael to a national isolation, which centuries of change among them have not modified, but which we know will not prove in the end a barrier to their share in the grace of redemption.

ART. VI.—1. *Deaconesses; or, the Official Help of Women in Parochial Work, and in Charitable Institutions.* By the Rev. J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool; Joint Author of "The Life and Epistles of St. Paul;" and Hulsean Lecturer in the University of Cambridge. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

2. *Women's Work in the Church; Historical Notes on Deaconesses and Sisterhoods.* By JOHN MALCOLM LUDLOW. London: Alexander Strahan. 1865.

3. *Haste to the Rescue; or, Work while it is Day.* By Mr. CHARLES WIGHTMAN. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1862.

4. *Annals of the Rescued.* By the Author of "Haste to the Rescue." London: Nisbet. 1860.

5. *The Missing Link.* By L. N. R. Monthly. London: The Book Society.

6. *An Account of the Sisterhoods in the Church of England.* By MARGARET GOODMAN. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.

7. *Ragged Homes, and How to Mend Them.* By Mrs. BAYLY. Eleventh Thousand. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1860.

DURING the last few years, the renovated and variously developed religious life of England and the Continent has called for more numerous religious agencies; and the thoughts of good men on both sides of the Channel have been directed to the long-neglected instrumentality of women. The idea of their professional employment for religious purposes has been for centuries strange or obnoxious to the English people: for the only form in which they have seen it, is the monastic; and to hate the notion of a nunnery is, with Englishmen, a strong and healthy tradition. Nor did the establishment of the Devonport Sisterhood, in which the dress, the habits, and the nomenclature of Romanism were aped by ladies professedly Protestant, tend to lessen the dislike. The noble work of Miss Marsh among the navvies at Beckenham first roused Englishmen to a sense of the value of the agency which had hitherto been so sparingly used. It proved that a great religious work can be attempted and accomplished by a godly English lady, without being mixed with pseudo-Romanism. Miss Marsh's work

was indeed purely voluntary; but it was pursued with all the regularity and efficiency of a professional engagement. Soon afterwards (in 1848) attention was drawn to the Protestant Deaconesses' Institutions established in France and Germany, by an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, from the pen of Mr. J. M. Ludlow, which he has reprinted as an appendix to his work quoted at the head of this article. But public opinion was as yet unprepared to give proper consideration to the subject, and though it created considerable interest amongst clergymen, little was done towards popularizing the idea of a female diaconate.

The events of the Crimean war, however, afforded a grand field for the display of certain excellencies in the sisterhoods, and won for them a wide-spread favour. And soon afterwards, the Bible mission, with its ladies' superintendents, exhibited to England the spectacle of professional female employment in religious work, free from any taint of monasticism. Thus, the bias of public opinion veered gradually round in the direction of a female diaconate in some form: till the article of Dr. Howson in the *Quarterly Review* for 1862, excited so general an interest, as to call for its republication in the form in which it comes before us for consideration. On all sides movements in favour of the professional employment of women by the churches are observable. In some quarters they are taking a strictly ecclesiastical form: in others they are conducted with all simplicity, by agents casually secured, and employed, in many cases, by private liberality. But in whatever varying form it meets us, the question has arrived at such a stage as to require that it should be carefully examined by the various churches. If the thing be good, no church can afford to do without it: nor, though it be good, can any one of them afford to carry it on with doubtful or dangerous adjuncts. Most Christian instrumentalities are good or bad, not so much essentially, as according to the spirit and mode in which they operate. And since this movement is becoming a power either good or evil, it is the duty of all churches to see that the spirit of its operation be right and Christian, and the mode of its operation the best possible.

None can doubt the power possessed by women for effecting religious good. A godly woman, as a rule, has not less power than a godly man: for though there is a small class of men who can be influenced only by mental power, the great majority are obedient chiefly to impulses of the heart. A woman's community in the experiences of her sex secures for her

a readier sympathy on the part of women, at the same time that her very presence appeals to whatever chivalry is left in the rudest man. There are some companies into which a Christian man, even of the most saintly character, cannot enter safely: while a woman may descend even into the lowest abysses of female degradation, and her reputation emerge only the more brightly pure. The surly sceptic who could, without compunction, repulse the kind advices of the most venerable minister, could scarcely find it in his heart to greet a woman with gruff incivility. And even the hardened *roué* who would blaspheme in the ears of any man who should strive to show him his error, will drop a tear upon the hand which a Christian lady has placed upon his arm, as she asks him to lead a better life. For any Christian work, out of the pulpit, and out of the church court, the woman is at least the rival of the man.

Still more is this true of those labours in which charity is the handmaid of religion. How closely social and religious science are interwoven, religious people too seldom think. The mission of charity will gain access to a man's heart and home, when a professedly religious object would surely bar the door against the applicant. Hence arises the notorious fact, that the doctor and the sister of mercy have welcome entrance into streets and homes where no one else, not even a policeman *alone*, dare show his face. Often in the hour of sickness, or in the season of trouble, advices are received, which at any other times would be spurned: especially if those advices be offered by one whose hand is smoothing the pillow while she speaks of religion; whose sympathy is practically accorded to the trouble, while her warning is uttered against the sin. Thus, a woman, whose hand is softer than man's for the work of charity, and whose heart is warmer in sympathy with sorrow, is in many circles more powerful for good than he.

"So we might pursue the subject through a multitude of details. Let it be remembered that during a large portion of the day, the poor cottage is a woman's house and a children's house. The cooking of the dinner, the cleaning of the floor, the turning of an invalid in bed, the feeding of the baby, may be, to a religious woman, the introduction and opportunity to the highest spiritual service, when the clumsy, good intentions of men, would be the cause only of irritation and sullen reserve. We have spoken of helping work. Who is so near to the strong man in his hour of sickness and despondency as the woman who nurses him? Who can ever have such means of reaching his heart with the encouragements and gentle admonitions of the Gospel? And then there is the Penitentiary question (to recur again to the subject

from which we instinctively shrink) with all its poisonous and insidious ramifications. Here, particularly, women are all-powerful. We rejoice to see that 'female missionaries' are now employed to reclaim those who cannot easily tell their griefs, or describe their temptations, except to one of their own sex. And especially is such agency required 'to take oversight of those who leave penitentiaries to go to their homes or into service. 'They often fall again,' as is remarked by one of much experience, 'through want of kind guardianship, and continuance of the religious influences they have enjoyed in the asylums.'" *

But to take the lowest ground. Whatever may be the religious power of women comparatively, none can question its absolute value. And consequently, if women could be systematically employed to assist men in Christian work, the church would be by so much the gainer. In an age when the vastness of the needed work is ever far beyond the ability of the workers, it is well that any supplementary agency should be enlisted, the employment of which would tend to redress the balance between the work and the instrumentality for its accomplishment. Most especially would this agency be valuable in Nonconformist churches. It may be possible for the rector of an Established church, aided by his little army of curates, to visit every family in the parish, and to hold cottage services at all convenient and desirable points within its boundaries; but for the Nonconformist pastor this is simply impossible. In almost every case, he has to work single-handed. The preaching of the sermon is of great importance in his service; and his work in the amassing of materials, and the shaping them for use on two occasions every Sunday, is exceedingly toilsome and trying. And after all, the old supremacy of the pulpit must not be lowered. Other influences are needed to gather a congregation; nothing but good preaching can retain and feed it. We believe, indeed, that much more might be done in personal missionary efforts by the Nonconformist clergy than is generally attempted by them; but when their time has been expended with the greatest diligence and the soundest judgment, vast arrears of work will remain which it is impossible for them to overtake. Again the constitution of Nonconformist churches is unfriendly to the curate system in any form. The only assistance, therefore, which the Independent or Methodist minister can obtain in his work of personal aggression on the thoughtless irreligion around him, is that of Christian men and women voluntarily or professionally

* Howson, pp. 27, 28.

employed. But we are reluctantly forced to believe that the experiment of voluntary work on a large and systematic scale, is not likely, in the present state of society, to succeed. The time of men is more and more occupied by the intense pressure of business. The time of those women, who have much leisure, is increasingly broken up by frequent absences from home, and by the rigorous demands of society, multiplying every year, as the habits of fashionable life are brought to the lower grades of the social pyramid. District visiting, except in some very rare instances, is a failure. But even if voluntary agency were far more largely and systematically employed than at present, there would still be a necessity for the professional assistance. It is necessary that the church should have some agents besides the minister, whose time and efforts are public property, who may be called at any moment to the bedside of the dying, or to the house visited by disease and distress. In many cases a subordinate agent would do quite as efficiently the work for which the minister is called from his special duties and studies; and, at any rate, such an agency can accomplish a vast amount of work, which in its absence cannot even be attempted. This agency, then, should be as efficient as possible, and as cheap as is consistent with efficiency, The first of these propositions is self-evident; and rightly understood, the second, must equally command concurrence. For efficiency in the subordinate work of the church a female agency is, on the whole, equal to that of men. The man can, indeed, deliver sermons; but we very much doubt whether the cottage preaching of an average town missionary is as efficient as the reading of a passage of Scripture, together with some simple remarks upon it, by a Bible-woman, or some other competent Christian female. Then, in the ministry of love, in the deftness and care with which those small services can be rendered to the sick and needy, by means of which access to their hearts is often most easily gained, the woman is greatly superior to the man. So that we question whether, in general influence upon an irreligious population, an earnest, godly woman, is not fully the equal of such a man as is generally a candidate for the position of town missionary; and certainly, if she be a lady, her influence is vastly greater than his. And the cost of a female agent is less than one-half that of a male.

We have nothing to do in this article with the general question of female employment; though we cannot help remarking (*par parenthèse*), that if female agency in the church were but recognized and regulated, a most happy and

useful employment would be found for many Christian women, who are now doomed to the annoyances and drudgery of the school-room, or who are degenerating into crotchety and sour-tempered spinsters, for lack of something to do worth doing.

But if this agency is to be efficient and general, it must sooner or later have some official recognition by the Church. In the earlier stages of the movement, indeed, it will necessarily and properly happen, that the work must be done without any such formal recognition. The experiment must be tried and be proved to be a success before it can be adopted and made part of a church system. But if it do succeed, if it become general, then infallibly such recognition and incorporation must sooner or later take place. Whenever that recognition takes place, it will give a semi-clerical character to the agents in question: and in the meanwhile, the regular and remunerated employment of each agent, will give a professional character to their services. Now it is just at this point, that we are brought face to face with the difficulty of the question. It is here that we are forced to ask ourselves; Is such professional employment of women desirable? Have we any precedents for it in the history of the church? Under what regulations and conditions should it exist? And can it exist in any form without developing those mischievous principles and practices, which are observable in connexion with Romish monasticism? We are inclined to answer all these questions favourably and hopefully.

Very early and venerable precedents can be quoted in favour of the systematic employment of women in church-work. In Rom. xvi. 1, St. Paul writes, "I commend unto you Phebe our sister, which is a servant of the church which is at Cenchrea." The word here translated servant (*διάκονον*) is deacon, and from the manner in which the Apostle speaks of Phebe, and the position which he gives her at the head of those favoured with special salutations, it is plain that she occupied a post of honour and influence. It is probable that the phrase "their wives" (*γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως*) in 1 Tim. iii. 11, should rather be translated, the "deaconesses or women-deacons." It has been generally believed that the widows, of whom St. Paul speaks in his First Epistle to Timothy, were women exercising diaconal functions. Dr. Howson adopts this popular view, and says, "They (the deaconesses) seem to have been divided into two classes, not very precisely distinguished from one another, one class of older women, one of younger." "The terms widowhood and diaconate, however, appear to have been used for the office indifferently,"

(p. 34). Mr. Ludlow elaborately and very plausibly combats this view, asserting that the widows, the virgins, and the deaconesses were distinct classes—that while "widows" and "virgins" might happen to hold the diaconal office, yet those who were technically widows, virgins, or deaconesses, belonged to entirely distinct categories in the church. Into this interesting question we have not space to enter at large. It is sufficient for our present purpose that the existence of recognized female diaconates is plainly implied in the epistles of the New Testament. Further, from the "Apostolical Constitutions" we learn what was the position, and what were the duties of the deaconesses. It is true that these constitutions are not "apostolical," but mere forgeries. Still they are forgeries of a very early age, and so are good evidence of the practices and customs of that primitive period.

From these documents we learn that the deaconess must be a "pure virgin," or otherwise "a widow once married, faithful and worthy." (Bk. vi. c. 17.)

She performed many functions:—

"At service, while the 'door keeper' was to stand and watch at the men's entrance to the church, the deaconess was in like manner to stand (Bk. ii. c. 57) at the women's entrance (a function which, indeed, in a constitution of the eighth and latest book, is ascribed to the sub-deacon), and was, moreover, to act in the same manner as the male deacon with respect to placing females in the congregation, whether poor or rich (Bk. ii. c. 58). She was also to fulfil the duties of a male deacon in those cases where a man-deacon cannot be sent to some houses towards women on account of unbelievers' (Bk. iii. c. 15), '*i.e.* to prevent scandal. Lastly, her most important offices were those relating to the baptizing of women' (Bk. iii. cc. 15, 16), the necessity for which has been obviated in later times by the discontinuance of the practice of baptism by immersion, or the practice of immersion under a form which the early Church would not have recognized as valid. It is even provided that 'no woman shall approach the deacon or the bishop without the deaconess' (Bk. ii. c. 26). And it is said generally in 'a constitution concerning the deacons,' that 'the woman' (an expression strongly recalling 1 Tim. iii. 11, and affording additional ground for construing it as relating to the deaconesses) 'should be zealous to serve women,' whilst 'to both pertain messages, journeys to foreign parts, ministrations, services' (Bk. iii. c. 19). The traditional journey of Phœbe to Rome with St. Paul's Epistle, would be thus strictly within the limits of her functions." *

The words of the fourth Council of Carthage also prove that the deaconesses were catechists of the female converts.

* Ludlow, pp. 15, 16.

Though they could not teach publicly, they could be diligently and unceasingly occupied in the private ministry of the Word, as is proved by Jerome's note on Rom. xvi. 1. To these various duties comprehended in the office of deaconess, the early church was accustomed formally to set apart suitable women; and the Apostolical Constitutions give the form of ordination used on these occasions, the composition of which is ascribed to the Apostle Bartholomew. (Bk. viii. cc. 19, 20.)

"Touching the deaconess, I, Bartholomew, do thus ordain: O Bishop, thou shalt lay on her thy hands in the presence of the presbytery, of the deacons, and of the deaconesses, and thou shalt say:—

"O everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of man and woman, who didst fill with thy Spirit Mary and Deborah, and Hannah and Hulda; who didst not disdain to cause thine only begotten Son to be born of a woman; who didst admit into the tabernacle of the testimony, and into the temple, the women-guardians of thy holy gates; Thyself look down even now upon thy servant now admitted into the diaconate, and give to her thy Holy Spirit, and cleanse her from all pollution of the flesh and spirit, that she may worthily fulfil thy work thus entrusted to her to thy glory, and to the praise of thy Christ, with whom to Thee be glory and worship, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen."

It is plain that an office conferred by so solemn a form of ordination, could not be considered of slight importance in the early Church. It was no hap-hazard employment of a godly woman by some liberal Christian which was thus formally and religiously recognized; and the duties to which the candidates were thus designated, must have been important, and often directly spiritual. Of all this we are the more convinced, when we learn from the biography of St. Chrysostom, that no less than forty deaconesses were employed by the Church in Constantinople; andas ma ny as six by a small branch church in the suburbs. How far they were considered to be in orders it is difficult to say. Dr. Howson's opinion, which is not likely to err on the side of laxity, is that they were set apart by the imposition of hands; and that "in the general view of the Primitive Church, these officers held a semi-ecclesiastical position. They were distinguished by a definite line of demarcation from the clergy; they did not live in any monastic or conventual state; and yet, by reason of having prescribed duties connected with religion," (and also, we may add, in virtue of their having received a certain ordination), "they were, to some extent, separated from the laity."

We gather, then, that in the early church, the church of Paul and John, there were certain godly women, and these not a few, who were set apart for purely religious work; who did that work on system; who had distinct functions committed to them, which even the bishop was not allowed to usurp; and whose office was felt to be so far clerical or ecclesiastical, that, if not in apostolical times, certainly at a very early period, it was thought not improper to dignify and recognize their vocation by a form of ordination. In fact, the deaconess was as regularly and fully an officer of the early church, as was the deacon, the presbyter, or the bishop. Traces of this female diaconate are found in the Western Church to the sixth century, and in the Eastern as far as the twelfth. After that, owing to the general acceptance of a false and fatal principle to which we shall hereafter refer, it disappears, crushed by the advancing influence of the monastic system—the system of nuns and nunneries.

Not that there was no struggle against this influence, no effort still to realise the simpler and purer idea of the female diaconate. Such efforts were made; notably by the Béguines, who flourished about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They were "widows or unmarried girls, who without renouncing the society of men or the business of life, or vowing poverty, perpetual charity, or absolute obedience, yet led, either at their own homes or in common dwellings, a life of prayer, meditation, and labour." Corresponding to these societies of women were associations of young men, called Beghards. How popular this movement became, we may judge from the fact that in the thirteenth century there were 1,000 béguines in the city of Cologne. They maintained themselves by their own labours, in the outset mainly by weaving; and they were exceedingly diligent in charitable enterprizes. The property of the sisters was freely devoted to these purposes, together with the maintenance of the common chapel. Their labours so recommended them to the confidence of the people, that they were freely appealed to for the pacification of family disputes. The béguines wore a uniform dress, which was coarse and without ornament; but otherwise not startlingly different from those in ordinary use. The colour varied in the different béguinages, as it does now amongst the Continental deaconesses; but the veil was invariably white. Originally maidens were admitted at almost any age; but later the age was restricted to forty years, though there was the less reason, one would think, since, though the sisters promised obedience and chastity, in neither particular

was the promise perpetual, for she was at liberty at any time to leave the béguinage or to marry.

"In France and Germany the béguinage usually consisted of a single house, distributed into separate cells, but with a common refectory and dormitory; in Belgium, on the contrary, as we may see still, there were nearly as many small houses as sisters (thus recalling the clustered hermitages of the early monks), the largest and highest buildings being devoted to common purposes, and including particularly the chapel, the hospital, and the infirmary for sick sisters, which was distinct. The mistress had usually a sub-mistress under her; in the larger béguinages, numbering thousands of inmates, there were two or more mistresses.

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"As contrasted with the deaconess, it will be seen the Béguine formed no part of the clergy, received no imposition of hands, took no part in baptism. Her office was merely the general diaconal office of the female sex, but carried on by means of a fellowship, and no longer typified in the individual, yet fulfilled with a singular amount of individual freedom as contrasted with the nun. For if we find many female monastic orders, properly so called, engaged in works of charity, either within or without the convent, it will be by virtue of a rule, of a vow, or at least of a fixed engagement. Now it scarcely appears that under any circumstances the béguine was compelled to go out visiting the sick by the rule of the béguinage. If she did so, it was rather by virtue of a general understanding, that, in order to entitle herself to public countenance, respect, and assistance, she was to show herself really helpful to the needy."*

This is the last vestige of the true woman's work in the church, visible before the advancing tide of Romish monasticism overflowed the whole of Europe.

It is not surprising that the first centuries of Protestantism witnessed no very serious attempt to enlist female agency in religious enterprizes. Those first centuries were to a large extent polemical rather than practical; and on the field of theological warfare, woman has no fitting place. Besides, many of the worst abuses and crimes of Popery had been wrought in the seclusion of the monastery and the convent: wherefore as now in Italy, so then in Germany and Northern Europe, the great hatred of the people burned against the religious orders; and anything like a revival of them was impossible. Still, there were some amongst the reformed churches who remembered what a power the godly women of the early church had been, and were unwilling that the

* Ludlow, pp. 118, 119.

church of modern times should lack that element of success. This feeling existed in some quarters where we should least have expected to discover it. It is curious to find that the church at Amsterdam, from which the Pilgrim Fathers emigrated, counted amongst its officers

"One ancient widow for a deaconess, who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honoured her place, and was an ornament to the congregation; she usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation; she did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch and do them other helps, as their necessity did require; and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the deacons, and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel, and as an officer of Christ." *

Whitgift and Cartwright, opponents in most matters, were agreed in their admiration of the office of the deaconess, and in their wish to see it revived: but no practical effort by either of them is recorded. We read, moreover, of a congregation at Wesel, consisting of Protestant refugees from the Low Countries and elsewhere, one of whose first acts was to decide that women under the title of deaconesses were to be officially employed by the presbytery amongst the poor and sick: but no trace of this institution is to be found after 1610.†

Speaking generally, indeed, we may say, that since the fall of the béguinages ages, no systematic employment of women in religious work has been attempted by the Protestant churches till within the last thirty years.

During that period, however, institutions and associations for promoting the professional employment of Christian women have arisen with great rapidity in France, Germany, and England. They vary greatly in the strictness of their ecclesiastical form, and in the closeness of their bonds of association. For, while the Devonport sisterhood, on the one hand, is a religious order as truly as the Franciscan or Dominican, the Bible Women's Association, on the other hand, has no more of the ecclesiastical order about it than any town mission. Not less than a dozen of these institutions exist on the continent of Europe, and scarcely fewer in this country. We will endeavour to sketch three of these as representatives of the rest.

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* Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, c. 26.

† Fliedner's second pamphlet.

Kaiserwerth claims precedence, both because its origin was earlier than that of any similar institution, and because from it has mainly proceeded the impulse leading to the establishment of the others. It is most truly the "mother house" of this movement.

In 1822, Dr. Fliedner was appointed pastor of the small Protestant congregation at Kaiserwerth. Distress amongst his parishioners compelled him to visit England on a begging expedition. Here he met Mrs. Fry, caught something of her spirit, and, on his return, established an association in Rhenish Prussia for the improvement of prison discipline. His connexion with this society forced on his attention the condition of discharged female prisoners. He felt that these unhappy women needed guardianship and encouragement to aid their reformation. "He began with one of this class, with a single lady to help him, in a small summer-house, with one table, two beds, and two chairs." That was the commencement of the institution of Kaiserwerth. It now includes an asylum, an orphan house, normal schools, a hospital, and an "abend haus," or home to which, as its name implies, deaconesses who have spent their lives in the work of charity and religion may retire to spend the evening of their days. In 1862, "besides the thirty-one sisters attached to the institution on the spot, there were sixty in various parts of Westphalia, forty-eight in other provinces of Prussia, and fourteen in other parts of Germany; and besides these, twenty-seven others, who were distributed far beyond the limits of Germany—at Constantinople, Bucharest, Smyrna, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Pittsburg in Pennsylvania."

Every deaconess is first received as a probationer; the time of the probation is considerable, and the tests are so severe, that Fliedner says one-half of the probationers retire. No vows are required or taken, though obedience to the authorities is always expected. The probationer is consecrated deaconess at a special service in the chapel, in the presence of the whole community, and to what work she is thus consecrated, the formulæ used in the service sufficiently explain. The deaconess is, as her name implies, to be a servant, (1) of the Lord Jesus Christ; (2) of the poor, the sick, and the young, for the sake of the Lord Jesus; (3) of her sister-deaconesses. But for the fuller exposition of the spirit in which these women are expected to live and work, we quote from the "Regulations" the following sentences:—

"1. *The deaconess as servant of the Lord Jesus.* The love of Christ constrains every true Christian henceforth to live no longer to himself,

but to Him who died for him and rose again; hence every deaconess must care for and teach the poor, the sick, and the young, not for the sake of earthly reward, or earthly honour, but out of thankful love to Him who also bore her sicknesses and took her sufferings on Himself. She must strive to do all in the name of Jesus, for his sake, after his example, and in his service.

2. "*The deaconess as servant of the poor, the sick, and the young, for the Lord's sake.* She must cherish towards them in her heart, pity, friendliness, gentleness, and patience, and even such humility as though they were her masters. But she must demean herself as their handmaid, not for their sakes, but for the Lord's sake; not therefore to obtain their praise, but out of love and humility towards the Lord, whose representatives she sees in them. Hence, in 'serving them,' she must never so yield to them as to strengthen their obstinacy, daintiness, ill-temper, envy, or other evil disposition, but must ever keep in view the hope of winning their souls to the Lord.

"3. *Deaconesses as servants one among another.* In living together and working together, they must be after the example of the Lord, who became our servant; and according to his command, servants one among another must do nothing through envy or vain glory, but with mutual humility esteem each the other higher than herself; and look not on her own things, but also on those of the others; so that whoever will be great, yea, the highest among them all, may be the handmaid of all."

At Kaiserwerth titles used by Roman Catholic associations are carefully avoided: there are no "novices" or "superiors." And though Dr. Fliedner thought that economy and utility alike demanded that a uniform dress should be worn, he avoided the black of the Romanist sisters, and adopted a blue gown, with plain white collar and cap.

The two ideas which lie at the basis of the Kaiserwerth system are, that a female diaconate is needed by the church of this age, and that in order to be efficient it must be trained. Further, the first duty of the deaconesses is thought to have reference to the body: but only in order that they thus have the opportunity of benefiting the souls of those to whom they minister. Their work has been wonderfully useful in connection with the various institutions of which they have charge; but still more effective and interesting, at least to Englishmen, their parochial activity.

"The parish or commune deaconess has to visit the poor and the sick at their homes, to procure for them, as far as possible, work and clothing, to work for them at her needle, instruct poor children in sewing and knitting, either singly or in classes where practicable,

giving a regular account of her labours to the clergyman, the diaconate, and the ladies' charitable society, where such exists."

In addition to all this, the services rendered by these devoted women at critical seasons are beyond all praise, and such as could be rendered by none but carefully trained, as well as highly devoted, persons.

"Look for instance at the following picture:—An epidemic nervous fever was raging in two communes of the circle of Duisburg, Gartrop, and Gahlen. Its first and most virulent outbreak took place at Gartrop, a small, poor, secluded village of scarcely 130 souls, without a doctor, without an apothecary in the neighbourhood, while the clergyman was upon the point of leaving for another parish, and his successor had not yet been appointed. Four deaconesses, including the superior, Pastor Fliedner's wife, and a maid, hastened to this scene of wretchedness, and found from twenty to twenty-five fever patients in the most alarming condition—a mother and four children in one hovel, four other patients in another, and so on—all lying on foul straw, or on bed clothes that had not been washed for weeks, almost without food, utterly without help. Many had died already; the healthy had fled; the parish doctor lived four German leagues off, and could not come every day. The first care of the sisters, who would have found no lodging but for the then vacancy of the parsonage, was to introduce cleanliness and ventilation into the narrow cabins of the peasants; they washed and cooked for the sick, they watched every night by turns at their bedsides, and tended them with such success that only four died after their arrival, and the rest were left convalescent after four weeks' stay. The same epidemic having broken out in the neighbouring commune of Gahlen, in two families, of whom eight members lay ill at once, a single deaconess was able, in three weeks, to restore every patient to health, and to prevent the further spread of the disease. What would Dr. Southwood Smith, or Mr. Chadwick, not give for a few dozens of such hard-working, intelligent ministers in the field of sanitary reform?" *

The Devonport Sisterhood is at once the most notorious, and the most effective type of the High Church Sisterhoods. it is chiefly amongst the high church party in England, that the idea of sisterhoods has taken root. High churchism generally appeals to women, or to men with feminine minds. Women are most easily persuaded to self-immolation, most easily entrapped by ecclesiastical finery, and most readily led to those extremes which invite persecution and martyrdom. Nevertheless, the original impulse which led to the establishment of the Devonport Sisterhood, was altogether

* Ludlow, pp. 273, 274.

good and noble. "In 1848," Miss Sellon tells us, "she was in, she had well-nigh written happy, ignorance of the state of the lower classes in large towns, when one evening, accidentally glancing over a newspaper, her eye fell upon a letter of the Bishop of Exeter's, setting forth the spiritual destitution and utterly demoralized condition of the towns of Devonport and Plymouth, and appealing for help. She could not forget the picture, and in about a fortnight's time she was in Devonport, with the one hope that she might be permitted by God to help in alleviating some part of its misery. About four months afterwards she was joined by another lady; and the two soon came to the opinion 'that the work before them could only be effectually done, if at all, by entire devotion to it;' that 'it was not only the children who were neglected, and who had to be gathered into schools, but their parents had to be taught, to be raised step by step, as they would bear it, out of the deep moral degradation and spiritual darkness in which they were living;' that 'nothing less than the great principles of civilization and Christianity had to be taught and worked out amongst them, and that nothing less than this would effectually serve them.'"

Full of these thoughts and purposes (thoughts how true, and purposes how generous!) she returned home to bid her friends farewell, waited upon the Bishop to secure his sanction to her proceedings, and returned to Devonport as "Superior of the Sisterhood of Mercy." She was a woman of strong mind, of deep feeling, and of extraordinary though, as yet, latent ambition. In a little while she and her solitary "sister" were joined by two or three more young women: they removed to a larger house, adopted a common dress, and began to use the crucifix, and in other ways to manifest their Romanist leanings. Still, for a long time their work was such as might fairly be allowed to atone for some eccentricities. They worked nobly during the cholera scourge of 1849. They founded an industrial school; they established model lodging homes, including school-rooms for the children, and reading rooms for the men: another industrial school was started for young women who were without proper oversight and employment: a college for homeless lads was begun, in which they were educated for the sea. A kitchen was opened where a hundred poor could dine and tell their troubles; and so the work went on earnestly, and for the most part wisely, until, four years after their commencement, Miss Sellon could write, without fear of contradiction, that "the experiment had proved that the poor could be reformed, that

old as well as young could be educated, that their moral character could be greatly raised, and that they would submit, as a body, to rules of moral and religious government."

The spirit in which these women were doing their work was beyond all praise. Mr. Hetling, a medical man who had taken orders in the Church of England, wrote to the Bishop of Exeter, "Formerly in medical practice I have seen the whole course of cholera in London, Paris, and Bristol, and lastly here in my office of deacon, I have beheld many acts of self-devotion to its sufferers and victims, yet never have I witnessed anything that surpassed or even equalled the self-abandonment and self-sacrifices of these lowly sisters." Mr. Hetling is, perhaps, hardly impartial: his clerical zeal, still in the flush of its youth, may, perhaps, make him more an advocate than a witness; but, though we hate the principle which is being developed by Miss Sellon and her followers, and think we can foresee sad danger to England in the future from such a course as hers, it would be grossly unjust not to acknowledge the unflagging earnestness and unhesitating self-sacrifice of these pseudo-sisters of mercy.

But the mischievous leaven was already at work, which was soon to change this association of earnest Christian women into a wretched parody of a Romish convent, so full of follies and superstitions, so evil and unwholesome in its influence, that, if we are not mistaken, Bishop Philpotts himself was compelled, years ago, to withdraw his patronage from the establishment. The character of the institution after some half-dozen years had matured its form and arrangements, and the sort of life and government exemplified in the home, may be judged from the following extract from Miss Goodman's work: a book which, if it be sometimes bitter in its expression, is yet written by one who has great sympathy with the original plans of Miss Sellon, and whose statements have never been successfully challenged:—

"The service I am about to describe was altogether exceptional, and I know of no particular reason why we were thus assembled on that particular day. But, with the permission of my reader, I will drop my narrative to give some description of the chapel itself. The room was originally intended for the refectory, and for this reason the floor at one end was raised about a foot higher than the rest of the apartment, the daïs which this arrangement formed being intended, when the place should be used as a dining-hall, to accommodate such of the sisters as were privileged to 'sit above the salt.'

"This daïs was converted into a kind of chancel, or more holy part,

by being parted off and appropriately furnished; the floor was covered with a carpet of needlework. At this end of the building also was a very fine window, which might correspond with the east window of a church, and under this window stood an oak table, called the 'altar,' which was covered with an altar-cloth of the finest white cashmere. In the centre of the table stood a white marble cross, and on either side of the sacred symbol candlesticks and vases were arranged, together with a Hebrew Bible, a manuscript of the admission service, and another of the service which was termed the 'chapter.' Above the super-altar hung a large oil-painting of the crucifixion. On one side of the altar, on the floor, stood a very costly ewer and basin, the ground of which was a rich blue, with a passion-flower running over it, this device being thought appropriate, because, in the elaborate blossom of this flower, persons have thought they could trace the instruments of our Lord's passion—the crown of thorns, the hammer, and the nails. The ewer and basin were used in the chapter service, which was attended only by eldresses. None of the sisters used this sanctum during their devotions. Immediately in front of the altar was a massive antique oak chest, bound with iron, and having a large iron cross on the lid; it was secured by three heavy padlocks, each of which required its own key. This chest contained the rules of the order written on parchment, *i.e.* the rule of 'Holy Obedience,' of 'Humility,' of 'Holy Poverty,' of 'Holy Communion,' of 'Self-Examination,' of 'Prayer' and of 'Purity.' On the right hand of the altar, a little in advance, was placed an oak chair and desk, both elaborately carved; the chair was fitted with a luxurious cushion of crimson cloth, and altogether the seat was meet for the throne of a cardinal. On this particular occasion the altar was covered with a 'fair linen cloth,' and the sacred elements were set out upon it.

"The whole community were assembled, with the exception of one sister, who was confined to her room with a dislocated ancle. We were kept standing in the chapel for some hours, waiting in silent expectation the approach of the superior. . . . At length the Mother Eldress came in to see if we were all standing attention, and in a few minutes the rustling of crape and silk was heard, and we became aware that the lady superior was slowly approaching. Of course we all courtesied lowly as she advanced up the chapel; but strange to say, an irresistible impulse of tittering took possession of the younger members, and notwithstanding all the frowns of the eldresses, it could not be subdued. We understood by the preparations on the altar, that we were about to receive Holy Communion, and therefore a solemnity worthy of the occasion ought to have been preserved; but, in the first place, many there, though thankful for the opportunity of communicating, were anxious and annoyed at being compelled to take part in the ridiculous ceremony with which the approach of the superior was surrounded, deeming such follies at such a moment impertinent, if not impious, and the feeling probably found vent in the laughter; and in the second place, we had been kept standing on the tiptoe of expecta-

tion until really fatigued, and had therefore less self-command than usual. But, as I have before remarked, there is a perversity in our nature which reacts upon overstrained or repressed feelings, causing us to see things as ludicrous, when we are all expected to cultivate a feeling of awe. It was, after all, the merest trifle which raised our mirth. Miss Sellon herself wore a black cloth dress, with a long train and wide sleeves, altogether a very full and flowing garment, which was lined throughout with black silk. Her cap was of white tarletan, trimmed with crimped frilling of the same material; the strings of which hung loose, were very broad and more than a yard long; worn over this cap, and falling nearly to the ground at the back, was a black crape veil. Thus attired, and personally not wanting in dignity, she looked sufficiently imposing. . . . After the lady superior had taken her seat, Dr. Pusey and Mr. Prynne came in, when Holy Communion was administered to all in the chapel, and also taken to the sister who was unable to leave her cell. After the retirement of the two clerical gentlemen, each sister approached the throne of the mother, and reverently kneeling before her, received her blessing, with imposition of hands; after kissing the forehead of each of her 'children,' she made upon it the sign of the cross, and presented to them her hand to be kissed. When all had knelt at her feet, beginning at the highest and ending at the lowest, the reverend mother left the chapel, amid the lowly reverence of her little flock."

Another little manifestation of the spirit of the present rule is found in the fact, that the long spiral flight of stone steps leading to Miss Sellon's apartments was covered with wood, on which was nailed rich carpeting; and whenever the lady superior ascended or descended, these pieces of carpeted wood were fitted on to each step, and taken up again when she had ceased to walk upon them. The placing and displacing of these occupied an hour: and the process was sometimes repeated four or five times a day. A sad change this parade of luxurious sanctimony, from that deep earnestness which possessed Miss Sellon when she first felt that the work before her required the sacrifice of a whole life.

Now the vow of celibacy is taken by all the sisters; confession is regularly practised, and absolution by a priest held to be essential to salvation—a vow of holy obedience is taken, by which every inmate gives up judgment and conscience into the hands of the superior, and though the sisterhood was originally established for the benefit of the poor and sinful of Devonport, already an inner circle of nuns has been established, who go forth to no work of mercy, but immure themselves in a dreary and hopeless solitude. Miss Sellon says that her institution is a great bulwark against

Rome. Certainly she has chosen for her line of defence a position marvellously near to that of the enemy.

Her religious organization may not be intended to be Popery; but it is a system of religious superstition, frivolity, tyranny, essentially equivalent with that of Popery: and in this country it is vastly more pernicious in its influence than Romanism itself. It is base, degrading, and anti-Christian. It is as callous as it is frivolous; as ruthless in its tyranny as it is weak in its superstition; as opposed to all that is true and sound in the nature of woman, as it is to the noble liberty with which the one Mediator and Redeemer has made Christian believers free.

The history of the Bible Women's Association in London is familiar to most of our readers. It was remarkable in its outset. Like all religious movements which live, it arose out of an apparent accident, and has been built up to its present proportions by gradual and unexpected accretions.

"In the dingy and dreary Seven Dials, a long while ago, two girls who had been born in the precincts, were left orphans. In those dim alleys they struggled up, lying by night on staircases or doorsteps. They were poorly fed by chance charity, and at last one of them died. An old man who had been a neighbour of their parents, adopted the one that remained, and shared his crust with her; but he was an Atheist. He said there was no God, and he made an Atheist of the child also. When grown up and married, she was passing through the streets one rainy night when she took shelter in the passage leading to the Bloomsbury Mission Hall, and, hearing a voice, came in to listen. It was almost the close of the address, but some appeal, directed by the Holy Spirit of God, went home to poor Marian's heart. It happened that night to be announced that a lending library would be opened next week at the hall, and the first person who appeared at the stated hour to request the loan of a book was Marian. 'If you please, sir,' said she, 'will you lend me a Bible?' 'A Bible, my friend,' said the missionary, 'we did not mean to *lend* Bibles. But, stay, I will get one for you directly; and the best of all books—the Book of God—shall be the first volume lent from this library."*

Two years afterwards, she wrote a letter to the missionary from whom she borrowed the Bible, saying,

"I have not to learn, sir, that in your missionary visits to the abodes of vice you meet with many who have none to help them. Now, I would wish to dedicate the time I have to spare (it might be two or three hours a day) not so much to the decent poor, who have

* Book and its Missions, vol. ii. p. 142.

a claim upon the sympathy of their neighbours, but to the lost and degraded of my own sex, whom, from their vicious lives, no tenderly-reared female would be likely to approach; but to me, who, by God's mercy, was preserved in my youth from a like fate, such scenes will have no terror: and I shall esteem it another benefit received from you if you will at any time let me know where such a sufferer lies. No matter how degraded she may be. It will be enough for her to require my aid—such as cleansing and washing her, and repairing her garments. If she can by your means obtain admission to a hospital, I will, by frequent visits, take care that she has a change of linen, and in all ways endeavour to win such erring sister back to virtue and to peace. But while especially devoting my services to those who have none to help them, I shall ever consider it as much my duty to render aid to any desolate sick who may at any time come under your notice."

Though she little thought it, this gifted woman was proposing to take upon herself the duties discharged by Phebe the deaconess eighteen hundred years previously, under the superintendence of the Cenchrean Church. She was soon at work, and as her prominent and professed task, she distributed the Bible, taking periodical payments until the requisite purchase money was made up. This gave her a definite business to bring before the people, and a fair and sufficient excuse for entering their dwellings. But once amongst them, she endeavoured to instruct them in every social and religious duty. She taught them how to wash the floors, and cook the dinners, and mend the clothes; and that they might have example as well as precept, invited the slatterns of St. Giles to her own neat rooms: and both there and at their own homes seized every suitable opportunity of reading the Scriptures, and speaking kindly and familiarly on religious topics. So successful were her efforts, that many philanthropic ladies in London, and notably Mrs. Ranyard, thought that here they had discovered the "missing link." Additional agents were employed; and each of them was guided and encouraged by the co-operation of a lady superintendent: so this enterprize became a system; and with multiplied agents is now in full operation.

These, then, are typical experiments already tried—and therefore forming the data upon which our conclusions must be formed. Our space has allowed us only to glance at these specimen cases. We would recommend all who are seriously interested in the general question to pause here, and read the works enumerated at the head of this article, and which form a fair and sufficient sample of the literature of this subject.

Mr. Ludlow's book is perhaps too scholarly for the general reader: while Dr. Howson's is written too exclusively from an Anglican point of view. Still these two works are undoubtedly at once the fullest and most compact which have yet appeared. If our readers will but examine these text-books, they will be the better able to judge of the soundness of the views at which we have arrived.

No one of the three plans of operations described above, is, we think, suited for general adoption. Much of the German system is needless in England, where non-sectarian charity takes so much of her benevolent work out of the hands of the Church. When every town of any importance can boast its asylum and hospitals, it is plainly unnecessary and impossible for the different churches to establish their own institutions of this class. And, furthermore, when the hospitals of the country are supported by the subscriptions of men professing all shades of opinion, it would be a doubtful and dangerous thing to commit the charge of their inmates to nurses professionally connected with any one church, and who avowedly undertake the toil of nursing, that they may gain the better opportunity for preaching. The general sentiment of every town in the kingdom would pronounce clearly and decidedly against handing over the charge of its public charities to a detachment of the Devonport Sister's or even of religious women of much less obnoxious pretensions than theirs. In a word, very much of the work first attempted, and now sustained, by the sisterhoods of the Continent, is already done by the unsectarian charity of this our happier England.

Nor will sisterhoods on the Devonport plan ever become widely spread and largely useful in this country. And that for two reasons. First, the English people will always suspect Protestant women who look so much like Popish nuns. The great heart of the English nation is still soundly Protestant. In spite of the numbers of Romish priests, swelled by missionaries from Italy, and of Romish communicants, increased by immigrations from Ireland, even in spite of the fact that no less than three Romish gentlemen are chosen to represent English constituencies, and that the *Times* rejoices in their election—we still believe that England is a Protestant country. It is no recommendation to any man or woman who wishes to win the confidence of the English artisan or rustic, to come dressed in a garb which can scarcely be distinguished from that worn by the priests or the Sister of Mercy. But there is a deeper reason why such

associations can never be widely useful. They carry in their own bosoms the pledge and the means of their own decay. Why was it that the activity and enterprise of the primitive diaconate surrendered to the sloth and vice of Romish monasticism? Just because Christian women were persuaded to believe that mischievous figment which is the root of female celibacy. They were taught that the individual woman could become the spiritual spouse of Christ. This lie made its appearance very early. Chrysostom himself lent a half sanction to it when, from his pulpit in the City of the Golden Horn, he uttered such words as these:—Describing one who is a "virgin indeed," he says, "For when she walks, it is as through a wilderness; if she sits in the church, it is in the deepest silence: her eye sees none of those present, women nor men, but the Bridegroom only, as present and appearing. When she enters again her home, she has conversed with him in her prayers, she has heard his voice alone through the Scriptures. And when she is in her house, let her think on the longed-for one alone, let her be a stranger, a sojourner, a wayfarer, let her do all as becometh one dead to all things here below."

What can possibly be more false than this sentimentalism? The Scriptures know of only one spiritual espousal; that of the collective church to Christ. Only let a woman believe this falsehood, insinuated by those words of the eloquent John, and taught as the basis of celibacy, and "the vow of virginity comes to be considered as answering precisely to the vow of marriage; espousing the woman to Christ, as to her spiritual husband, bearing the same consequences, to be guarded by the same penalties, as the human marriage tie." Under the influence of such an idea as this, the woman becomes intensely self-conscious; lives in a fanciful world of her own creation; religiously secludes herself from the human sympathies which bind men together; and becomes, except in very rare instances, a spiritual starveling. It is an outrage on humanity to persuade a woman to shut herself up from companionship with man. She cannot work her best except in connexion with him. In his absence her nature becomes one-sided and distorted. The woman who has abandoned all hope of ever becoming a wife and a mother, has shut out from her heart many of those finest sensibilities which go so far to the making of her special power. And so it comes to pass, that if a woman is to be reduced to the minimum of usefulness for any religious or benevolent object, she must assume a vow of perpetual celibacy, and take up her residence with a

company of women like-minded. Whatever else this female agency may or may not be, if it is to be successful, it must be pure from the monastic spirit.

The system of the Bible-women is certainly more likely to take root in England than either of the others; but even it is not free from serious imperfections. Its undenominational character is a great drawback to its usefulness. The Bible-woman has not so deep and condensed a sympathy to fall back upon, as the agent of some one church; and her labours are not as likely to be permanently useful, as they would be if she were at liberty to direct each wandering sheep into some special fold. Just as the city missionaries would do far more good if they were the agents of churches as such, so the Bible-women would be more successful if they were working in connexion with distinct denominations.

Another fault in this system is, that it leaves the missionaries to act independently of each other, and developes very little, if any, *esprit de corps*. A good woman here, and another there, presents herself as a candidate, and is set down to work in some district; she knows nothing, except by accident, of the neighbour on the right, and that other on her left. She has not been trained in any central institution; she owes allegiance only to her own "lady superintendent," and the committee by which she is employed; and there is nothing which constantly gives her to feel that she is part of a system. Each one is united to the centre, but not each to the others.

The chief objection to the Bible Mission System, is that all its conditions and circumstances confine the choice of its agents to the humbler class of women. True, the "superintendents" are "ladies;" but their work is purely voluntary, and we fear, like district visiting, must be very irregular. Besides, it is only for two or three hours in the week that these ladies are engaged about the mission work: and the very essence of the diaconate is the constancy and system of its labours. For all the purposes on behalf of which we are pleading here, ladies are practically excluded in case of the Bible Mission. We think that this one fact of itself proves that Mrs. Ranyard's most useful experiment does not yet supply the lack of a female diaconate. When in addition to the sympathy of the woman, is added the "tender grace" of the lady, the power for good is greatly increased: how greatly increased, is shown most clearly in the narrative of Mrs. Wrightman's labours in Shrewsbury. To her admirable story we cannot do more than point our readers, with a most earnest recommendation to its perusal. What this lady does

in Shrewsbury, could be done by many another, if arrangements were but made by which she could be as devoted to her work as is the wife of the Vicar of St. Allmonds. And surely it would be a shame and scandal to all genuine Protestants, if, while ladies nobly born and bred are devoting themselves to the privations and labours of Romish or Anglican sisterhoods, none should be found willing to devote all the advantages bestowed by education, and wealth, and society, in the toils of the true Christian diaconate.

If a combination could be made of the Bible-woman and the parochial or commune deaconess, perhaps the highest efficiency would be secured. We are convinced that for this country, companies of women living together in great houses, and sallying forth thence to their work, are not likely to be very effective and successful. One or two women living amongst the people for whom they shall labour, exhibiting in their own home the cleanliness and order they wish to teach their neighbours, and ready for a call to the bedside of a sick person at a moment's notice, are most likely to be powerful for good. Whether they should wear any distinctive dress, is a difficult and delicate, though not very important, matter. On the one hand, a uniform dress would rid them of every temptation to finery, and would guarantee their wearing a neat and becoming attire. But on the other hand, it is quite unnecessary as a badge; for a woman devoted to this work would be known throughout her district in a month, whatever dress she wore; and certainly the non-adoption of any uniform would avoid the creation of a vast amount of prejudice.

Almost the same things may be said of the name by which these agents should be known. "Sister" has come to be associated with Romanism; "Bible-woman" has become the title of non-sectarian agents, and repels the enlistment in this good work of godly women of the upper ranks of society; "Female Missionary" is clumsy; "Deaconess" is the most suitable, and, indeed, the most Scriptural; for it is only the accident of a translation that prevented Phebe being known in our English version as the "deaconess" of the Church at Cenchrea. But, in truth, the name is of even less importance than the dress; it matters not what the woman be called, if she be of the right spirit, and do the right work.

But we are convinced that for the effectual fostering and the vigorous prosecution of this movement, something more than local and unorganized effort is needed. In the first instance, all such movements must have a local origin; but already this

movement has grown beyond that stage. In a score of instances, women are being employed by congregations of the establishment, and by Wesleyan and Independent Churches. We are inclined to think that in connexion with each denomination of English Christians, there should be a central association, chiefly managed by Christian ladies, which should examine and recommend suitable agents to those local committees which may be desirous of employing one. When a deaconess is wanted, the great difficulty at present is to find one duly qualified. People do not know where to look for her; but the committee of a central association would be able to direct the attention of the searchers to this or that suitable candidate. Such an association, moreover, would promote the employment of these agents; perhaps by small pecuniary grants in aid, at any rate by circulating the literature of the subject, and by acting as a medium of communication between earnest people, who in different parts of the country may be contemplating similar plans of action. And if by such an association a report were issued, containing a list of the agents, with the districts in which they are employed, an *esprit de corps* would be at once promoted, both among the deaconesses and the churches employing them.

Still further, these women should be trained for their work. There are many practical difficulties in the way of this; and it may possibly be a long time before this principle is fully recognised. The best possible training would be obtained in some normal institution; in which, under the different departments, the varying work of the deaconess should be constantly carried on; and to which each candidate for the office might be sent for a few weeks, or perhaps months. Many a good woman would make an efficient agent with such a training, who without that aid would be useless, with all her good intentions. Nursing, and household management, and the cutting out of clothes, and the management of a sewing club, as well as the happiest mode of address, all need study and tuition. But in the absence of any such institution, arrangements might be made by the central association, by which candidates might for a time be placed under the charge of an experienced deaconess, and in her district might practically learn their duties. These ideas are not utopian; as the movement advances, their realization will be found necessary to its continued and vigorous existence.

There is one other aspect of this subject to which we must advert. The field of usefulness open to the cultivation of

Christian women in England is almost boundless; but, if possible, that which lies before them in the eastern hemisphere is of still greater magnitude. The women of the East are guarded from the sight and contact of men with the closest jealousy. The Christian minister in this country can enter almost any home, and count upon a respectful hearing from its inmates of both sexes. But the women of half the world, the women of the East, are approachable only by a woman. Even here, a woman is the best missionary to her own sex; yonder, she is the only one. If the Hindoos of future generations are to be Christians, the mothers of that people must be Christianized; the children will follow the example of the mother; and if the mothers of the East are to be converted, it must be by the efforts of Christian Englishwomen. But nothing is more certain than that until the work of women is here recognized and valued at its true importance, the female missionaries for the East will not be forthcoming. It is from the ranks of those women who have been trained and tried amongst the masses of our English heathen, that we must seek for the Phebes and Priscillas who shall carry the Church's message to their heathen sisters afar off. It was not till the ministry of the Word was appreciated here, that Englishmen cared to send that ministry to those who had never heard it; and not till the female diaconate is duly valued here, will English Christian women set about the great work of evangelizing, as none but they can evangelize, their sisters of the vast Eastern field. In a word, it is upon the full recognition and efficient organization of the female diaconate at home and abroad, that the complete accomplishment of the Christian's most cherished hopes for the world must depend. Without this, Christian civilization and the characteristic influences of the Christian faith and life cannot be carried into the crowded depths of English ignorance; without this, the work of missionary labour and love can never be accomplished among the myriads of the East.

ART. VII.—*History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America.* By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D., Author of "The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism," &c. Vols. I. and II. New York: Carlton and Porter. 1864.

Two years ago, in a paper on "The Methodism of the Eighteenth Century," we called attention to certain general features of the greatest revival of religion which the world has yet seen. On other occasions we have had something to say respecting the history of American Methodism, the organization and operations of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and its relations to some of the great moral questions arising out of the state of American society and the social institutions of the country. Mention has been made of the early history of the Church, of the labours, sufferings, and successes of those wonderful men who proved themselves the chief pioneers of Christianity and civilization in the United States. The appearance of Dr. Stevens' new volumes, named above, affords the opportunity, and imposes the duty, of tracing, with something more of detail and care, what he very justly names "the planting and training of American Methodism." Our author has rendered great service to his denomination, and to the cause of religion generally, by giving a methodical and permanent form to much interesting matter that was either scattered through a great variety of miscellaneous works, or in danger of passing wholly into oblivion. The same characteristics which imparted such a charm to Dr. Stevens' "History of Methodism," are conspicuous in his present work. The dramatic interest of his narrative never flags; the biographical sketches, some lengthened and elaborate, and others miniature and brief, have the same life-like beauty and vigour which we admired in his former work; and we find again that deep and contagious sympathy with his theme, and that appreciation of the true spirit and work of Methodism, as a revival of scriptural and experimental religion, which make it so delightful to a genuine Methodist to read his pages, nay, so difficult for such a reader to lay down the book. Methodism may have had a more philosophical historian; there may be others who, in certain details, have been a little more accurate; but, to our thinking, its story has never been told by one more completely possessed

of his subject, or more fitted, by the poetic grace of his diction and style, to possess others with it. It will be our aim, in the few pages that follow, to give our readers some general notion both of the deeply-interesting narrative which he has to tell, and of the admirable manner in which he has told it.

The book opens with an exceedingly well written chapter on some of the striking Providential coincidences which marked the preparation for the work of American Methodism. One of the most important and delightful of all historical studies is to trace out such coincidences as these—to see how the Divine Hand silently and slowly, but with the most marvellous precision and adaptation, prepares the field of labour for His servants while shaping and fitting them for their work. Dr. Stevens points out, with as much truth as beauty, that in the very year when John Wesley, during his earlier evangelical labours, visited Glasgow and its university, there came to that university, in the capacity of "mathematical instrument maker," the man who, by the invention of the steam-engine, was to work the greatest economical, social, and political revolution in the world's history. He justly reminds us that the effects of Watt's invention, "applied by the genius of Fulton," have been far greater in the New World than the Old; and, indeed, that some of its most mighty results in Europe are the effects of the wonders it has achieved in America. More than forty thousand miles of navigable waters, the ascent of which would have been impossible but for the steamboat, have been "thrown open as the highways of population and commerce;" and the enormous territory of the "far West," which must otherwise have continued for ages to be the desert-home of savage beasts and more savage men, has been converted into the cradle of mighty nations, whose nucleus is to a large extent of directly European origin, and of whose probable future, and its influences on the highest destinies of mankind at large, one cannot think without awe. At the time that the unconscious author of these momentous issues was busy making mathematical instruments for the university, repairing organs, flutes, guitars, and violins, and assiduously studying the laws of physics, John Wesley, who, gentleman that he was, may have doffed his hat to the humble mechanic as he passed him in the quadrangle, was in the eighteenth year of his great course of evangelistic itinerant labour. It was his second visit to Glasgow. His records concerning that visit are few and brief; a few remarks on the seriousness of the people, their objectionable habits in church, the smallness of the univer-

sity, the new library, and the paintings of Raphael, Rubens, and Vandyke, comprise most of what he has to say. What would he have thought and said had he known himself to be so near the man whom God was to employ, in connexion with his own plans, and in subordination to them, in creating amid the vastest wastes of nature a Christian nation which, in a century afterwards, should number a population of thirty millions, and contain one of the largest homogeneous Protestant churches in Christendom? The unconscious proximity of two men so eminently representative of the material and moral influences that were to remould society may not be very remarkable; but their existence at the same period, and the way in which their independent and widely-dissimilar influences were made to subserve the plan of Providence, and contribute to the creating of a vast Christian republic in a new world, is one of those marvels of divine wisdom and power, which cannot but be matter of continual admiration.

For were not these men and their work, in a manner, made for one another? Without the steam-engine, America, such as she is at this day, with her multitudinous people, her boundless territory, her conquests over nature, her share in the world's councils, and her portentous influence on national destinies and mundane affairs, would have no existence; and but for Methodism, which followed the path of emigration, and filled the wilds, as they were peopled, with Christian truth and influence, she would not have been a Christian nation. The material agency laid the foundations of her material greatness; the moral agency provided that these foundations should be laid in truth and righteousness. Such, unquestionably, is the case, whatever drawbacks may exist or suggest themselves to prejudiced readers. In all respects, America is worthy to stand in the front rank of Christendom. With all her faults, we hold that she is at least abreast of ourselves in the morality of her people, the wisdom and forbearance of her rulers, the number and efficiency of her Christian agencies; and that she is so is due, under God, chiefly to that aggressive, pertinacious, ubiquitous, all-pervading Methodism, the history of whose planting and training is told in these volumes. Dr. Stevens very clearly shows how Methodism, by its religious spirit and its practical system, was peculiarly and providentially fitted for the great work which it has thus been the means of accomplishing. "It was a revival Church in its spirit, a missionary Church in its organization."

Such of our readers as are familiar with the history of Irish Methodism, are aware that it is in some respects a painful and disheartening one. Looking merely at its home-statistics, some would hastily conclude that Methodism in Ireland has proved a comparative failure. When it is found, for instance, that fifty years ago the Irish Wesleyan Methodist Church numbered nearly 30,000 members, while the returns for the year 1865 show only a few more than 20,000, it is hard not to be discouraged; but, besides the conspicuous and acknowledged influence for good of that Church upon the Episcopalian and Presbyterian Churches, it has been her singular and distinguished lot to contribute out of all proportion, as compared with British Methodism, to the extension of the denomination in the United States and the British Colonies generally, and thereby to take a very prominent part in the work of evangelizing the world. It is well known that the first sign of this was the introduction of Methodism, by means of a little band of Irishmen, into New York. As we read the story, we cannot but reflect upon the wonderful ways of God, and contrast the obscure, we had almost said the stealthy, beginning of the American Methodist work, with the manner in which certain missionary enterprises have been inaugurated in our own time. No high ecclesiastical or civil patronage was vouchsafed; no imposing public meetings, graced with the presence and charmed by the oratory of lords spiritual and temporal, were held to evoke public sympathy, and secure prestige and dignity for the undertaking; but, on the other hand, no shadow of failure occurred to mock an ostentatious beginning. John Wesley, in one of his visits to the south-west of Ireland, found, in the midst of the Milesian population, a small Teutonic colony, the descendants of Protestants, driven from the palatinate by the persecuting fury of Louis XIV. At the time of that visit they were a most dissolute and degraded people; but the early Methodist itinerants were the means of effecting a speedy and thorough reformation; and before long, they had become a serious thinking people, and their diligence had turned all their land into a garden. Among the number of Methodist converts were two whose names occupy the foremost place in the history before us—Philip Embury and Barbara Heck. Let an Irish historian, as quoted by Dr. Stevens, tell the story of their migration to America:—

"On a spring morning in 1760, a group of emigrants might have been seen at the Custom-house Quay, Limerick, preparing to embark

for America. At that time emigration was not so common an occurrence as it is now, and the excitement connected with their departure was intense. They were palatines from Balligarrane, and were accompanied to the vessel's side by crowds of their companions and friends, some of whom had come sixteen miles to say farewell for the last time. One of those about to leave,—a young man with a thoughtful look and resolute bearing,—is evidently the leader of the party, and more than an ordinary pang is felt by many as they bid him farewell. He had been one of the first-fruits of his countrymen to Christ, had been the leader of the infant church, and in their humble chapel had often ministered to them the word of life. He is surrounded by his spiritual children and friends, who are anxious to have some parting word of counsel and instruction. He enters the vessel, and from its side once more breaks among them the bread of life. And now the last prayer is offered; they embrace each other; the vessel begins to move. As she recedes, uplifted hands and uplifted hearts attest what all felt. But none of all that vast multitude felt more, probably, than that young man. His name is Philip Embury. His party consisted of his wife, Mary Switzer, to whom he had been married on the 27th of November, 1758, in Rathkeale Church; two of his brothers and their families; Peter Switzer, probably a brother of his wife; Valer Tettler; Philip Morgan; and a family of the Dulmages. The vessel arrived safely in New York on the 10th of August, 1760. Who that pictures before his mind that first band of Christian emigrants leaving the Irish shore but must be struck with the simple beauty of the scene? Yet who among the crowd that saw them leave, could have thought that two of the little band were destined, in the mysterious providence of God, to influence for good countless myriads, and that their names should live as long as the sun and moon endure? Yet so it was. That vessel contained Philip Embury, the first class-leader and local preacher of Methodism on the American continent, and Barbara Heck, 'a mother in Israel,' one of its first members, the germ from which, in the good providence of God, has sprung the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, a church which has now, more or less under its influence, about seven millions of the germinant mind of that new and teeming hemisphere! 'There shall be an handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon: and they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth.'"—Vol. I. pp. 51, 52.

Yet it was not all at once that the Methodism embodied in the little company of emigrants began to assert itself. Indeed, whatever spiritual functions Embury may have exercised among them at the first, he seems to have soon yielded to discouragement or carelessness, or both, and to have discontinued, for about five or six years, all active Christian effort. Wakeley, in his "Lost Chapters in the Early History of American Methodism," denies the statement generally re-

ceived as true on this subject. The usual version, which is that given by Dr. Smith, is, that Barbara Heck followed Embury and his party to New York in about a year, and that on her arrival there, she was "sadly grieved to find that Embury and the other Methodists, who had been some time in America, had almost wholly given up their religious profession, and were devoting themselves to the follies and amusements of the world. At length, on one occasion, she went into a room where Embury and several others were assembled, and some of them engaged in playing a game of cards. She instantly threw the cards into the fire, reproved Embury for his unfaithfulness, and said, 'You must preach to us, or we shall all go to hell together, and God will require our blood at your hands.'" Wakeley says there is no reason whatever to suppose that any of these card-playing emigrants were Methodists, and connected with Embury. It would appear that Embury was not present; for we are told, that, after throwing the cards into the fire, and most solemnly warning her friends of their danger and duty, she proceeded immediately to his house in Barrack Street, and pleaded powerfully with him to be no longer silent, but to begin at once to preach the Gospel. He consented, after much entreaty, to do so; and the devoted and spirited woman went out at once and collected four persons, who, with herself, constituted the first Methodist congregation on the American continent. This version seems to be the authentic one, and we gratefully accept it as showing, that though the first Methodist preacher in America may have grown for awhile disheartened and cold, he had not, as concerning the faith and a good conscience, made shipwreck. The truth remains, however, that God saved Israel on that day, and provided for the perpetuation and wonderful extension of Methodism in the United States, "by the hand of a woman." To how many thousands—may we not say, to how many millions?—did Barbara Heck thus become a spiritual mother! No wonder that her name is cherished as one of the most precious "household words" in the families of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But if, in point of priority of time, Embury and Barbara Heck may be considered the founders of American Methodism, that honour, so far as the extent and influence of Christian labour are concerned, belongs to Captain Webb. About four months after Embury began to preach, the little flock which he had gathered around him were one day startled and somewhat alarmed by the sudden intrusion among them of a

British officer in full uniform. Their fears, however, were exchanged for thanksgivings when they found in him not only a beloved Christian brother, but a valiant soldier of Jesus Christ. He had proved his courage and loyalty to his earthly sovereign at the siege of Louisburg and under Wolfe on the heights of Abraham. Eight years afterwards he heard Wesley preach at Bristol, and at once enlisted in the army of the heavenly king. The commencement of his career as an evangelist was on this wise: "Entering a Methodist congregation at Bath, which was disappointed by its circuit preacher, he advanced to the altar, in his regimentals, and addressed them with great effect, chiefly narrating his own Christian experience." He very soon attracted Wesley's notice, and was employed by him in preaching. His piety was deep and fervent, his discourses were full of energy and fire. He was gifted with a natural eloquence, which made John Adams, the revolutionary statesman and president, speak of him as "one of the most eloquent men I ever heard—he reaches the imagination, and touches the passions very well, and expresses himself with great propriety." He had a noble mien and commanding voice; and as he always wore his regimentals, preaching in them, with his sword on a table before him, he soon attracted so much attention that the little meeting-room became too strait, and a rigging-loft, sixty feet by eighteen, was rented. But even this edifice was inadequate. In the meantime Barbara Heck was devising and maturing a plan for the erection of a chapel. The little society entered into her views, which were warmly seconded by Webb, who subscribed thirty pounds to the undertaking. A site was obtained in John Street; and, being zealously aided by the liberality of their fellow-citizens, a chapel—"Wesley Chapel"—the first in the world that ever bore that title, was erected; a stone building faced with blue plaster, sixty feet by forty-two. Embury, who was a carpenter, did much excellent work in the chapel. Having constructed the pulpit with his own hands, he mounted it on October 30th, 1768, and preached the dedicatory sermon from Hosea x. 12. The galleries were reached at first by a rude ladder, there being neither staircase nor breastwork; and the seats below were forms without backs; but here Embury preached two or three times a week, Webb occasionally helping him; and in less than two years a thousand hearers crowded the chapel and the area in front. Webb himself became an itinerant, going everywhere preaching the Word, the Lord working with him, and confirming the Word with

signs following. In Philadelphia, in several towns of New Jersey, in Delaware, Maryland, Long Island, &c., he preached and formed societies, so that, within six years after Embury's first sermon, the seeds of the great revival were sown broadcast over many of the colonies, and the foundations laid of those churches which, at the present day, are the pride and glory of American Methodism. It was chiefly in answer to his urgent appeals that Pilmoor and Boardman were sent over to New York in 1769; and, on his return to America, after a year spent in England, he took with him Shadford and Rankin, to assist in consolidating and extending the work.

To another Irishman belongs the honour of introducing Methodism into Maryland. Robert Strawbridge, a native of Drumsnagh, was one of the earliest Methodist converts, and for some years preached with amazing courage, perseverance, and success, amid a storm of persecution, in different parts of his own country. He appears to have emigrated to America in 1764 or 1765; to have plunged at once into what were then the backwoods, settling at Sam's Creek, in Frederick County; to have opened his house immediately for preaching; and soon afterwards to have built the "Log Meeting House" on Sam's Creek, celebrated in American Methodist history. He gave himself up to the itinerancy, preaching continually in different and widely-distant localities, setting a rare and noble example of poverty and trial, willingly endured for Christ's sake and the Gospel's; and everywhere honoured with signal success. He founded the Methodist Society in Baltimore—the nucleus of what has since become one of the most wealthy, refined, and influential portions of the church. He was the instrument of the conversion of Richard Owen, "the first native Methodist preacher of the Continent." Few men have been more honoured in the raising up of powerful and successful evangelists than Robert Strawbridge; but he soon differed with the authorities of the church, on the administration of the sacraments by other than Episcopalian clergymen; and, unable to brook the restrictions imposed upon him, retired from active connexion with his former friends; and died "in great peace" in 1781. Asbury seems to have had a prejudice against him on account of his independent bearing in the above controversy; but there can be no doubt that he was a truly apostolic man, tireless in labour, and remarkable for generosity and self-sacrifice. Owen preached his funeral sermon in the open air, to a great throng; and his remains

were borne to the tomb, by some of the worshippers in the old "Log Meeting House," who sang "as they marched one of those rapturous lyrics with which Charles Wesley taught the primitive Methodists to triumph over the grave." His body sleeps in the orchard of the friend at whose house he died, as near to heaven as if it were the most duly consecrated spot in the world.

The multiplying successes of these first heralds of Methodism created an intense desire for the presence of labourers from England directly authenticated by Wesley himself, and he was not slow to meet the demands made upon him; but the first regular missionaries were preceded by one Robert Williams, who was permitted, at his own earnest request, to proceed to America, on condition that he should labour in subordination to the missionaries that were about to be sent. Impatient to be gone, he persuaded an Irish Methodist friend to accompany him. The latter paid the expenses of the voyage, and the two landed in New York a little while before the missionaries. Williams at once proceeded to Virginia, where he formed a circuit, and was soon instrumental in the conversion of Jesse Lee, the Methodist Apostle of New England. To Williams also belongs the honour of employing the first native itinerant minister, William Watters by name. Such were the agents by whom the foundations of American Methodism were laid before the work could receive the oversight, or be aided by the evangelic fervour and legislative wisdom, of the founder himself.

The mission of Boardman and Pillmoor is interesting to British Methodists, as being the first step in that great career of foreign evangelization which has since been marked by such wonderful labours and triumphs. Dr. Stevens places the self-denial of the Conference of 1769, in giving two of their prominent men for the American work, and accompanying that gift, in spite of poverty and debt, with a donation of £70, in a clear and striking light. And surely Methodism was amply requited for the sacrifice, by the conversion, under Boardman's sermon at Monyash (when on his way to the port of embarkation), of Mary Redfern, the mother of Jabez Bunting. Boardman and his colleague arrived in America on the 24th of October, 1769, and, with characteristic energy, as "assistants" of Wesley, went about the work of itinerating through the land, preaching and organizing the infant Methodist societies. Their centres of operation were New York and Philadelphia, and they alternated between these cities three times a year; but they were almost confined to the cities, and

lamented much over the neglected condition of the rural districts, pleading hard with Wesley for reinforcements. The quick eye of the venerable man detected the great door and effectual which Providence had opened across the Atlantic; and the same Providence led him to the selection of a man perhaps as remarkably fitted for extending the foundations and superintending the organization of the nascent Church, as any man since the days of the Apostles. It must have been unspeakably refreshing to the founder of Methodism to turn from the stormy controversy with Shirley at the Bristol Conference of 1771, and greet the light that was "brightening the western sky." And when he asked for volunteers for the American work, five of his preachers promptly responded to his call. Two were at once appointed, of whom one was FRANCIS ASBURY, a man worthy to rank with Wesley himself for the possession of the highest moral qualities. We suspect that this distinguished man is very insufficiently known to English Methodists; and as the work of planting and training the Methodist Episcopal Church devolved chiefly upon him, and as that Church owes its present greatness, under God, to his ability, zeal, prudence, and courage, we must try to give our readers a somewhat minute account of him. He was born at Handsworth, in Staffordshire, the very focus of the hottest rage and persecution by which the early Methodist preachers were assailed. His father was an intelligent peasant, and his mother, having been led to religious decision by the death of her only daughter, bestowed unusual pains on the religious education of her surviving child. To that mother he was deeply indebted; for, through God's blessing on her counsels and influence, he was able afterwards to say, that "he never dared an oath, or hazarded a lie." In one respect the story of his conversion differs from that of most of Wesley's "helpers." Generally speaking, these men were made to taste "the wormwood and the gall." Their artless autobiographies tell us of great conflicts and storms of soul, the sorrows of death encompassing them, and the pains of hell getting hold upon them; and of sudden and rapturous deliverance, and unspeakable transports. Not so with Asbury. "God sent a pious man, not a Methodist, into our neighbourhood, and my mother invited him to our house. By his conversation and prayers I was awakened before I was fourteen years of age. I began to pray morning and evening, being drawn by the cords of love, as with the bands of a man." He heard of the sorely-persecuted Methodists, and went to the "meeting-house" at Wednesbury. The devotion, the

hearty and harmonious singing, the earnest "Amen," and the clear preaching of faith and assurance, edified and delighted him; but above all, the conviction of unbelief was wrought in him, and soon afterwards, while praying in his father's barn, he believed that "the Lord pardoned his sins, and justified his soul." He began at once to address his neighbours in his father's house and elsewhere, and had preached for some months before his public appearance among the Methodists. As soon as he became a local preacher he devoted himself ardently to the work, "ready," as he says of himself, "with hasty steps to go far and wide to do good, visiting Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and indeed almost every place within my reach, for the sake of precious souls; preaching, generally, three, four, and five times a week, and at the same time pursuing my calling."

At the age of twenty-one he became an itinerant, and spent the next five years doing hard and faithful work in the Bedfordshire, Colchester, and Wiltshire circuits. He was only twenty-six years old when Wesley accepted his proposal, and designated him to the work in America. Here is Dr. Stevens' description of him:—

"He was studious, somewhat introspective, with a thoughtfulness which was tinged at times with melancholy. His was one of those minds that can find rest only in labour, designed for great work, and therefore endowed with a restless instinct for it. He was an incessant preacher, of singular practical directness; was ever in motion, on foot or on horseback over his long circuits; a rigorous disciplinarian, disposed to do everything by method, a man of few words, and those always to the point; of quick and marvellous insight into character; of a sobriety, not to say severity, of temperament, which might have been repulsive had it not been softened by a profound religious humility; for his soul, ever aspiring to the highest virtue, was ever complaining within itself over its shortcomings. His mind had eminently a military cast. He never lost his self-possession, and could therefore seldom be surprised. He seemed not to know fear, and never yielded to discouragement in a cause sanctioned by his faith or conscience. He could plan sagaciously, seldom pausing to consider theories of wisdom or policy, but as seldom failing in practical prudence. The rigour which his disciplinary predilections imposed upon others, was so exemplified by himself, that his associates or subordinates, instead of revolting from it, accepted it as a challenge of heroic emulation. Discerning men could not come into his presence without perceiving that his soul was essentially heroic, and that nothing committed to his agency could fail, if it depended upon conscientiousness, prudence, courage, labour, and persistence."—Vol. I. pp. 115, 116.

Such was the man who presented himself before Wesley in answer to his appeal. That sagacious observer must soon have perceived that his youthful helper was a man after his own heart, though he could not know that he would hereafter rival himself in apostolic labours, sufferings, and triumphs. The young evangelist, after taking leave of his friends, returned to Bristol for embarkation, and found himself literally "without purse or scrip." But friends supplied him with clothes and ten pounds. On the 4th of September, with his companion, Richard Wright, he set sail; and after a voyage of more than fifty days, disembarked at Philadelphia, where he found Pilmoor, and heard him preach. There were then about six hundred Methodists in the colonies, and the English reinforcement was very cordially welcomed among them. But in a very few days they commenced that work in which Asbury was to spend half a century of such incessant activity and toil, and such spiritual triumph, as are vouchsafed to few, indeed, even of God's most honoured servants. He was not, in the first instance, placed at the head of the missionary band, but laboured in a subordinate capacity. But he presently developed the qualities which gave presage of his future eminence. He found his predecessors, and the little band of preachers generally, too ready to evade the labours and perils of the itinerancy. He complained, "I have not got the thing which I seek—a circulation of preachers. I am fixed to the Methodist plan; I am willing to suffer, yea, to die, sooner than betray so good a cause by any means. It will be a hard matter to stand against all opposition, as an iron pillar strong, and steadfast as a wall of brass; but through Christ strengthening me, I can do all things." And again he wrote, "At present I am dissatisfied, I judge we are to be shut up in the cities this winter. My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities, but I think I shall show them the way." Well was it for the American Methodists that such a man, with such views and purposes, had come among them. Apart from an itinerant ministry, the Gospel could not possibly have been preached to more than a small portion of the people; and even at that early period, the very men who had been sent out by Wesley to execute his plans, either failed to see the essential importance of itinerancy, or were disposed to shrink from the hardships which the faithful adoption of it would involve. But Asbury's sagacity taught him that the work of evangelization could be accomplished on no other principle, and his undaunted and heroic spirit courted, rather than shrank from, the

inconveniences which spring up in the path of duty. And in that one word, "I think I shall show them the way," you have "assurance of the man." To the end of his long life, like the great and good man who sent him forth, and whose confidence he so largely enjoyed, he was, himself, the brightest example, in self-denial, in journeyings often, in perils in the wilderness, and among the heathen, and in all kinds of more abundant labours in Christ's service, of all that he inculcated upon his sons in the Gospel. By his firmness and energy, he compelled his colleagues to agree to a winter campaign, and he set the example of restless and all-conquering activity. He flew on his evangelizing errand in all directions, and in a few months had travelled largely, and preached incessantly, between the cities of New York and Philadelphia.

Dr. Stevens thus presents the views which influenced Asbury and his most serviceable colleagues on this question of itinerancy. It is barely possible that the passage may be perused with advantage by some young minister of our own day:—

"The itinerancy was prized not only as affording variety of ministerial gifts to the societies, but as a sort of military drill to the preachers. It kept them energetic by keeping them in motion. No great captain has approved of long encampments. The early Methodist itinerants were an evangelical cavalry, they were always in the saddle; if not in line of battle, yet skirmishing and pioneering; a mode of life which conduced not a little to that chivalric spirit and heroic character which distinguished them as a class. The system speedily killed off such as were weak in body, and drove off such as were feeble in character; the remnant were 'the giants of those days' morally, very often intellectually, and to a notable extent physically. Young men, prudently initiated into its hardships, acquired robust health, stentorian lungs, and buoyant spirits; a good humour, a *bonhommie*, which facilitated not a little their access to the common people; but many whose souls were equal to their work, sank under it physically. Its early records are full, as we shall hereafter see, of examples of martyrdom."—Vol. I. pp. 230, 231.

At Christmas 1772, we gain the first glimpse of the incipient organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The first "Quarterly Conference" on record was held at that time, at J. Presbury's. Asbury preached from, "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves." The *résumé* of the business transacted on that day is worth quoting, as showing the singlemindedness of the parties, and, at the same time, the need of some settled ecclesiastical discipline:—

"1. What are our collections? We found them sufficient to defray our expenses. 2. How are the preachers stationed? Brother Strawbridge and Brother Owen in Frederick County; Brother King, Brother Webster, and Isaac Rollins, on the other side of the Bay; and myself in Baltimore. 3. Shall we be strict in our society meetings, and not admit strangers? Agreed. 4. Shall we drop preaching in the day-time through the week? Not agreed to. 5. Will the people be contented without our administering the sacrament? John King was neuter; Brother Strawbridge pleaded much for the ordinances, and so did the people, who appeared to be much biassed by him. I told them I would not agree to it at that time, and insisted on our abiding by our rules. But Mr. Boardman had given them their way at the Quarterly Meeting held here before, and I was obliged to connive at some things for the sake of peace. 6. Shall we make collections weekly, to pay the preacher's board and expenses? This was not agreed to. We then inquired into the moral character of the preachers and exhorters. Only one exhorter was found any way doubtful, and we have great hopes of him. Brother Strawbridge received £8 quarterage; Brother King and myself £6 each. Great love subsisted among us in this meeting, and we parted in peace."—Vol. I. p. 133.

Asbury's first appointment to Baltimore was productive of great results in that city, in the settlement, as he terms it, of the society, the erection of chapels, and the rapid extension of the work. There had hitherto been really no organization, no responsible head. Asbury, who "wanted order and certainty," very soon provided for these; and lived to see such a Methodistical establishment in Baltimore as perhaps few cities in the world can boast of. But, true to his principles, he kept continually itinerating and preaching every three weeks over a circuit two hundred miles in extent, and comprising about twenty-four appointments. His brethren did not altogether appreciate either the rigour of his discipline, or the force of his example. Even Pilmoor severely remonstrated with him. But the inflexible man met everything of the kind by corresponding with Wesley on the need of a more vigorous administration, urging him to come himself for the ordering of the churches. This the founder of Methodism was unable to do, but he soon found a man, as he believed, made for the occasion,—a man more rigid and precise than even Asbury himself,—and Thomas Rankin was dispatched to the scene of contention in the quality of "assistant or superintendent." When the history of these times is read in the light of subsequent events, one is disposed to regret that Wesley did not at once invest Asbury himself with plenipotentiary powers; but probably Rankin's greater age and experience enabled him to effect what Asbury at that time

might have failed to accomplish. Rankin was an experienced and consummate disciplinarian. He was a Scotchman of commanding mien. His capacious forehead, well-knit brows, firmly compressed lips, erect figure, and the generally aquiline contour of his features presented quite an imposing aspect; and they were the true index to an imperial,—not to say an occasionally imperious,—spirit. And he had need be an able, self-reliant, and resolute commander, who should reduce the American societies to system and order. We must not dwell on his antecedents; nor, indeed, at any length upon his career as Mr. Wesley's general superintendent in America. He was accompanied by George Shadford, the most remarkable of all Wesley's American missionaries for "immediate usefulness," the chief "revivalist" of those times, who was eminently successful as a preacher, and greatly beloved by all who knew him.

On June 3rd, 1773, they arrived in Philadelphia, where Asbury heartily welcomed them, and where Rankin preached on the same night. "He will not be admired as a preacher," says Asbury, "but as a disciplinarian he will fill his place." This judgment as to Rankin's preaching power was subsequently modified. One immediate effect of his arrival was the holding, on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of July, of the first American Conference. The following extract shows the condition of Methodism at that time:—

"The first reports of members in society were made to this Conference: they were 180 in New York, 180 in Philadelphia, 200 in New Jersey, 500 in Maryland, 100 in Virginia; nearly half were therefore in Maryland, the most fruitful soil that the denomination has found in the country. The aggregate returns were 1160. Rankin was disappointed, he expected to find a larger numerical strength in American Methodism. These, however, were only its members of classes; there were many more adherents who considered themselves members of its societies. The preachers had formed societies without classes; the exact discipline of English Methodism had not, in fact, been yet fully introduced into America. Asbury laboured hard to conform the American societies to Wesley's model,—but had met with no little resistance from both the preachers and laymen. Rankin had been sent out for this purpose, and to these two thorough disciplinarians we owe the effective organization of the incipient Methodism of the New World. Without them, it seems probable that it would have adopted a settled pastorate, and become blended with the Anglican Church of the colonies, or, like the fruits of Whitefield's labours, been absorbed in the general Protestantism of the country. Rankin complained at the Conference of the pre-

vailing laxity of discipline. 'Some,' he writes, 'of the above number I found were not closely united to us. Indeed, our discipline was not properly attended to, except in Philadelphia and New York; and even in those places it was upon the decline. Nevertheless, from the accounts I heard, there was a real foundation laid of doing much good, and we hoped to see greater things than these.'"—Vol. I. pp. 161, 162.

Asbury faithfully seconded Rankin's efforts to introduce the Methodistic discipline, especially as it respected itinerancy. He tells us that "there were some debates among the preachers in this Conference relative to the conduct of some who had manifested a desire to abide in the cities and live like gentlemen. Three years out of four have been already spent in the cities. It was also found that money had been wasted, improper leaders appointed, and many of our rules broken." Boardman and Pilmoor returned to Europe soon after Rankin's arrival. Boardman resumed his ministerial labours in Ireland, and died about eight years afterwards greatly respected and beloved. Pilmoor's name does not appear in connection with British Methodism till 1776; and in 1785, being offended that Wesley had neither made him general superintendent of American Methodism, nor even included his name in the "deed of declaration," he retired, returned to America, and took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He lived to a good old age, and never lost his attachment to his former brethren. But, while Wesley's missionaries were thus returning home, a great impulse was given to the work in America, and native itinerants were raised up rapidly, and in considerable numbers. William Watters, Philip Gatch, Nathan Perigau, Benjamin Abbott ("a rough but earnest soul," whose spiritual struggles remind one of the experience of John Bunyan, and who, though a Boanerges in the pulpit, seems to have had much of the sweetness of St. John in private life), Jesse Lee, Freeborn Garretson, appear on the field about this time; and the movement was aided by the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, of Virginia, the Fletcher of American Methodism. The multiplication of these native agents was a most timely indication of the divine goodwill to the infant church; for, in two or three years more, the revolutionary war broke out, and all the English missionaries but Asbury left the colony. The interval, however, was one of prodigious labour and triumphant gospelling; and the itinerants were admirably prepared for the dark and stormy days that were fast approaching. The name of Benjamin Abbott introduces us

to some of those extraordinary physical effects which so frequently accompanied the preaching of the early Methodists, and have reappeared in our own day in times of strong religious excitement. They were very common under Abbott's preaching, and have often been quoted by cool and sceptical philosophers in disparagement of the word of God. Dr. Stevens has some sensible remarks on this subject :—

"These physical effects of religious excitement—the excesses of a commendable spiritual earnestness—were not peculiar to Methodist preaching. Outcries, convulsions, syncopes, had been common in the province before the first visit of Whitefield, under the ministrations of Rowland, whose hearers 'fainted away,' and were often carried out of the churches as dead men. Similar effects attended Whitefield's preaching there. They had been common under the labours of Edwards in New England. The best Methodist authorities have not considered them necessary accompaniments of a genuine religious awakening, but while admitting them to be hardly avoidable in times of profound religious excitement, they regret them as human infirmities, and recommend all possible caution against them."—Vol I. pp. 261, 262.

And again :—

"We shall hereafter have to record frequent examples of these 'phenomena,' especially in the West, not always arising from Methodistic influence, but in the most extraordinary instance from the ministrations of another denomination. Apparently a specific effect of religious excitement, on a peculiar cerebral susceptibility, they have been common to all religions. The tranquil Friends owe their name of 'Quakers' to them. The devotees of Brahma and Buddha, the Dervishes of Islamism, the convulsionaires of France, the mystics of all faiths and all ages, have afforded examples of them. In our day they have occurred almost on a national scale in Ireland, in connection with a salutary religious interest. Our future science can alone give their just solution. But science has its pride and its pharisaism, as unbefitting to it as the same vices are to religion; it affected at first to ridicule Harvey, Jenner, Galileo, and Copernicus. A fastidious repugnance to the charge of charlatanism has led it, in the present age, to ignore, or impute solely to imposture, falsely-called 'spiritualistic' phenomena, which have deluded half the civilized world, which have afforded the most palpable data for investigation, and in which imposture has evidently been but exceptional, while an occult and profoundly interesting scientific law has been indicated; a law the ascertainment of which would probably disclose the as yet dim and misty intermediate region that connects the material and immaterial worlds. The scientific solution of these mysteries might dispel a vast amount of superstition, and afford beneficent relief to our psychological and theological science."—Vol. I. page 384.

The dignity and wisdom of this rebuke to the scientific dogmatists who are so ready to create theories of imposture or disease for these occasional accompaniments of religious revivals will, we doubt not, be heartily appreciated by our readers.

Rankin remained on the American continent long enough to do good service to the cause which he had so much at heart. His official manners appear to have been unhappy, and he ruled unquestionably with a high hand. Indeed his associates found the rigour of his discipline very hard to bear. But, at the second Conference, held in Philadelphia in 1774, its good effects were apparent in the regulation, consolidation, and growing efficiency of the body, and in an increase of nearly cent. per cent. in the number of members. Before the following Conference, the Revolutionary war broke out; and, as Rankin was a decided royalist, he came into frequent collision with his colonial friends, and ultimately, in 1778, he returned to England. His presence in America at so critical a juncture, and the firm organizing hand which he laid on the Church, did very much to prepare it for the manful struggle, and the glorious successes, which marked its history to the close of that memorable conflict.

The history now returns to Asbury, the only emissary of Wesley who felt it his duty to remain at his post, and attempt to pilot the Church through the tempests of that eventful time. He seems to have had a truer appreciation of the interests involved in the quarrel with the mother-country than any of his brethren. They frequently and anxiously debated with each other as to the course which it would be their duty to pursue; but, in truth, his colleagues had committed themselves too deeply to allow of their remaining longer with hope of usefulness. Shadford and Asbury agreed to fast and pray for divine direction. The result was, that Shadford said he had a call to go home; to which Asbury replied, "If you are called to go, I am called to stay, so here we must part." No doubt all parties were sincere, but we candidly confess that Asbury appears to us to have acted both much more discreetly, and from higher motives than they. The needs of the flock of God weighed upon his conscience, and he could not see it to be his duty to leave them as sheep without a shepherd. So he resolved to abide, "and at the risk of all, even of life itself, to continue to labour and to suffer with and for his American brethren." But he did not intermeddle with politics. He bore the reproach of "toryism" (which fell upon the Methodists in consequence of the loyalty of the English missionaries, and notably in consequence of the injudicious

publication of Wesley's "Calm Address" to the colonies) with meekness and equanimity. He was evidently prepared to live and die in America, for the sake of the Church and men's souls, whatever form of government might ultimately prevail. But he would not anticipate events. He kept himself steadfastly aloof from the fierce strife around him, humbly and earnestly endeavouring, as opportunity offered, to promote the best interests of the combatants on both sides, and quietly retreating when the fury of the storm could not be brooked; waiting in some nook, like the mansion of Judge White, in Kent County, Delaware, until the tyranny should be overpast. He was often extremely sick and weary in body, and was in continual danger of arrest and imprisonment as a suspected royalist. The mob and the smaller magistrates, partly from political, partly from sectarian jealousy, violently persecuted him. Yet, though sympathizing largely with the colonial cause, he would not take the test-oaths, because they contained a pledge to take up arms, if called upon to do so by the authorities; and Asbury was resolved to wield no carnal weapons, and to win no victories but the bloodless and peaceful triumphs of the cross. Yet it is truly amazing to follow his untiring progress as an evangelist during these awful times. In every lull of the storm, and often in the midst of its wildest fury, he is in the saddle, and away over mountain, and plain, and forest, and river, enduring incredible hardships, braving unspeakable perils, preaching wherever he could find a congregation; and finally, after a moral imprisonment of two years and one month, which must often have been almost intolerable, he broke through all restraints, and thenceforward went on his joyous and triumphant way, traversing the continent twice a year,—

"Which, with his daily preaching in chapels, court-houses, barns, private houses, or the open air, present, perhaps, the most extraordinary example of ministerial labour in the history of the church, ancient or modern. His meagre journals give us few details; the biographer or historian is at a loss to sketch his course from the slight jottings of the record; the reader is bewildered with the rapidity of his movements; but through them all the tireless, the invincible, the gigantic apostle appears, planning grandly, and as grandly executing his plans; raising up hosts of members; forming new churches, new circuits, and new Conferences; extending his denomination north, south, east, and west, till it becomes, before his death, co-extensive with the nation, and foremost in energy and success of all American religious communions."—Vol. I. p. 323.

He travelled at this time with incredible rapidity through

Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, preaching, making converts, and organizing the churches over all the central parts of the continent, from New York to North Carolina. "The Lord," he says, "is my witness that if my whole body, yea, every hair of my head, could labour and suffer, they should be freely given up for God and souls." Was not this the man for the time and the work? We can fancy him sometimes reflecting on the loneliness of his lot—the only remaining member of the band sent out from England; we can think of him regretting the defection of his brethren, longing for news from home, and for the renewal of the old fellowships. At length, in November, 1784, "weary and worn by travel and preaching, he arrived, on Sunday, during public worship, at his friend Barratt's chapel. What is it that so strangely affects this self-contained and melancholy man, filling his eye with a strange light, causing the blood to crimson his pale and sombre face? There stands in the pulpit "a man of small stature, ruddy complexion, brilliant eyes, long hair, feminine but musical voice, and gowned as an English clergyman." With a beating heart, Asbury runs up the pulpit stairs, embraces him, and kisses him before the whole congregation; for he is no other than Thomas Coke, LL.D., the man perhaps of smallest stature and largest heart that Methodism ever knew. He came direct from Wesley to cheer the heart of the lonely labourer, and to effect "the most momentous revolution in American Methodism." He had been ordained "Bishop" by Wesley just before his departure, and was, in fact—despite all that high churchmen may object,—"the first Protestant Bishop of the Western hemisphere."

The name of Judge White appears in the above account of Asbury's trials during the revolutionary war. He was one of several illustrious laymen in connexion with early American Methodism, and no account of its planting and training would be complete which should omit all reference to the services which they rendered to the cause during its primitive period. Thomas White, who was at that time, "Chief Judge of the Common Pleas," had been for some time a Church of England man before he met with the Methodists; and his wife was a woman of rare excellence, devout, charitable, an admirable mother and mistress. She clung with fervent love to the Methodists from the moment when she first heard them preach; and through her influence her husband opened his house to the itinerants, and was presently made partaker of true religion. Mrs. White had unusual talents, and generally

acted as priestess of the family. Asbury found rest and refuge with this excellent couple, though his host was more than once carried off by parties of soldiers. The courage and piety of the lady were finely displayed on these occasions. She was ready, if need be, to lead the public services of religion, and greatly helped the faith and courage of the preachers with whom she came in contact. Husband and wife enjoyed and exemplified a very mature Christian life. She survived him but a short time; and "near by the old homestead the bricks that arched their graves, now sunk in the earth, mark the spot where their heaven-watched dust reposes, till they shall appear in the bloom and beauty of immortality."

Richard Bassett, of Dover, Delaware, was another Methodist layman of mark. Being a friend of White's, he called during Asbury's retirement, to spend a night with the judge. He drew back, however, at the sight of a few men in sable garments, and learning that they were "Methodist preachers," refused to stay. But the good lady of the house gently constrained him, and he was so much pleased with Asbury that he invited him to call on him at Dover. Mrs. Bassett was much disconcerted, but her husband hinted that the preacher would probably not accept the invitation. Asbury came soon afterwards, however, and dissipated all fear and prejudice by the charm of his manner and discourse; thenceforward for forty years the Bassetts were among his chief friends. Bassett was brave and generous. He defended White, who was suspected of Toryism, rescuing him with a drawn sword from the fury of the rabble. Both he and his wife were soon converted; Bassett became a preacher, and built a chapel which was called after his name. At his three residences, in Dover, Wilmington, and Bohemia Manor, many a Methodist meeting took place. Quarterly Conferences and other extraordinary gatherings were frequently held under his hospitable roof. He was a man of great social consideration, was delegated to the convention which framed the constitution of the United States, and was elected senator in congress, and governor of the state.

Judge Barratt was another of those true yokefellows who afforded countenance, hospitality, and protection to the early itinerants, and helped forward the infant cause by their open-handed liberality. It was in his chapel that the touching interview between Asbury and Coke, mentioned above, took place. It still remains, a monument of its founder. Asbury greatly loved him; and in his old age took a pensive pleasure in recalling the kindness which he, and such as he, had shown

during the revolutionary struggle. It is indeed remarkable, that many persons of wealth and station should so soon have consecrated their endowments to the struggling cause. Asbury especially was welcomed in a large number of such families as an honoured priest, and our historian doubts whether even Washington himself was more reverentially regarded in the United States than the pioneer bishop of Methodism.

With that word "bishop," we must now recur to Coke's arrival on the American Continent. Of the antecedents of this remarkable and apostolic man we have not space to write, nor is it necessary. Methodism throve wonderfully in America during the revolution. Indeed, it was the only form of Christianity which did prosper. At the close of the struggle, it reckoned its hearers by tens of thousands, and its members by thousands, while it employed eighty travelling preachers. It had numbers of chapels and preaching places. But the policy pursued by Rankin had issued in depriving its people to an alarming extent of the sacraments. The episcopal clergy had, for the most part, abandoned the country, or entered into military or civil life; and there was no near prospect of the reconstruction of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as the current of public opinion set in strong against religious endowments. Some efforts were made by the Methodist Conferences of 1779 and 1780 to provide for the administration of the sacraments; but there was much diversity both of opinion and practice on the subject. Wesley was appealed to for counsel. He had long since modified his opinion on the merits of the revolutionary war; and now he felt that some decisive step must be taken to provide for that Church which, in the altered condition of the country, he could not much longer expect to govern. He endeavoured to procure from Bishop Lowth the ordination of at least one presbyter to administer the sacraments amongst the American Methodists, but that prelate refused the boon. As usual with Wesley, the emergency set him thinking whether he could not himself take the requisite measures. He had long been convinced of the original identity of bishops and presbyters, and had no doubt as to his right to ordain or consecrate as circumstances might require. He shrank, however, with his customary timidity, from irregular measures; but conscience, stimulated by the hand of divine providence, drove him on. The saintly Fletcher helped to determine his decision; and at last the founder of Methodism ordained Coke (already a presbyter of the Church of England) as superintendent, or bishop, of the Methodist Societies in America, and

Vasey and Whatcoat, two of his "helpers," as presbyters. He was assisted herein by the Rev. James Creighton, also a presbyter of the English Church. On the 18th of September Coke and his companions set sail from Bristol, and arrived in New York on the 3rd of November. Coke delayed the public announcement of Wesley's scheme for the government of the church till he should have consulted Asbury; and, making arrangements for the holding of a general conference in Baltimore, at the following Christmas, he proceeded southward, and there, as we have seen, at Barratt's Chapel, "in the forest solitude," the two great representative men of American Methodism had their first touching interview. Here the details of the scheme of government were discussed and prepared. During the interval till Christmas, Coke travelled along a route prepared for him by Asbury, preaching to immense congregations, and winning golden opinions by his courtesy, his refined taste, and the loveliness of his temper and disposition. At last, a large gathering of itinerants assembled at Perry Hall, the noble mansion of Mr. Gough, a wealthy layman. After spending a few days in thoroughly revising the draft of the intended "Constitution," the party on the 24th of December, 1784, "rode from Perry Hall to Baltimore, and at ten o'clock, A.M., began the first 'General Conference' in the Lovely Lane Chapel." This was the "Christmas Conference" of American Methodist History. The general history and outline of the Episcopal Constitution then adopted were given to our readers some years ago, and will be found in Vol. III. pp. 136-140. The plan recommended by Wesley was adopted, and Coke and Asbury were elected general superintendents, the latter declining to be consecrated until Mr. Wesley's nomination of him should be confirmed by vote of the Conference. Otterbein, an ordained minister of the German Church, assisted Coke in the consecration of Asbury; and several deacons and elders were subsequently ordained. Coke preached every day at noon, and two of his discourses on the ministerial office were afterwards published. He speaks in terms of warm admiration of the American preachers, especially noting their devotedness, disinterestedness, and impartiality. In his sermon on the consecration of Asbury, he seems to have risen far beyond the usual level of his eloquence, and one passage in it is almost prophetic: "He will carry his Gospel by thee from sea to sea, and from one end of the continent to another." The ministers before the preacher were nearly all young men, who had been engaged in ministerial service only from one to ten

years; but they went forth from that sermon and that Conference "full of faith and of the Holy Ghost," and in the few following years were "mighty men and men of renown," while Methodism began to take root, and to fill the land. Of the "discipline," as adopted then, and modified at subsequent general Conferences, it may safely be said that it is one of the most complete, systematic, and admirable digests of ecclesiastical law in existence. We doubt whether any church, at least any Protestant church, possesses so valuable a disciplinary code. Eminently scriptural in its principles, it is simple, comprehensive, intelligible, easily-worked, and has not failed to give satisfaction and to work admirably for the conservation and extension of the church during a period of eighty years. We commend Dr. Stevens' chapters on the Organization and Theological and Ecclesiastical Character of American Methodism, as settled at the "Christmas Conference," to the study especially of our more thoughtful readers. In its main outlines, the Constitution of the Church may be considered as embodying Wesley's *beau ideal* of Church government, and it will ever remain a surprising monument of that great man's singleness of purpose and legislative ability. For the first few years, the general Conference was simply a meeting of the whole ministry in session; the second Conference did not meet till 1792; but the custom of a quadrennial gathering obtained from that time; and in 1808 it was resolved to organize the General Conference as a delegated body, in which capacity it met in New York in the year 1812. Its functions have already been described in our pages.

Did our space permit, we should rejoice to trace the first movements of the American Methodist Episcopate, somewhat minutely. A few details must suffice. The newly-organized church started on her great career with "eighteen thousand members, and one hundred and four itinerant preachers, besides some hundreds of local preachers and exhorters, who were incessantly labouring in its service." Such was the increase already vouchsafed to the seed sown by Embury and Webb, less than twenty years previously! The band of devoted labourers found the whole country open to them, and waiting for the law of God from their lips. The number of non-communicating hearers was greater in proportion than it has subsequently been. Wherever the itinerants went, they collected the largest congregations in the country. Discarding all routine and "red tape," dispensing with everything like ceremony, and paying small heed to what less

earnest men deem necessary decorum, American Methodism put on its work-day dress, threw itself into the life of the country, wielded the rough tools, and did the rough work which the occasion required; and the consequence was, that it triumphed gloriously. And then, as now, the bishops of the church were the great examples of self-denial, energy, and apostolic zeal. Their chief function was to "travel at large" from end to end of the land, ordering the churches; and right well did they discharge it. Coke took his full share of the labours and perils of this stupendous itinerancy, so long as he remained on the continent, and he had some "hairbreadth escapes by flood and field." We note with pleasure, that under his influence the Conference of North Carolina petitioned the General Assembly of that province to pass an Act authorizing such as might be so disposed to emancipate their slaves. The Methodists of the Southern States had not then made the notable discovery that slavery was of divine institution, the normal idea of society, and the true basis of the social pyramid. A similar attempt was immediately afterwards made upon the Virginian Legislature, and Coke and Asbury made vigorous onslaughts everywhere on what they regarded and denounced as an abominable evil. About this time they dined with Washington at Mount Vernon; Coke gives the following account of the visit:—

"He received us very politely, and was very open to access. He is quite the plain country gentleman. After dinner we desired a private interview, and opened to him the grand business on which we came, presenting to him our petition for the emancipation of the negroes, and entreating his signature, if the eminence of his station did not render it inexpedient for him to sign any petition. He informed us that he was of our sentiments, and had signified his thoughts on the subject to most of the great men of the State; that he did not see it proper to sign the petition, but if the Assembly took it into consideration, would signify his sentiments to the Assembly by a letter. He asked us to spend the evening and lodge at his house, but our engagement at Annapolis the following day would not admit of it."—Vol. II. p. 250.

Coke returned to Europe in June, 1785. On the fifth of that month, Asbury took the first step in another great department of the work of American Methodism, by laying the foundation-stone of the first Methodist College at Abingdon, Maryland. It was called Cokesbury College, a name compounded from those of the first bishops of the Church. Since that time Methodism has taken a foremost place among the

educating agencies of America, and has assisted in covering the land with noble schools, colleges, and halls of learning. Nor must we forget that the American itinerants, even more than their brethren in England, were the chief purveyors of religious literature through the widely-scattered rural populations, who but for them would never have seen a book at all. Cokesbury College, however, did not prove very successful. It was a source of constant trouble and annoyance to Asbury, and was wholly destroyed by fire about ten years after its erection. The only thing in that event which gave him much regret, was the loss of the library.

In the interval between the first and second General Conferences, Methodism was carried by its indefatigable agents into all parts of the country, to the extreme south, to the valley of the Mississippi in the west, and to the British Provinces in the north. The romantic story of its progress may be read at length in the latter half of Dr. Stevens' second volume. It is a wonderful narrative of travel, labour, zeal, suffering, and conquest. It is almost impossible to select any special point from the wealth of incident that lies open before us. If anything may be allowed to detain us now, it must be the astonishing career of Jesse Lee, the Methodist apostle of New England. Our author is at home in this part of his work, for Jesse Lee and New England Methodism have long been a specially favourite study with him. Lee took that rigid, Puritanical, formal, Calvinistic bundle of States fairly by storm. His *début* was thus :—

"Near the centre of the Boston Park, or Common, stands a venerable elm; the crowning ornament of its scenery. Its decayed limbs are held together by clamps and rivets of iron, and a railing defends it from rude hands, for it is sacred in the traditions of New England. It is especially sacred to the Methodists of the eastern metropolis. On a serene afternoon of July, 1790, a man of middle age, of a benign but shrewd countenance, and dressed in a style of simplicity which might have been supposed the guise of a quaker, took his stand upon a table to preach beneath its branches. Four persons approached, and gazed upon him with surprise, while he sang a hymn. It was sung by his solitary voice; at its conclusion he knelt down upon the table, and stretching forth his hands, prayed with a fervour so unwonted in the cool and minute petitions of the Puritan pulpits, that it attracted the groups of promenaders who had come to spend an evening hour in the shady walks; and by the time he rose from his knees, they were streaming in processions from the different points of the common toward him. While he opened his small Bible, and preached to them without 'notes,' but with the 'demonstration of the Spirit and of power,' the multitude grew into a dense mass, three thousand strong,

eagerly catching every utterance of the singular stranger, and some of them receiving his message into 'honest and good hearts.'"—Vol. II. pp. 403, 404.

The staid Bostonians were captivated with the beauty of his imagery, and still more with the sweetness and pathos of his discourse, and it was generally "agreed that such a man had not visited New England since the days of Whitefield."

That there was room and need for the work of Methodism in New England, is clear from the fact, that the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers had fallen sadly away from the spirit of their glorious ancestors. Dry orthodoxy in the most favoured cases, and Arianism, and even Socinianism, in not a few instances, had fallen upon the Congregational churches of the Eastern States. A church which preached the doctrines of grace without the accompaniments of election and reprobation, and which proclaimed religion as a spiritual life and power, had strong claims to be heard; and it was heard, and, on the whole, favourably received, though both pastors and deacons looked coldly upon it, and placed all manner of obstacles in the way of its agents. Lee itinerated in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont, travelling with great rapidity, and preaching wherever he could get a congregation. His fame spread abroad everywhere, and multitudes flocked to hear him. Other labourers joined him, and co-operated in the work; and, at the end of two years after his first sermon under the Boston elm, he had the satisfaction of sitting by Asbury's side at the first New England Conference, and assisting in the organization of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over eighteen ministers, nine circuits, and more than six hundred members,—a truly memorable success when the Calvinistic pre-occupation and prejudice of New England are considered. Thus, at the time to which Dr. Stevens' narrative conducts us—the time of "the first regular General Conference in 1792,"—the foundations of the Methodist Episcopal Church had been laid in every part of the American Union. During the eight years following the Christmas Conference, there had been a five-fold increase of members, and more than a two-fold increase of ministers. That is to say, there had been an average annual gain of 6,374 members, and of about twenty-three preachers. We doubt whether that rate of increase has ever been surpassed in the history of Christianity,

Here we must reluctantly take leave of our author, and of his deeply interesting subject, not, however, without reference

to another and much later period in the history of his Church. At the Wesleyan Conference recently held in Birmingham, the Methodist Episcopal Church was represented, most fittingly and effectively, by one of the most laborious and honoured of its chief ministers—Bishop Janes. We do not presume to speak of the impression made by the public deliverances and private intercourse of this eminent man upon his English brethren. But from the truly masterly and eloquent public address which he delivered in the open session of the Conference, we extract the following statistics. The Church which he represented comprises only a portion of the Methodist agency at work in America; for the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and various smaller offshoots, number their people by hundreds of thousands. But the Methodist Episcopal Church proper contains under its jurisdiction 928,320 communicants, 6,821 itinerant ministers, 8,205 local ministers, 10,015 churches, 2,948 parsonages, 26,883,076 dollars, or £5,376,000 worth of church and school property, 13,153 Sunday-schools, 148,475 officers and teachers, 859,700 scholars. In foreign lands there are 161 missionaries, and 7,022 church members. The income of its missionary society is more than £100,000. There are 28 universities or colleges, containing 4,675 students, and endowed to the value of more than £5,600,000; 2 theological schools, having 116 students, and property worth £30,000; 76 academic institutions, with about 10,000 students, the number of males and females being about equal. The church has nine weekly, and several semi-monthly, monthly, and quarterly periodicals of an official character, besides many more which, though unofficial, are thoroughly Methodistic; and the general literature of the church is most voluminous, and contains not a few works of high character. On the whole, looking back to that hour when, at the instance of Barbara Heck, Philip Embury awoke from his spiritual lethargy, and preached to the little congregation of five persons in his own house, and then considering the gigantic proportions and admirable quality of the harvest which has already sprung from that "handful of corn," we can only say, with the dying founder of Methodism, "What hath God wrought!" "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes!"

ART. VIII.—*St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. A Revised Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations.* By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D. Macmillan. 1865.

OUR English commentators have struck out a new line in the construction of expository monographs, and in that line they bid fair to outstrip all competition. The ideal they have set before them is the combination of three aims in one general design: minute criticism of the text, including its settlement as a text and the grammatical interpretation of its sense; exposition of its theological and practical bearing; and investigation of what may be termed the historical relations of the document itself. When, in the pursuit of this triple object, thorough but not oppressive learning rules the first department, a sound faith is found in the second, and the true genius of the historical artist is not wanting in the third, perfection may be regarded as within sight. We have seen no more favourable specimen of this combination than Dr. Lightfoot's edition of the Galatian Epistle, one of a series of Pauline expositions which we earnestly hope he may be permitted to complete, as likely to be a very valuable addition to a literature already rich. It is not absolutely all we could wish, as will be seen; but a revision might easily make it so.

In his text Dr. Lightfoot has followed none of the commonly received recensions, but has modestly used his own judgment. His dissertations on some contested readings are very interesting to those who take pleasure in seeing the process by which Holy Scripture is being slowly but surely brought back to the *ipsissima verba* of the original autograph. They mostly command assent. He prefers, and rightly, the reading which strips ch. iii. 1 of "that ye should not obey the truth," and "among you;" in ch. vii. he leaves the text, as the best evidence requires, "an heir through God;" with equal propriety ch. iv. 14 is made "your temptation on my flesh;" in ch. iv. 25, Hagar is dropped from the text, following authorities to which the new Sinaitic codex (now beginning, it is pleasant to observe, to lead the way as it ought) gives a preponderance. In ch. v. 1, however, he has followed strong authority in giving the words an order that we feel it hard to accept: at any rate there does not appear any sufficient reason for making the clause "stand fast therefore," a part of the conclusion of the fifth chapter, where it mars the terse close

of the argument. The same holds good of ch. iv. 19, where the pointing that makes "my little children" end a sentence instead of begin it, is a grievous injury to the Apostle's appeal. As it respects the interpretation of the text thus carefully revised, the editor hits the happy medium between subtilty and superficiality: no parade is made of Greek Testament grammar,—indeed, on some points, a little more were desirable,—but the results of sound scholarship are given with an indefinable precision that inspires absolute confidence.

The theology of the expositor is of the right type. He has nothing of the Rationalist in his principles of interpretation. The early fathers are abundantly used, but not blindly; the labours of modern English and German writers are not neglected; commentators of all classes and of all ages are more or less consulted; but the whole is regulated by the standard of the soundest Church of England theology. If there is any defect here, it is that of a certain coldness of temperament in the exposition which may not, perhaps, be felt by all as we feel it. The spiritual education of St. Paul, and the direct inspiration that gave him his insight into the fulness of Gospel truth, are scarcely dwelt upon as their own importance and the exigencies of modern controversy demand. The exhibition of the doctrines of redemption does not glow in these pages as it ought in a commentary on the Galatians. The mystical union of the believer with Christ, which runs through all St. Paul's Epistles, and of which this Epistle contains the very text and most profound expression, is not unfolded as a genuine disciple of St. Paul should unfold it. The work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers is not, indeed, positively, but we think it is negatively, understated, and, on the whole, we could desire the infusion of a warmer tone into the entire commentary upon an epistle which yields to no portion of the New Testament as a profound exposition of Christ's redeeming work, and of the believer's participation of its benefits.

The historical element in the interpretation of this ancient document of the Christian Church has here more justice done it than perhaps in any other commentary. No epistle requires so much as this to be studied in the light of its historical bearings. Its connexion with the life of the Apostle himself, and the peculiarities of the people to whom he wrote; its relation to the fundamental discussions of the apostolical age; its bearings on later and recent controversies, all conspire to make large and peculiar demands upon the skill and judgment of the commentator. The present volume is fur-

nished with a variety of able disquisitions that leave no point of historical importance emerging from the Epistle untouched. Two or three of them might be, perhaps, abridged to advantage: not because their subjects are not deeply interesting and deserving of laborious investigation, but because the abridgment would leave room for one or two other essays which seem needful to make its assemblage of *obiter* and appended disquisitions complete. We might suggest, for instance, additional essays on the relation borne by the doctrine of the Epistle to the general body of Pauline doctrine; on the reconciliation of its historical notes with the Acts; on the Fulness of time; on the bearing of the Galatian argument on the great Protestant protest against Rome: and, above all, on the relations of the Epistle to modern Tübingen rationalism. The addition of these would make this volume, as a historical commentary, as much better than itself as it is now better than any other that we have seen.

Our object in the following remarks is to give a general view of the characteristics of this Epistle, laying the main stress on the controversial elements that shaped its character, but not forgetting its broader and more general features as a portion of scriptural truth.

Dr. Lightfoot has taken great pains to make us acquainted with the Galatian people. His account of them is thoroughly exhaustive: indeed, we should be disposed to begrudge the large space devoted to the investigation of their ethnological and tribal relations, were it not for the feeling that we cannot know too much of a race of men who played so important a part in early Christianity, and whose peculiarities of national character affected so deeply their history as Christians. *Galatæ* was the Greek name given to a wild horde of Celts, which, in the dawn of history, are seen recoiling from the Western ocean that limited their first migration from the East, and successively ravaging Rome and Greece in a mighty but irregular return wave to their original centres. A considerable detachment of these formidable warriors crossed the Hellespont in the third century before the Christian era; overran the greater part of Asia Minor; but were at length confined to the limits of the Galatia of history by the Pergamene Attalus. In the next century their three tribes, occupying Tavium, Pessinus and Ancyra as their respective capitals, were subjugated by Manlius; and finally the Romans, after having allowed them a century and a half of native rule, during which they gave their patrons no small trouble, formed them into

a province under Augustus. Meanwhile, according to the universal law of nations, a fusion had taken place between the Galatians and the Phrygian population whose territory they had usurped: and gradually the sanguinary superstitions of the Gauls were amalgamated with the wild and obscene orgies of the Phrygian worship of Cybele. Mingled with the Celts and Phrygians there were also numbers of Greek settlers, who had followed Alexander's successors into the country before the Celtic invasion, and whose relative importance is attested by the fact that the Romans gave the district the name of Gallogræcia. But this is not all: while the Greeks introduced them to a new language and literature, the Roman conquerors also pervaded the country, adding another influential element to the heterogeneous population. And, finally, the Jews appear to have been driven by their commercial instincts into Galatia, where they made many proselytes, and found a more ready reception for their own Scriptures than in most other countries of the dispersion.

But while these five ingredients were blended in this composite race, there is ample evidence that the Celtic blood prevailed in the type of character which the Gospel encountered in Galatia, and which it encountered nowhere else in apostolic times. However much debased by generations of intercourse with the Phrygians, the most degraded of Asiatics, however moulded by the effete civilization of Greeks and Romans, and however accessible to Jewish influences, the Galatians retained in the apostle's days the distinctive characteristics which universal testimony assigned to the Gauls, whether of East or West, and which assert their indestructibility in Europe to the present day. The better and the worse features of their character are vividly reflected from the pages of St. Paul's Epistle, and answer perfectly to all the historical records of the race, whether in ancient or in modern times. Alacrity and energy of mind, readiness of apprehension, quick susceptibility to spiritual impressions, thirst of knowledge, promptitude in action, fervent passions, and general enthusiasm of temperament, are the more attractive elements; and all these mark the Galatians of our sacred history. But they have their preponderating counterpart in fickleness, treachery, want of perseverance, and incapacity for sustained action; to which must be added certain vices springing from their religion,—a religion that made them slaves to a priesthood, bound them to ritual observances that never appealed to anything but the flesh, and enforced upon them observances cruel beyond the type of all other superstitions from which

the Gospel came to redeem mankind. And these darker features also are reflected from the mirror of the Epistle.

It might have been expected that the introduction of the Gospel to a region occupied by so strange a race, where heathenism and Judaism co-existed in their most marked and defiant types, and where the truth won a victory so striking and all but universal, would have found an ample record in the Acts of the Apostles. But it is otherwise.

"In Galatia the Gospel would find itself in conflict with two distinct types of worship, which then divided the allegiance of civilised heathendom. At Pessinus the service of Cybele, the most widely revered of all Pagan deities, represented, perhaps more adequately than any other service, the genuine spirit of the old popular religion. At Ancyra the pile dedicated to the divinities of Augustus and Rome was one of the earliest and most striking embodiments of the new political work which imperial statecraft had devised to secure the respect of its subject people. We should gladly have heard how the great apostle advocated the cause of the truth against either form of error. Our curiosity, however, is here disappointed. It is strange that while we have more or less acquaintance with all the other important churches of St. Paul's founding with Corinth, and Ephesus, with Philippi and Thessalonica, not a single name of a person or place, scarcely a single incident of any kind, connected with the apostle's preaching in Galatia, should be preserved either in the history or the Epistle. The reliance of the apostle himself indeed may be partly accounted for by the circumstances of the Galatian Church. The same delicacy which has concealed from us the name of the Corinthian offender, may have led him to avoid all special allusions in addressing a community to which he wrote in a strain of the severest censure. Yet even the slight knowledge we do possess of the early Galatian Church is gathered from the Epistle, with scarcely any aid from the history. Can it be that the historian gladly drew a veil over the infancy of a church which swerved so soon and so widely from the purity of the gospel?"—P. 20.

The suggestions that close this extract scarcely seem to strike the true note. The Apostle's allusions in the Epistle betray no sort of prudential or tolerant reticence; historical details could not be expected in a document written with one simple design, and adhering to that design throughout with unswerving tenacity of purpose. Moreover, it was not St. Paul's wont to spare the offenders who perverted the Gospel of Christ. This was an offence for which he had no tolerance; and the keen severity of the entire Epistle—a severity which does not permit him to veil even the obliquity of St. Peter—shows that if he did not mention the names of the malignants

who disturbed the Church, or at least the name of that one who seems to have taken the lead in that disturbance, it was because his intelligence concerning the evil was not precise in detail. And as to the historian, the reason of his comparative silence may be sought rather in the course of his history itself. At the point where St. Paul's first visit to the region of Phrygia and Galatia is mentioned by St. Luke, his narrative has reached a critical period of profound interest to the Apostle himself, and of profound importance in the history of Christianity. It was after the Apostolic congress when St. Paul and Silas revisited the churches founded in the first missionary journey, delivering the decrees issued by the council, pacifying and confirming the churches. This great congress having finally set the Apostle free for more extended labours among the Gentiles, an irresistible influence of the Holy Spirit turned his face westward, and urged him, notwithstanding his own contrary plans, to carry the Gospel to a new and unvisited continent. St. Luke wrote his narrative in the full consciousness of the grandeur of this crisis; and, as we read, we feel that he is hurrying us with the Apostle and his companions to the sea-coast and to Troas. Hence the brevity with which the record mentions what must have occupied a considerable period, the going "*throughout* Phrygia and the region of Galatia." When, some short time afterwards, St. Paul is recorded to have paid a second visit—as his manner was—to this district, St. Luke's narrative is on the threshold of another great epoch in the Apostle's life, his residence in Ephesus; and again, the historian mentions simply the fact that "he went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples." But brief as is this notice, it establishes two points: first, that the Gospel had a very extensive hold upon the entire region; and secondly, that its fruits were such as to approve themselves to the Apostle; in other words, that the Galatians, notwithstanding the existence of germs of error, formed at that time a flourishing community of churches.

We cannot but think that the representations usually given of the conversion of the Galatians, which are very strikingly reproduced in this volume, are rather exaggerated and misleading. Our meaning will be made plain by the following very striking passage:—

"It can scarcely have been any predisposing religious sympathy which attracted them so powerfully, though so transiently, to the Gospel. They may indeed have held the doctrine of the immortality

of the soul, which is said to have formed part of the Druidical teaching in European Gaul. It is possible too that there lingered, even in Galatia, the old Celtic conviction, so cruelly expressed in their barbarous sacrifices, that only by man's blood could man be redeemed. But with these doubtful exceptions, the Gospel, as a message of mercy and a spiritual faith, stood in direct contrast to the gross and material religions in which the race had been nurtured, whether the cruel ritualism of their old Celtic creed, or the frightful orgies of their adopted worship of the mother of the gods. Yet, though the whole spirit of Christianity was so alien to their habits of thought, we may well imagine how the fervour of the Apostle's manner may have fired their religious enthusiasm. The very image under which he describes his preaching, brings vividly before us the energy and force with which he delivered his message. He *placarded* Christ crucified before their eyes, arresting the gaze of the spiritual loiterer, and riveting it on this proclamation of his sovereign. If we picture to ourselves the Apostle as he appeared before the Galatians, a friendless outcast, writhing under the tortures of a painful malady, yet instant in season and out of season, by turns denouncing and entreating, appealing to the agonies of a crucified Saviour, perhaps also, as at Lystra, enforcing this appeal by some striking miracle, we shall be at no loss to conceive how the fervid temperament of the Gaul might have been aroused, while yet only the surface of his spiritual consciousness was ruffled. For the time, indeed, all seemed to be going on well. 'Ye were running bravely,' says the Apostle, alluding to his favourite image of the footrace. But the very eagerness with which they had embraced the Gospel was in itself a dangerous symptom. A material so easily moulded soon loses the impression it had taken. The passionate current of their Celtic blood which flowed in this direction now might only be too easily diverted into a fresh channel by some new religious impulse. Their reception of the Gospel was not built on a deeply-rooted conviction of its truth, or a genuine appreciation of its spiritual power."—P. 23.

There is something very suggestive in the hint here thrown out as to the points of contact which the Gospel may have found in the doctrines of Druidical teaching; although, when examined, these mysterious affinities elude our curiosity and disappear. It was not so much the immortality of the soul, as its transmigration, that the Druids taught; and the idea of the necessity of man's blood for man's redemption may be reduced to the known fact that the Gallic law required life for life. But there is something unsatisfactory in the picture here drawn of the Gospel's entering in among the Galatians. We do not so much refer to the physical tortures ascribed to the Apostle, and the malady which is said to have detained him in Galatia, "to which" therefore "the Galatians owed

their knowledge of Christ." With all this, indeed, we cannot agree. St. Luke's narrative gives no hint of anything of the kind; it rather describes the journey as taken by St. Paul's deliberate purpose,—his vocation having been thus far to evangelize the whole of the East. And St. Paul's infirmity of the flesh seems not to have been of an acute type, so that "having been detained by illness, he would be anxious to continue his journey as soon as he was convalescent." It was rather a malady that was bound up with his probation, and that accompanied him everywhere: one which, though he prayed that it might be removed, was permitted to attend him as his trial through life. Nor do we dwell upon the unfortunate rendering *placarded*,—one of the very few breaches of fine taste in this volume. What is of more importance than all this, is the under-estimation of St. Paul's work in Galatia. The Divine power accompanying the words of the Apostle, and the demonstration of the Holy Spirit making them effectual to the Galatians in common with all who believed, is not sufficiently acknowledged,—it might almost be said is ignored. Surely the Apostle never mistrusted the reality of the work of grace wrought among the Galatians. They were not superficially affected by the truth: they were soundly converted. It is expressly declared by St. Paul that they had received the Spirit: and the Spirit, not simply, perhaps not at all, in His miraculous gifts, but in His saving grace; the Spirit of conviction, faith, conversion, adoption and regeneration. The force of the Galatian Epistle is lost if we forget this. The Apostle's profound sorrow and equally profound amazement can hardly be understood on any other supposition. If only the surface of their spiritual consciousness was ruffled, the marvel would have been, not that they fell away, but that St. Paul ever thought them converted at all; and if their reception of the Gospel was not built on a deeply-rooted conviction of its truth, his regrets must rather have been expended upon the superficiality of his own teaching, and his own failure of spiritual discernment. But St. Paul was a wise master-builder. His two visits were not so fruitless: in neither had he run in vain or laboured in vain. In the former he had rejoiced to see the Gospel received by multitudes of people with all the signs of a genuine work of grace; and in the second, some time afterwards, he had found only the beginnings of error, and left them, as he himself thought, confirmed in the faith.

The infirmity which was conspicuous at the time of his preaching to the Galatians is mentioned by St. Paul in too

marked a manner to be hastily dismissed. Dr. Lightfoot takes occasion from it to prepare an elaborate essay on that long-contested question of the Apostle's thorn in the flesh. His dissertations are generally unrivalled in completeness of analysis and calmness of reasoning; this one in particular sets the question fully before us. He shows how modern opinion has revolved back to the early tradition that it was some bodily ailment; an opinion which has come at last, after centuries of discussion, to be accepted by most critics. The other interpretations—that it referred to external persecution, internal spiritual trials, or temptations to carnality—long ruled the opinions of the Church; but only in uncritical times. So far, all are now agreed; but there is no agreement beyond. What was the nature of the malady; in what way it affected the Apostle, and how it became a temptation to his hearers; what direct connection it had with Satan; and in what sense it was the Apostle's glorying—are questions which we may suppose will never be solved. Conjecture has to unite two apparently opposite elements of condition in forming its theories; on the one hand, the infirmity was of a kind the obvious tendency of which was to inspire contempt and even worse in those that witnessed it; and, on the other, it was quite consistent with the utmost vigour, both physical and mental, in the service of preaching the Gospel. The former condition of the alternative sets aside acute pain in the head, defective vision, and a multitude of other suggestions. The latter will hardly allow us to accept the conclusion to which our editor seems to incline—viz., that it was of the nature of epilepsy. The question can never be settled. It is sufficient for our present subject that the infirmity was one that might have exposed the Apostle to their contempt, had not the Galatians been courteous and devoutly touched; one that was, in fact, a temptation to them (according to the correct reading of Gal. iv. 14), their superiority to the temptation being gratefully acknowledged by St. Paul, even when he is most sharply condemning their error. "Me, personally," he seems to say, "apart from my great cause, ye injured in nothing: ye know—ye can never forget—what infirmity in the flesh it was that was so prominent when I preached to you. But ye did not despise it, or *loathe* it. Ye saw through all my degradation, the face, as it were, of an angel: nay, more, Christ my Master shone through my vile body."

Many hints in the Epistle—singly not decisive, but as a whole of great weight—lead to the inference that St. Paul on his second visit found his Galatian converts in danger of re-

lapse, through the seduction of certain men who seem to have made it the business of their lives to undermine the Apostle's character and counteract his preaching. But we see no reason to adopt the theory of some modern expositors that the Apostle in his second visit had to mourn over the Galatians as already to a great extent apostate. A careful consideration of the whole argument—for the question among modern critics assumes the dimensions of a controversy—leads us to the conclusion that St. Paul found in Galatia, as he found everywhere else in Asia Minor, traces of the presence of his own peculiar enemies; that is, of those whose enmity was directed against the doctrine he taught, as falsely contrasted with the doctrine of the other Apostles, and against his own authority as a teacher, as compared with the apostolical authority of the Twelve. St. Paul was by this time beginning to be familiar with these men, and to mark them as his own specific opponents; another species of messengers sent to buffet him, piercing his spirit with a thorn far keener than that which pierced his flesh. He discovered their lurking influence no more when he visited Galatia. They durst not openly encounter him. They knew how terrible he had been not long before to Peter, whose name they perverted into their own watchword. They perhaps heard him openly consigning to anathema the man who should ever preach a Gospel different from that which he was bold to call "my Gospel;" and, had they heard that tremendous invective, they must have shrunk from it, and postponed their schemes until his departure from the district. Certainly, the tone of the Epistle, compared with the brief record in the Acts, leads to the supposition that the Apostle left them apparently safe, "confirmed" in the faith, and amply warned against their enemies.

Hence the amazement that trembles throughout the Epistle at their "so soon" departing from the purity of the Gospel; so soon, that is, after his leaving them. Their fall must have been sudden, and it must have been the result of a widespread and well-organized conspiracy. The circumstances are buried in oblivion; we have not the same insight into the internal economy of the Galatian churches which we have into that of Corinth. But we are at liberty to conjecture that the Judaisers, soon after the Council at Jerusalem, and instigated by alarm at the articles of peace issued from that Council, gathered their forces for some central attack, and pitched upon the territory of Galatia as their battle-field. There were many circumstances which recommended that territory. A considerable number of the converts were Jews,

who were always and everywhere more or less accessible to the arguments which these disturbers were wont to use. The well-known character of the Galatians proper—the great mass of the Christian community—would suggest the probability of success. Not only their notorious aptness to swift change, but also their universal bias to the ceremonial in religion, would make them easy victims to a skilfully-ordered attack. That attack succeeded only too well. The arguments adopted, and the arts used in urging them, are abundantly explained both in the Acts and in the Epistle. Their arguments we may gather from the replies of the Apostle. Their fundamental point would be, that the new economy, which grew out of the old economy, and was its fulfilment, could never be designed of God to supersede the law of Moses; that a strict adherence to the letter of the law, at least as to its leading rites, injunctions, and ordinances, must be eternally necessary, since they had been expressly appointed "for all generations;" that thus, while nothing was lost which Christ had brought in as the Great Teacher, everything was saved that had been consecrated through long ages; that thus the New Testament would be added to the Old, instead of the Old Testament being lost in the New. When it is remembered that the Gospels were not yet in the hands of the converts, and that the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem had not reached them, or reached them only as a vague and uncertain rumour; when we reflect upon man's natural yearning for the sensuous in religion, a bias very strongly developed in the Galatians; and when, finally, we bear in mind that their spiritual father and counsellor was absent, and that they had no documentary teaching as yet to which they might appeal, while these false teachers were present and persistent in their subtle teachings, we may form something like a fair estimate of the strength of the assault before which the "foolish" Galatians succumbed. But while their arguments were specious, it is probable that the Judaisers depended for success still more upon the arts by which they undermined the Apostle's authority. Here they could make out a very strong case. They would not fail to make the utmost of the fact that Paul was, notwithstanding all his pretensions and labours, only an Apostle at a second remove; Christ had not directly appointed him to his office, and whatever knowledge he had of Christianity he must have derived from the teaching of the Twelve, or rather the three prominent heads of the Church at Jerusalem, Peter, James, and John. They would not fail to urge that the other Apostles were termed "Apostles of the circum-

cision," and never opposed the circumcision of Gentile converts; that, in fact, Paul had struck out a new path of his own in that respect. Then they would make bitter use of the argument that, whatever Paul's doctrine might be, his conduct bewrayed him; that he had been known to circumcise one of his own companions, and in his own practice to conform, as a man-pleaser, now to the Jewish law when among the Jews, and now to the Gentile prejudices when among the Gentiles; hence that he *pleased men*, and was not to be trusted on matters of such boundless moment. We may not unaptly borrow the watchword of their insinuations from the evil spirit's sarcasm, "Jesus we know, and His own Apostles we know, but who is Paul?"

St. Paul soon answered that question. A higher than Agrippa told him, "Thou art permitted to speak for thyself." His Epistle to the Galatians was his final and conclusive reply to the Judaisers, as well as an affectionate endeavour to rescue his beloved converts. This gives its distinctive character to the Epistle, and separates it by a clear and deep demarcation, not only from the three other groups of the Pauline writings, but also from the Epistles to the Corinthians and the Romans, written about the same time. It was the formal vindication of himself and "his Gospel," pondered, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, during the remainder of his missionary term, after receiving the melancholy tidings of the defection; but written, as we are constrained to believe, notwithstanding all the elaborate arguments of Dr. Lightfoot, in the calm leisure of Ephesus; written too, as an exceptional instance, with his own hand, and shown to "all the brethren with him," who gave the weight of their lesser authority to this most weighty document. Thus viewed, the Epistle may be regarded as having three elements of special historical interest. From a vindication of the writer's inspiration and apostleship, it widens into a defence of the Gospel against the Judaistic perversion which was the great heresy of the Apostolical age, and thence enlarges into an eternal protest against the two ever-recurring forms of error, bondage to the letter, on the one hand, and, on the other, licentious rebellion against the spirit. These are the points of contact with history that stamp this document with its distinctive interest. But, in this Epistle, as in all the products of inspiration, there is something deeper than historical interest: through all its passionate sentences there runs the clear and tranquil current of the pure Gospel of Christ, full, satisfying, and eternal. And that Gospel is here set forth, as will be hereafter shown, in terms so vivid

in their impressiveness as to cause its polemical relations, while we study them, to be forgotten. *Without controversy*—in this sense also—great is the mystery of godliness.

It was the stern necessity of St. Paul's life to be for ever set on his defence: and that, not so much before the Gentile world or the Jewish nation, as before the Christian Church itself. His introduction to the Christian community was altogether unlike that of any disciple or apostle. His Master added him to the apostolic circle in the exercise of His own high prerogative: He gave the Twelve no intimation that He had in reserve one whom He would raise above them all, but sent the converted persecutor suddenly into their midst, bearing his own credentials with him. Thus was the new convert a trial of their faith; and it was a trial of their humility that he came not to them for instruction, as every other convert did, but was taken by his Master into His own school, to be taught directly by Himself. It was a further trial to them that this new Apostle received larger and deeper views of the design of the Gospel than had, as yet, been vouchsafed to themselves; and was invested with a commission which almost seemed at first to supersede their own original commission to "all the world." The Apostles and all true members of the Church bowed to the Divine decree: they glorified God in this elect brother. But there were many who did not submit, who persisted in regarding St. Paul, to use his own words, as "one unawares brought in," and never gave him the right hand of fellowship. Hence the fact that, unlike the other writers of the Apostolic Epistles, St. Paul is obliged in all, or almost all, his writings to assert himself, to vindicate his own claims, and to weave his loftiest and deepest teaching into the narrative of his own experience. As in the Acts, we find him again and again pleading his own cause before the "people and the Gentiles," so in the Epistles we find him constantly pleading his own cause before the Christian Church. This was a "necessity laid upon him," and not the least hard to bear of all his many burdens.

The earlier part of the Epistle to the Galatians is the *text* of that defence; and, when that fact is remembered, the difficulties that at first sight encumber St. Paul's statements, as compared with the narrative in the Acts, pass entirely away. We shall glance at the leading point of the vindication, and show how they derive all their distinctive features from their apologetic design.

The key-note is struck at the outset. St. Paul declares

himself to be an Apostle—giving himself no other title—appointed by the direct authority of the risen Redeemer. His entire statement of his conversion must be taken as the key to the more external narrative of St. Luke: he here gives not another but a more internal view of the event. The majesty of the Lord's appearance, outshining the sun in his midday strength, is not alluded to: nor the dread contest, in which, however, there was no resistance, that ended in the death of Saul the persecutor. But he speaks of his conversion as the result of the good pleasure of God, who had foreordained him to the work which his enemies challenged, and who revealed His Son within him, for the renewal, indeed, of his own nature, but also that he might preach Him among the heathen. Hence the moment of his new life was the moment of his apostleship; and the lower appointment "by man," to which so much significance is attached in the Acts, is lost in the higher appointment which man only confirmed. Then follows the copious evidence of his entire independence of the Apostles of the circumcision. He "conferred not with flesh and blood": words which irresistibly suggest that earlier scene when Simon Bar-jona was called blessed, because *he* also had been taught not by flesh and blood, but by divine illumination. Like Moses and Elijah, he went, or was led, or was driven into Arabia: there to receive, amidst much meditation and prayer, that teaching of the Holy Spirit which was to be for him the counterpart of what the other Apostles had received from the Lord in person. Not till three years—answering to *their* three years—did he go up to Jerusalem; and his visit lasted only fourteen days. During that time he was the guest of Peter—the first of Paul's many hosts—conversing with him as a brother, but not learning of him as a disciple; laying the foundation of an eternal friendship, but, as was afterwards seen, not placing himself under any doctrinal obligation. St. Paul further intimates that the other Apostles were absent in the service of the Church, and that he had a fleeting sight of only one of them besides Peter—James, the Lord's brother; moreover, that he held himself independent of all the churches of Judæa. When we find all this attested in the most solemn manner, "Behold, before God, I lie not," we cannot but feel of what supreme importance the Apostle regarded the vindication of his direct apostleship. In the face of this asseveration, however, modern critics have insisted much upon a contradiction between the Epistle and the historian.

We come next to St. Paul's version of the first Apostolic

Council. During an interval of fourteen years, dated naturally from that memorable visit, St. Paul's path had not crossed that of the other Apostles. It is true that he had gone up once, before his Apostleship was sealed by the Church at Antioch, with Barnabas to Jerusalem on an errand of charity. That visit, however, St. Paul's apologetic purpose in the Epistle did not require him to mention. The only visit in his thoughts was that one which had so important a bearing on his argument, and was so pregnant of consequences to the Church; and his account of it differs from that in the Acts precisely as his account of the first visit differs from it, and precisely for the same reasons. St. Luke tells us that the Church in Antioch, the stronghold of the freedom of the Gospel, was disturbed, while Paul and Barnabas were there, by certain men from Judæa, who taught the necessity of circumcising the Gentile converts. The matter was referred to the Mother Church, Paul and Barnabas being the chief representatives of the mission. According to the historian the result was a complete success. The deputation from Antioch were welcomed, listened to, and sent back with the Church's decree confirming all their requests. But he intimates that the decree was not obtained without resistance on the part of the Pharisaic Christians, although he does not record the details of the contention. In the Epistle, St. Paul brings to light what his vindication of himself alone would have induced him to disclose, something of the secret history of the conclave. With marked emphasis he says at the outset that it was by "revelation he went up," the Divine Spirit having communicated to him more than the Church knew of the import of the crisis; and it is not without significance that he makes not only Titus but Barnabas in a certain sense subordinate to himself. He tells us what form the opposition of the Pharisees assumed, and how he had to resist the circumcision of Titus. Moreover, he speaks expressly of private conferences with those who "were (or rather are) of reputation," James, Peter, and John at the head of them, which issued in his own giving, and not receiving, instruction. And from the tone of the statements, as well as from their letter, we gather that the magnanimity with which Peter and James —John is deeply silent—at length vindicated the truth, and gave him the right hand of fellowship, was not recorded without an energetic pressure on the part of the Apostle from Antioch. It is quite in harmony with this, that St. Paul makes no reference to the authentication given to himself and Barnabas, or to the decree of articles of peace which were

insisted on with a specific and limited design. It is enough for him that he was absolutely independent of man, of councils, of the Church itself, in relation to that matter which he is strenuously maintaining—his own direct appointment to the Apostleship, with all its prerogatives of inspiration, authority, and power.

The third and last historical allusion in the Epistle is to the memorable collision at Antioch with St. Peter. At Jerusalem the Apostle had maintained his independence at least; but at Antioch the conduct of the leading Apostle of the circumcision gave him a providential opportunity of assuming the sole championship of Christian liberty. St. Peter's conduct at the great council had been very firm and straightforward: with his usual vigour he had spoken of the intolerable yoke which must not be laid on the Gentiles, and his whole bearing was in perfect consistency with the teaching of the revelation he had received as to things common and unclean. With no other account than that of the Acts we should have had no reason to think that any of his former weakness still clung to him; the timorousness and vacillation of the first Apostle might seem not to have survived the day of Pentecost. But here St. Paul gives us again a fragment of secret history, which we may be sure he would never have disclosed had there not been urgent reason in his own case, and had not the Holy Spirit dictated the disclosure to him as a protest against future perversion of the name of Peter. The words of St. Paul are clear and express. The scene of the denial was as to some of its features reproduced. St. Peter suddenly yielded to fear, when certain came from James. He who had so nobly defended his own free action in the case of Cornelius, and who had been the main agent, or one of the main agents, in carrying the Jerusalem decree, now, under some influence, which even St. Paul does not fully explain, withdrew from the Gentiles, took from them the sanction of his name and fellowship, leagued himself with the Jews in proscribing them, and carried his dissembling so far as to induce even Barnabas to take his side. Then, when all were falling away, and a crisis of deadly peril to the Church had come, St. Paul—whose presence in Antioch was a providential arrangement—withstood him with holy indignation. The result we are not told. "Though St. Paul's narrative stops short of the last scene in the drama, it would not be rash to conclude that it ended as the other had ended, that the revulsion of feeling was as sudden and complete, and that again he went out and wept bitterly, having denied the Lord in the person of these Gentile converts.

But St. Paul pauses not to dwell upon that: it is most interesting to note how his description of the personal collision gradually glides into the most blessed language of personal Christian experience, by a transition which scarcely allows us to determine where his appeal to the Antioch Jews ends, and his words to the Galatians begin.

The circumstances of this collision have always been a stumbling-block. The inconsistency of St. Peter is in itself strange; but still stranger the fact that he should have acted in such a manner at Antioch, the very stronghold of the opposite principle, and St. Paul's own Christian centre; at a time, too, when the great champion of religious liberty was present there. Hence this episode has troubled the Church in all ages; there has been endless contention about this contention.

This one memorable incident of collision is not referred to by St. Paul in his Epistle for any other purpose than to mark St. Peter's inconsistency on that sole occasion with his own principles and the acknowledged principles of the Gospel. He was self-condemned, as the Apostle tells the Galatians, in this particular instance. But generally, and when restored from this one aberration, St. Peter's Gospel was precisely the same as that of his "beloved brother." Their sphere of labour was appointed to be different, but their doctrine was the same. Not only was there no difference between them, but there was a remarkable sympathy between them on the very points that led to the collision. Like the older Apostle, St. Paul was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, a devoted patriot; and his love to his own nation was only less fervent than that which he bore to the new Israel of Christ's household. The place which he assigns the Jews in the Divine economy, the priority he always gave them in his own preaching, the indefatigable journeyings he took in the service of their bodily necessities, and the consuming zeal of his prayer and preaching for their souls, the readiness with which he condescended to rites and observances which his free spirit would have disdained had it not been the law of his life to conciliate them in all things, all conspire to show that he was not a whit behind St. Peter in whatever natural and spiritual leanings he had towards them of the circumcision. On the other hand, St. Peter, apart from his one obliquity, preached and taught in the same spirit as St. Paul. Between the discourses of the two great preachers in the Acts there is no disparity; in their pleading for Christ they never come into collision. The Epistles of St. Peter might have been written by St. Paul;

they take the same Christian, Pentecostal view of the Old Testament Scriptures, and the Jewish economy, and their language concerning the redemption of the cross is such as we might suppose to have been moulded by St. Paul's phraseology. It was a device, a lying device of the Judaisers, to place the name of Peter at the head of a Christianity essentially different from that of Paul; a device which heretics of the next age played upon in the most extravagant manner, which has more or less infected the theology of all Christian ages, and which has been lately made the foundation of the wildest vagaries of the Tübingen school of critics. That the original Christianity of the Apostles of the circumcision was revolutionised by Paul, a bold and reckless innovator, who triumphed over weaker opponents, and contrived to transmit his amended edition of the Gospel to posterity, is a figment which has no shadow of foundation in the Acts of the Apostles when they are honestly read, and certainly finds no sanction in the Epistle to the Galatians—an Epistle which has been most wantonly misrepresented by those who admit it to be almost the only genuine expression of St. Paul's views.

But we must not pass over the other two names introduced by the latest Apostle into his controversial paragraph.

St. John is bearly mentioned; and here only in all St. Paul's writings. He had never given the Judaisers any opportunity of perverting his name. From the beginning he seems to have profoundly penetrated the essence of Christianity, and to have had no difficulty where others were embarrassed. It is not often that his name is mentioned in the Acts: his labours and his writings were reserved for a later period, when his former colleagues should have passed away. He *tarried*, as the Lord had told him. But the little that is recorded shows that he lived above the Judaistic controversy. We lose sight of him in the history in the act of confirming by his presence and blessing the first outward movement of Christianity, when it had reached Samaria. He joined the other Apostles in their recognition of St. Paul at the close of the council; and we may imagine with what profound interest he would regard this new apostle, in whose endowments and Christian graces he would discern the special election of his Master, and whose character would reveal to him a striking combination of St. Peter's and his own. We may imagine, too, what a vivid comment upon that early and unforgotten mistake, "We forbade him because he followeth not us," would rush to his mind. But what was St. John's thought concerning St. Paul, or St. Paul's concerning St. John, we can only con-

jecture; the conjecture is interesting enough, but it derives no aid from any one remark of either apostle. The case is different, however, with the third named.

We cannot resist the conviction that St. Paul in the Epistle refers to James as an Apostle in the same sense as Peter and John. Dr. Lightfoot, who makes the term Apostle rather unduly elastic, has come to a different conclusion. The most elaborate dissertation in his volume is occupied with an investigation of the much-contested question—a question which, however interesting in itself, as one of the minor matters of New Testament exegesis, is of no direct importance in relation to this Epistle, and must not occupy our little space. We regret to pass over so able an essay without giving the reader some brief account of it; but must content ourselves with saying that the author holds James to have been our Lord's brother in the stricter sense, as a son of Joseph by a former wife; to have been an unbeliever in the Lord's mission to the very close of His earthly life; and to have been convinced probably by the appearance of the risen Jesus. He supposes that this interposition marked him out, among a people who set a high value on advantages of race and blood, for eminence; and that his scrupulous attention to outward forms would lead to his retention as the ruler of the Mother Church, a dignity which the persecution of Herod rendered necessary to the early community by scattering abroad the Twelve. Whatever truth there may be in this—and to us it seems far from satisfactory in all points—certain it is that the Lord's brother in the latter part of the Acts occupies a position distinct from that of the apostolic company, and without any exact parallel in the New Testament.

St. James was, far more than St. Peter, the representative of principles which the Judaisers perversely claimed as their own. His residence in Jerusalem, where only Jewish Christianity would come before his notice, would tend to cherish in him a disposition to sanctify in his own person and practice and teaching so much of the ancient economy as the pure spirit of Christianity could tolerate. He was pre-eminently the last of the Jews: in him the old dispensation died out gradually and holily. The authentic account in the Acts makes it plain that he did not clearly see, and perhaps was not anxious to see, the "end of that which was to be abolished." The later traditions we regard as distortions of the truth: that which was true—viz., that he retained in affectionate observance such parts of the Jewish ritual as might be retained without dishonour to the one foundation—

was afterwards in the interests of faction embellished by legends that finally left St. James no better than a most grotesque composite of Jew and Christian, in which the Jew predominated, and the Christian was unlike anything in the New Testament Scriptures.

St. Paul utters nothing to the disparagement of St. James. Not one sentence in the Acts, not one hint in the Epistle, can be fairly interpreted into any such meaning. He does not intimate that the doctrine which he wrote to condemn was taught at Jerusalem; nor, indeed, that the apostolical head of the Church then gave it any kind of sanction. On these several occasions St. Paul was brought into contact with St. James. Of the first he takes only passing notice, but in that passing notice he gives the Apostle his most honourable appellation, "the brother of the Lord." The second was at the Council, of which St. Paul says only that the Jerusalem Apostles, with James, give him the right hand of fellowship, recognising the common bond between them in the preaching of the Gospel. The third is not mentioned by St. Paul; but St. Paul's historian in the Acts attests how cordially he assented to the proposition of St. James' Christian expediency, and made the vain but charitable attempt to conciliate the "many thousands of Jews zealous for the law." That very account shows how complete was their accordance. Had St. Paul detected in St. James anything of the same inconsistency that he observed in St. Peter at Antioch, had he understood him to mean anything more than that the Jewish believers might circumcise their children as a rite indifferent, he would have withstood James also to the face, and never have encountered the tribulation that subsequently came upon him in consequence of his assent to his proposal. But St. Paul otherwise understood St. James. He did not regard him as teaching the necessity of circumcision to Jewish children, still less as teaching its necessity for Gentile converts. At the utmost, he must have felt only that his brother-Apostle was carrying to the utmost pitch of propriety the spirit of conciliation; and how far his own Jewish instinct sympathized with him, is evident from the great concession he made.

That St. James was not the head of a Christianity which St. Paul superseded, and that the Epistle to the Galatians gives no sanction to such a notion, is abundantly confirmed by the real harmony which subsists between his Epistle—the expression of all his life and doctrine—and the teaching of St. Paul. About the very time when the Apostles met for the last time in Jerusalem, St. James' Epistle was written,

and the two Apostles may have read it together. In it he calls the Gospel the law; but the "perfect law" and that of liberty; thus expressing in a manner quite consistent with his entire character the same sentiment that reigns in the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans. Nowhere does he give the faintest hint that the ritual part of the law had any Christian value in his eyes: the ceremonial ordinances are never dwelt upon with complacency; they are not even alluded to, but the moral law is all. As if he had borrowed St. Paul's favourite exposition, he calls love the "royal law," and makes the ceremonial part of Christianity, the only ceremonial that he refers to, to consist in the performance of works of charity, and the keeping a character unspotted from the world. Nothing is more certain than that both Apostles regard the Gospel as the perfection of law, the law or the spirit of life; and thus they are at one on the very point where the enemies of Christianity, both in ancient and in modern times, have delighted to detect their discordance.

The contrariety which seems to exist between the statements of the two Apostles as to faith and justification may, in this light, be made an argument of their agreement. In the section devoted to that subject, St. James is only in his own characteristic manner—a manner as different from St. Paul's as his matter is like his—denouncing antinomianism, the object of St. Paul's most severe denunciations throughout his writings. Hence it is often asserted that the design of St. James was to do his brother Apostle the service of defending his doctrine from perversion; in other words, that he protects the gospel of free grace from those who separate faith and works, just as St. Paul protects it in the Epistle to the Romans. But of this there is no good evidence. The two writers, like the two preachers, served the same Master in different provinces.

Hitherto we have been considering the Apostle's vindication of himself, which he conducts in the Epistle with such propriety as to uphold the authority of the earlier Apostles while he asserts his own. The four Apostles whose names are representative of early Christianity, and who perhaps never met in the flesh but once, are seen in the Epistle mutually giving and receiving the right hand of fellowship. There was no vital difference between them; nor does any word of the Apostle suggest that there was. The fiction of two Christianities—the one inherited from Christ by the Apostles of His own election, and the other the free innovation of a recent convert—was invented by men who were the

common enemies of both. And it is against them and their doctrine that the argument of the Epistle is addressed. This Judaic Christianity—this other Gospel which was not another Gospel—St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians meets in its essential principle—viz., the enforcement of circumcision, as involving a departure from the new covenant, and a relapse from Christ to the law, with all its obligations, responsibilities, and demands, to sinful man intolerable. It is with this alone that our Epistle deals; and this gives it its unity of purpose, that steadfast tenacity which does not turn aside into a single digression from beginning to end. In his other Epistles, which rapidly followed, the Judaistic perversions of the Gospel are never lost sight of. Not one of them fails to touch upon some particular aspect or element of the great danger; but the Epistle to the Galatians has to do only with the radical error, and deals with that in a manner so thorough and exhaustive that no subsequent document has added a single argument or even illustration. This encyclical to the churches of Galatia was intended by the Holy Spirit for the whole Church. It settled the great question for ever. And when St. Paul delivered to the Church this eternal manifesto, written with his own hand, it was no other than the Holy Spirit giving, with His own hand also, the final doctrine of the Scripture as to the relations between the law and the Gospel. "Henceforth let no man trouble me," meant also, "Henceforth let no man touch the foundation of the Christian faith." For all ages of the Church the Epistle to the Galatians is a sufficient defence of the Gospel as bringing sinful men redemption from the curse, and bondage, and doom of the law: an inmoveable bulwark against all the attempts of man to combine works with faith as the condition of a sinner's acceptance with God. It secured the Church from the Judaisers of the apostolical age; after fifteen centuries of comparative neglect, it was again made effectual against another and more widespread army of Judaisers; and against all generations of the same enemies of the faith it will be effectual until the end of all controversy shall come.

This unity of purpose is the key to the Epistle itself, and the explanation of its difference from all other Epistles.

The solemnity of the subject evidently presses heavily upon the writer's mind; and he will not distract his own or his reader's attention by a single sentence irrelevant. Dividing the Epistle into three parts, the first asserts that the Gospel which he preached was imparted to him by revelation; that he stood on the same ground as to apostolical authority and

inspiration with the elder Apostles; and that they confirmed his preaching as substantially the same with their own. From that preaching St. Peter's conduct on one occasion diverged; he seemed to countenance the ritualists, or his action might be interpreted that way. After mentioning his rebuke of that Apostle, St. Peter glides into the great theme of contention. He lays down, as if quoting his own language to St. Peter, the fundamental principle, that the believer has died with Christ and the penalty of the law, and lives in Christ to its obedience. Then in the second part of the Epistle, he argues closely and clearly the whole question. But the argument begins with an appeal to their own consciences. The Spirit whom they had received in penitent faith would rebuke them, if He had not departed, for going back to a reliance on the ceremonies and obedience of the law. And if they went back to the Old Testament, the Old Testament read in the light of Christian fulfilment would preach to them the very Gospel which they were forsaking. Abraham was not justified by the law, but by faith; and, long before the law was given, Abraham had received on behalf of all his spiritual children the covenant of a righteousness by faith. Christ, Abraham's own seed, the representative of all believers, endured the curse of the law, pronounced upon all who rendered not full obedience, in order that the blessing of the earlier covenant might come upon all believers. Then follows a chain of arguments showing the inferiority of the entire dispensation of Judaism, its purpose to train men for the maturity of revelation, when all believers should receive the free spirit of adoption in Christ. And the whole is pertinently and beautifully closed by the allegory of Hagar and Sarah. In all this the one leading sentiment remains that grace was before law, and faith in God's mercy through Christ was established as the condition of salvation before the legislation of Sinai took place. In the third part, the freedom of the Gospel is simply fenced from abuse. The law cannot save us; it only condemns. To trust in circumcision, substituting it for faith in Christ, is to encounter all the woes of the violated law. But all who receive the Spirit through faith can by love keep the whole law. Of that fundamental love two specific applications are singled out. After which the Epistle condenses all its argument and all its vehemence into one final word, and ends.

Thus one idea rules the whole: history, personal references, argument, illustration, anger, wonder, love, longing, and admonition, all are controlled and ordered to one single end,

through the inspiration of that Holy Spirit who, by St. Paul, was pleading with the Galatians, and through them with all who should ever undermine the foundations of the Christian faith.

The same concentration of purpose will also explain some peculiarities that distinguish this Epistle from all others. It is polemic throughout, and has the hasty and impetuous tone of a desperate appeal at a desperate crisis. Hence there is no repose: if for a few sentences the writer seems to forget the presence of the enemy, and his thoughts begin to sink into the tranquil flow of theological teaching, it is only for a moment, and the words go off again into urgent appeal, or vehement inquiry, or strong soliloquy. Hence also the extreme and uncompromising tone that marks it. It knows nothing of the law but its curse; sets aside circumcision as simply worthless at best to him who had already been circumcised—a sentiment singularly enough uttered twice in the same words; while to him who should, as a Christian, submit to it, and submit to it as part of Christianity, it simply made Christ worthless: strong words, nowhere else repeated; strange words, when we remember St. Paul's own action in the case of Timothy; but words which are perfectly well understood when we remember that the question involved the life or death of Christian liberty. Hence also the keen severity which, from beginning to end, has scarcely any relief. There is not a word of tolerance for the seducers of God's people; they are pierced through and through with holy invective, and once with such an ironical play upon their favourite watch-word circumcision, as shows that inspiration made use of every faculty of the Apostle in the service of the truth's defence. No prayer is made for them that "God would give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth;" however fervently he might pray for them in private, this letter must do its duty, and spare not. And the capricious Galatians themselves are addressed as no others ever were addressed by the Apostle. They are never called "saints" or "faithful brethren." The stately and tender salutations that head the other Epistles with such dignity are wanting here. There are no words of congratulation, no good wishes, no introductory thanksgiving or prayer, no prayer at all throughout; it is the one prayerless Epistle. If, here or there, the Apostle's fervent love cannot refrain itself, and he is constrained to exhibit the "travail" of his soul, his words of love are soon checked; for the occasion demanded the rod, and all his tenderness must be reserved for its overflow when

they might, if ever they did, give him opportunity of writing to them a second epistle. If he "changed his voice," it must be when he could visit them a third time, and ratify a full reconciliation between himself and them, between them and their half-forsaken Lord.

It is remarkable that the effect of this energetic Epistle is not anywhere referred to by the Apostle himself, and that no traces of its results are met with elsewhere. The Galatian churches were the ground on which the Apostle warred his good warfare against those who would Judaise the Gospel; but whether the battle was lost or won among themselves we cannot tell. St. Paul was inspired with some confidence when he wrote that the offender would suffer, and the flock be saved: "I have confidence in you that ye will be none otherwise minded; but he that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever he be." Hence we may suppose that the evil was to a great extent arrested. But the character of the Galatian churches was never afterwards a good one. The wild heresies that infested Asia Minor for centuries found in Galatia their most congenial soil. There Montanism had its stronghold, and nothing was too extravagant for their never-satisfied caprices. The descendants of the people whose "bewitchment" the Apostle wondered at, were still susceptible of every evil fascination, and there never was a generation of Galatian Christians to whom the keen rebuke, "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not consumed one of another," was not appropriate. Their intestine quarrels were matter of general reprobation even at a time when ecclesiastical dissensions were only too common. A little later, Jerome speaks of Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia, as still torn with schisms, and defiled with innumerable varieties of dogma. There swarmed Cataphrygians, Ophites, Borborites, Manichees; and, as if these pests of the church and of mankind were not bad enough, the Galatians had gendered a new and unheard of spawn of heresy, the Passalorynchites, so called from their placing the forefinger on the nose when praying; and the Artotyrites, who offered bread and cheese at the Eucharist; the Ascodrogites, whose orgies were almost like Druidism revived. So low had Galatia sunk. As it had harboured the Judaisers in the days of the Apostles, when other churches rejected them, so forms and services of superstition, rejected of most other communities, and the accounts of which in grave historians seem more like legend than history, grew and throve and multiplied among them during the next three centuries.

In the remarks which have been made we have regarded the Epistle as dealing only with the root of the Judaistic error. And rightly so; for the Apostle adheres throughout to one point—the bondage of the Law as opposed to the freedom of the Gospel. Once only he glances at the other "weak and beggarly elements," the "days, and months, and seasons, and years," which the free children of God had begun again so diligently to observe. But it is only a passing glance of holy impatience: he does not suffer himself or his hearers to lose sight for a moment of the one great cardinal evil. Hence the subject of Judaic Christianity as a whole,—the history of its rise, progress, and suppression in the early Church; the various forms it assumed in later heresy, and its reproduction in the corrupt mediæval church,—however profoundly interesting itself, scarcely belongs to the exposition of this Epistle. Dr. Lightfoot has added to his volume a very able and instructive essay, in which the conflict of obsolete Judaism with the new dispensation is pursued with diligence. This we think might more appropriately have been reserved for one of the later volumes which he contemplates writing; and we could have desired instead of it, or at any rate by its side, another essay exhibiting the central error condemned in this Epistle in all its deceitful workings in later theology. This is hinted at again and again; but the editor has shrunk from entering upon it. And the omission leaves a blank in the volume, which all its assemblage of dissertations fails to supply or atone for.

Judaism did not die out with the Nazarenes and Ebionites; at least, that Judaism did not die out which the Galatian Epistle was written to condemn. Innumerable observances that the old system bequeathed to the Judaism of the new were gradually abolished; and, after a few centuries, nothing remained in the Church to betray this *letter* of Judaism; but the spirit remained. The Judaiser became the Canaanite still in the land. When his old temple was destroyed, he entered the new temple of Christ, and his presence has been a corrupting and defiling presence to this day. The true mystical and spiritual temple he cannot pollute; but the visible temple has not been guarded as it ought from his stealthy entrance, which indeed has long since ceased to be stealthy. He has mingled his "beggarly elements" with the principles of the doctrine of Christ, until in some creeds of Christendom the truth hardly glimmers through at all. He has spoiled the simplicity of the Christian worship over a vast part of Christendom by ceremonies and usages, the very thought of which

should have expired with Pentecost. He is the true Antichrist, multiplied into many. And for ever his enemy is the Epistle to the Galatians: in that short letter lies the spirit of all true Protestantism. It for ever guards the cross by its doctrine; it gives us our arguments against all who molest the simplicity of the terms of salvation; and, what ought not to be forgotten, it teaches the spirit of zealous indignity and sacred revenge with which we should oppose the Judaiser in every form that he may assume.

Before passing from the historical and polemical bearing of the Epistle, some allusion must needs be made to the "things hard to be understood"—the *difficilia Pauli*—which it contains, and all of which belong to its controversial elements. These are not many; but the mind of the Church has been musing over the mind of the Spirit in them from the beginning, and without full satisfaction. We shall note them in order, and with some remarks upon Dr. Lightfoot's exposition.

The first is St. Paul's tremendous anathema upon the preachers of another Gospel. There has always been a strong tendency to soften the word down to its later ecclesiastical meaning as excommunication. Dr. Lightfoot rightly upholds the severer sense, which alone New Testament usage sanctions; but we think he misses the meaning in the former part of the verse: the anathema was not pronounced upon those who *added* to the Gospel, but who preached what was no Gospel at all. The "hard saying" itself must be left, like many others in God's Word, to the vindication of the Holy Spirit who inspired it.

The close of the second chapter presents some difficulty, especially to the close student of the original text. It has been much disputed whether or not the whole of the paragraph was St. Paul's reproof of St. Peter, and, if not, where the reply ends. The question is not entered upon in this volume; although it is very important in relation to the doctrinal position of the reproved Apostle. To us it seems that the first words spoken to St. Peter shade off into sentences which lose him in the company before whom the Apostle spoke, and then finally flow into a general statement, moulding the substance of the original speech into conformity with his present object in writing to the Galatians. As to the much contested passage that follows the first introduction of the question, we have here a full but not quite satisfactory exposition. We may regard *Christ the minister of sin* as an illogical conclusion from premises in themselves correct: "seeing that in order to be justified in Christ it was necessary to

abandon our old ground of legal righteousness and to become sinners (*i.e.* to put ourselves in the position of the heathen), may it not be argued that Christ is thus made a minister of sin?" This interrogation best developes the subtle irony of *sinners*. "We Jews look down upon the Gentiles as sinners. Yet we have no help for it but to become sinners like them." This comparison is supposed to meet all the difficulties; but to us it seems otherwise. The Apostle argues that if those who sought justification in Christ came to be accounted sinners for neglecting the law, Christ Himself after all would be the minister of a dispensation that led to sin. The real transgression is the building again what faith in Christ had pulled down. In Christ the believer obeys the law by dying to its claims and curse; dying with Christ to its penalty, he dies to its claims. The full meaning of the whole paragraph lies in that central word *death in Christ to the law;* and, notwithstanding much sound remark about the matter, we feel that this exposition does not search into its very essence.

The great *crux* of the Epistle—the mediatorless promise—does not long arrest the editor. He gives what he deems the most probable of the hundreds of interpretations that might be reckoned; and we shall content ourselves with quoting his manner of putting it:—"It will be seen that St. Paul's argument here rests in effect on our Lord's divinity as its foundation. Otherwise he would have been a mediator in the same sense in which Moses was a mediator. In another and a higher sense St. Paul himself so speaks of our Lord (1 Tim. ii. 5), *No mediator can be a mediator of one.* The very idea of mediation supposes two persons at least, between whom the mediation is carried on. The law, then, is of the nature of a contract between two parties, God on the one hand and the Jewish people on the other. It is only valid so long as both parties fulfil the terms of the contract. It is therefore contingent and not absolute. The definite article expresses the idea, the specific type, as 2 Cor. xii. 12, Jno. x. ii. *But God* (the giver of the promise) *is one.* Unlike the law, the promise is absolute and unconditional. There is nothing of the nature of a *stipulation.* The giver is everything, the recipient nothing. Thus, the primary sense of *one* is here numerical. The further idea of unchangeableness may perhaps be suggested, but if so it is rather accidental than inherent. On the other hand this proposition is quite unconnected with the fundamental statement of the Mosaic law, *The Lord thy God is one God,* though resembling it in form."

Without noting such difficulties as are merely incident to the Apostle's style—the peculiarities of which are nowhere more marked than in the Epistle—or connected with his doctrine generally, and not peculiar to this statement of it, we may cursorily allude to a few minor points cleared up in this commentary. The passages are familiar, and need no direct reference. "I marvel that ye so soon *are turning renegades* from Him that *called you in grace*"—gives the true force of the passage, as a full statement of the Apostle's controversy with them. "Do I *now* persuade men?"—after such an anathema as this. "But privately to *the men of repute*," "those who *are looked up to* as authorities"—nor "*were* of reputation," they continued such still, to the undue disparagement of the Apostle. "*From* those who were of repute" —the sentence is taken up afterwards in another form. The "bewitchment" issuing from the fascination of the evil eye must be made the counterpart of "*before whose eyes* Christ was set forth crucified." "If it be yet vain" is strictly and grammatically the expression of hope. The father of the heir who is "lord of all but differeth not from a servant," must be regarded as dead; but "all metaphors must cease to apply at some point, and the death of the father is the limit here imposed by the nature of the case. Our Father never dies; the inheritance never passes away from Him; yet, nevertheless, we succeed to the full possession of it." "The time appointed of the Father:" though in Roman law the term of guardianship was fixed by statute, some discretion was left in certain cases to the father. "Where is, then, your felicitation of yourselves?" not objective, but subjective, though the former is not excluded. "They zealously affect you:" this difficult passage is thus well paraphrased: "I do not complain that they desire your attention, or you them. These things are good in themselves. I myself am not insensible to such attachments. I remember how were your feelings towards me, when I was with you. I would they had not grown cold in my absence." "I travail in birth:" here is not an inversion of a metaphor, "as St. Paul would have shrunk from describing the relation of Christ to the believer by that of the unborn child," but thus: "You have renewed a mother's pangs in me, until you have *taken the form of Christ*." "I would they were cut off that troubled you" must be restored to its true ironical severity. "Why do they stop at circumcision? Why do they not mutilate themselves like your priests of Cybele?" "With what large letters:" the boldness of the writing answers to the earnestness of

the writer's convictions. Finally, the word brethren is made the parting word; and this singular position of it is an expression of tenderness: *Ita mollitur*, says Bengel, *totius epistolæ severitas*. Many other points of obscurity, or that have been generally misapprehended, we have omitted here, as having been introduced elsewhere in the course of these remarks. The reader will find them all well handled—if not always satisfactorily—in this volume.

We gladly turn from the difficulties of the Epistle to the consideration of its general characteristics as a precious portion of Scripture. While it is more directly controversial, more entirely shaped by its protesting element, than any other document of the New Testament, the Holy Spirit has so ordered it that in no part of the New Testament is there a more full and clear exhibition of the saving truths of Christianity. While there are many points of St. Paul's doctrine that are wanting in it, the two great subjects of Christ's work in redemption and man's perfect salvation through that work are more strikingly set forth here than anywhere else. We shall close these remarks by noticing a few points in the exhibition of those two great counterpart topics which are peculiar to this Epistle.

The redemption of mankind by the sacrifice of Christ is a theme upon which the Apostle expends the strength of his inspired intellect. As the centre of his entire theology, it is the centre of every epistle addressed to the churches. But every epistle has its own individuality in the treatment; each contributes some touches not found in any other. The Galatian Epistle has its full share of these notes of individuality. The first thing that strikes the thoughtful reader is its sublime sketch of the *history* of redemption. Here alone we have the *fulness of time:* long afterwards to the Ephesians the Apostle reproduces the thoughtful in a fainter expression of the term; but the term in all its grandeur stands here alone, as marking the turning point in man's history, the end of all preparation, whether Jewish or Gentile, and the beginning of all fulfilment. From that point the Apostle looks back upon two great epochs of the past,—the original promise to Abraham and the subordinate and transitory introduction of the law. He shows that the promise was ratified for Christ, the Seed, and all who should be His, long before the dispensation of Moses with its angel ministries and human mediator, by the direct word of God Himself; and that the law, as a distinct institute, was designed only to keep the world in the bondage of hope until the Gospel should supersede it by

teaching to faith the way of forgiveness and a new obedience. This is the one point to which the Apostle's historical retrospect confines itself. His controversy with the Galatians required no more. But he has illustrated that point by figure and by allegory in a more vivid way than in any other of his writings. Elsewhere, indeed, he takes a much grander and wider historical range; in the Epistle to the Romans he traces the past of the Gospel up to the Fall and the depths of eternity; and its future he pursues through all the destinies of Jews and Gentiles to the great consummation. In the Ephesian Epistle he joins heaven and earth, and gives infinite enlargement to the sweep of his vision. The Epistle to the Galatians has but one historical note; that, however, is the key-note for all that follows. The Gospel is for Jew and Gentile the maturity of man's estate, *the fulness of time.*

The redeeming death of Christ, also, is set forth under some distinctive and most impressive aspects in this Epistle. Here again a central word emerges, not found elsewhere, but the key to all other statements. *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us;*—words awful in their strength, and defying contradiction by their simplicity, especially when connected with the comment that follows. The Redeemer was the Son of God, sent forth to become man born of woman, to take upon Him the burden of the law, that He might redeem (the same word) those under the law, and give them the spirit of sonship. Nowhere are the two counterpart effects of redemption so clearly exhibited: the deliverance of man from the penalty of the law, and the impartation of the Holy Spirit—the blessing promised to Abraham—to all believers. On these two words hang all the doctrines of redemption. Nor must we pass by the exordium of the Epistle, which in its expressions stands alone in St. Paul's writings. Christ *gave himself*, according to the *will of the Father*, to *deliver us from the present evil world.*

Turning to the believer and his salvation, the Epistle abounds with its own peculiar variations on the one theme. Its doctrine of conviction by the law, and justification by faith, expresses more tersely what is more fully expanded to the Romans. Its regeneration is the effect of the bestowment of the Spirit of adoption, at once assuring the believer of deliverance from bondage and guilt, inspiring him with the love of a child to his Father, and making him an heir of all Christian blessings. Here we cannot but point to the unique expression—which comes out of its comparative obscurity only when we ponder the original, and remember that

it never occurs elsewhere—*He that ministereth to you the Spirit.* And generally throughout the whole it is striking to observe, how the Holy Spirit is constantly, and at every point, brought into relation with the believer; let any one trace the Holy Name throughout this most spiritual Epistle, and he will find that no other part of the New Testament does the Paraclete more honour.

But that which stamps, more than perhaps anything else, a peculiar impress upon this document, is its triple doctrine of crucifixion. First comes the very remarkable statement given by St. Paul of his own experience. He was *crucified with Christ:* his faith in Christ made the Redeemer's death his own. In Him he paid the penalty of his sin and *died to the law.* Hence he could cry, as if the passion were all his own, and it is the only time he ever used such terms of appropriation, *who loved me and gave Himself for me.* These are all Galatian expressions, found nowhere else, though strictly in harmony with the general strain of the Apostle's utterances concerning himself and his own experience. The *second crucifixion* is in the fifth chapter, "They that are Christ's *have crucified the flesh with its affections and lusts.*" Another "very bold" word, occurring nowhere else, though almost reproduced to the Romans, and one which contains the whole mystery of the Christian life, the body of sin suspended on Christ's cross, with no solacing potion for its unholy thirst until it die. The *third crucifixion* occurs at the close. Here, again, the Apostle returns to himself, though silently exhorting us to "be as he is;" "The cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified unto me, and *I unto the world.*" This consummates the other two, and all together give us a most profound exhibition of the negative aspect of religion as the fellowship of Christ's sufferings. Christ was made a curse for us; the believer receives the virtue of His death, and dies with Him to the claims of the law. In Christ's crucifixion sin was condemned in the flesh; and the believer's sinful nature is with Him condemned, executed, and awaiting utter destruction. Christ died to deliver us from this present evil age; and the believer goes forth to follow Him, bearing His reproach, rejecting and rejected by this sinful world. But, finally, all this melts into the still deeper mystery of that perfect union with Christ the unfolding of which is the glory of all St. Paul's writings, but which finds its first expression here. It pleased God *to reveal His Son in me.* Here is the text of the great secret of Christian life—"the *I* and yet not *I*."

It were an easy though a long task to trace the distinctive characteristics of this Epistle into more minute detail. These hints, however, must suffice. We conclude by an earnest recommendation to the student to follow the example of our modern commentators, and to give for a time his almost undivided attention to some single portion of God's word. It is of course necessary to be for ever meditating on the entire law; and to make every part of it matter of constant consultation and reference, comparing things spiritual with spiritual throughout the entire range of inspiration. But there is a priceless advantage in concentrating the thought upon one document in its integrity: studying it with the pious enthusiasm that nothing but God's truth can inspire, until wholly absorbed by its meaning, filled with its influence, and familiar with its every turn of expression. In the present day the Epistles of St. Paul have a peculiar claim; and, unquestionably, that to the Galatians is the preface and introduction to his writings, bequeathed to us by his own hand. He who should dedicate a few months of devout study to this precious Epistle, *totus in illâ*, would find himself placed firmly in the centre of apostolic theology; it would give him a personal hold of the Gospel that he probably never had before; it would arm him against some of the most subtle dangers of these times; and he would leave it with a most effectual key to the things "hard to be understood" in the other Epistles.

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

The Nature and Extent of Divine Inspiration, as stated by the Writers, and deduced from the Facts, of the New Testament. By the Rev. C. A Row, M.A. London: Longmans. 1864.

We do not agree with the author of this able and temperate book, that the fault of the present divorce between Christianity and science is all on one side. Or, to speak more exactly, the author fails, as we think, to recognize and exhibit with sufficient distinctness, the share which science has had in bringing about this unhappy state of things.

No doubt the Christianity of our days, and not the science, is responsible to a certain degree for the unfriendly relations of the two powers. To say nothing of the jealousy with which good men here and there still regard all progress in secular knowledge, it cannot be denied that scientific research and discovery have sometimes been met, within the circle usually known as Christian, by a coldness, a distrust, a cross-questioning, and a positive resistance, such as were hardly likely to promote good fellowship, much less to conciliate sympathy and esteem. Men of science and their pursuits have not always been treated with the frankness, candour, and dignity which they deserve, and which professors of the religion of Christ might very well afford to show them. There has been an unreadiness in admitting the testimony of scientific men as to matters of fact, and a touchiness in allowing their conclusions, even when cautiously come to, which could not but tend to provoke disgust, and so to pave the way for open and active conflict. Christianity—we must grant with Mr. Row—the contemporary Christianity, has occasionally dogmatized where it ought to have examined, and has appealed to "reasons above reason" in cases in which reason was the divinely constituted court of inquiry and judgment. And we are convinced that nothing would have been lost, but, on the contrary, much gained, to the cause of truth, if, Christianity being what she is, her friends, while firmly maintaining their own impregnable position, had habitually shown a more cheerful and large-minded confidence, both in the bearing of all really scientific investigations into the works of God, and in the motives and aims of the men by whom such investigations have been prosecuted.

If we confess, however, that the Christianity of the age has done something towards making an enemy of its science, the science itself,

as we hold, is even more seriously to blame for this lamentable issue. As a general fact, modern science has no visible connection with Christianity. It evinces no interest in it. Christianity is an *alibi* to science. It goes its way, and Christianity goes its; and they have nothing to do with each other. Instead of ministering to Christianity, of sympathizing with it, of publicly and earnestly honouring and promoting it, science lets it shift as it may, and, so far as appearances warrant our judging, is supremely indifferent whether it triumphs or miscarries. In certain instances of late, as every one knows, the deductions of science have come into collision with what is commonly held to be the teaching of Christianity: and the attitude which science has taken under these circumstances needs no expositor. Not only has it not been forward to come to the relief of Christianity. Not only has it manifested no uneasiness at the difficulties which it has been the means of creating. In some instances it has gloated over these difficulties. In many more it has strained and exaggerated them to the uttermost. On the whole, its aspect has been one of acquiescence and contentment, if not of undisguised satisfaction and pleasure. Moreover, in all questions affecting the Sacred Scriptures and the foundations of Christian faith—as notably in the case of the "Essays and Reviews," and still more in the productions of Dr. Colenso—the insensibility to moral evidence displayed by professedly scientific writers, the persistency with which they have laboured to eliminate the supernatural from the domain of human experience and history, and the amazing ignorance and unconcern not unfrequently shown by them in regard to the transcendent interests involved in Christianity, have naturally produced a shyness and alienation, the reproach of which must be borne by the disciples of science, and not by that divine doctrine of which science, truly so called, never pretended to be, and in the nature of things never can be, anything more than an element and appendage.

Subject to the qualification implied by these facts, we assent to all that Mr. Row says as to the mischief which has come, and is likely to come, of dogmatizing and of substituting *à priori* for *à posteriori* argument in the field of science; and, in view of the great question of his book, the Inspiration of the Scriptures—a question to which the author addresses himself as being both for Christianity and science, among the most critical questions of our times—we cordially accept his prime position, that the nature and extent of inspiration, so far as they can be determined at all, must be determined by the inductive method of inquiry, that all decisions beforehand as to what inspiration ought to be and will be, are unwarrantable and dangerous, and that the character and testimony of the Scriptures themselves are the only sure guides to a satisfactory solution of this great problem. These are the principles which direct Mr. Row's argument. He does not limit himself, however, to a simple induction from the phenomena which fall within his range. He sweeps a wider field. Excluding the Old Testament from his investigation, he endeavours to ascertain—

"I. Whether there are any grounds of antecedent certainty which can aid us in determining the nature of the inspiration which must have been afforded to the authors of the Christian Scriptures, if they are a revelation from God. II. What assertions the writers themselves make respecting the nature and degree of the inspiration under the influence of which they wrote. III. What is the nature and degree of the inspiration which the facts of the New Testament presuppose to have been required for its composition; the evidence which the facts present being further compared with the assertions of the writers themselves, and with the antecedent probabilities of the case. IV. What is the possibility of the New Testament having originated out of the action of influences purely and entirely human."

The first of these four questions Mr. Row meets with an emphatic negative. Supposing God to reveal Himself beyond the circle of Nature and Providence, we may be sure, he contends, that the revelation will be limited by the conditions under which the infinite must always communicate with the finite, and we may be sure, also, that it will carry with it the attestation of miracles; but as we cannot argue, *à priori*, from the divine attributes, that the natural and providential government of God must have this or that particular character, so neither can we determine, prior to experience, what will be the contents, nature, and mode of a Revelation, if God is pleased to give us one. Such Revelation may not accord in every respect with our conceptions of God, any more than do Creation and Providence. Like these, it will probably assume a form fitted to exercise the faith of those to whom it is addressed. All that we can affirm with confidence respecting it is, that it will assuredly be worthy of God, and that it will contain a certain human element, by means of which the distance between its Divine Author and the finite creature receiving it will be reduced and bridged over. In other words, assuming the Scriptures to be a divine revelation, we can only know by actual examination what its doctrines are, and what are the character and method of the inspiration through which it has been conveyed.

The ground thus cleared, Mr. Row proceeds, by an elaborate induction, to gather from the phenomena of the New Testament what he deems to be the true theory of its inspiration, and so to supply the answers to his other questions. The materials of his argument are necessarily manifold. The nature of our Lord's knowledge, in view particularly of what the author calls "its two recorded limitations;" the character of the "witness" borne by the Apostles to the person and teaching of Christ; the function of expounding the full meaning of the Gospel, as held and performed by the Apostles; the spiritual gifts, in the New Testament, considered as to the kind and degree of the inspiration conferred by them; the general character of the Gospels, both in themselves and in their relations to one another; the variations presented by the parallel passages of the Gospels, those, for example, which record the in-

stitution of the eucharist, the parable of the vineyard, the agony in the garden, the inscription on the cross, the healing of the Gadarene demoniacs, and of the blind man at Jericho, &c.; the diversity of arrangement adopted by the Evangelists in their accounts of one and the same event; the omission by St. Matthew of the names of Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah in his genealogy; the "silences" of the Gospels, as bearing upon the question of their inspiration; "the gradual enlightenment of the Apostles in the great truths of the Christian revelation;" the views which 2 Cor. xii. 2—4; 1 Cor. ii. 6—16; 2 Cor. xi. 5, 6; Eph. iii. 1—11; Col. i. 25—28; Tit. i. 1—3; Phil. iii. 8—10; 1 Thess. ii. 13; 1 Cor. xiv. 37; 2 Cor. viii. 7, 8; 2 Cor. xi. 17; 2 Tim. iii. 14—17, and other parts of the Apostolic letters open to us as to the nature of St. Paul's inspiration, and "the mode and extent in which it existed in his mind"; the displays of personality and individuality furnished by the inspired authors of the Epistles:—these and many other points are discussed by Mr. Row, and are wrought up into his argument with much calmness, acuteness, and vigour of thought, and, what is still more noteworthy, with a prevailing tone of reverence and charity such as controversialists of all schools would do well to imitate.

The conclusion to which the author's induction leads him is one in which we cannot concur. While he argues most earnestly and forcibly, that the facts of the case being what they are, the New Testament must of necessity be the product of inspiration, he contends that this inspiration did not extend beyond the proper subject-matter of the revelation contained in it; that the Spirit of God, under whose direction and influence the Apostles and Evangelists wrote, did not protect them from error, where religious truth was not directly concerned; and that whereas the theory of "plenary and verbal inspiration" is antecedently improbable, and "essentially rationalistic," it is "devoid of all Scriptural evidence," and distinctly and conspicuously oppugns the phenomena which it purports to represent and expound. Indeed, Mr. Row's entire book resolves itself into a masterly polemic against the doctrine of verbal inspiration, whether taken *simpliciter*, or in any of its modifications.

Now we readily grant to the author, that the facts do not warrant the theory of verbal inspiration, according to his representation of it. If by verbal inspiration be meant, that the sacred writers of the New Testament must all have followed a strictly chronological order in their historical accounts; that their records of particular events must have so agreed together, that it was quite impossible for one Evangelist, in narrating a miracle, to speak of one demoniac as healed, while another spoke of two; that the *ipsissima verba* of Old Testament passages, or of our Lord's sayings and discourses, must have been reproduced, whenever quoted, without the smallest addition, subtraction, or other change; that the language of Scripture must have been absolutely homogeneous and uniform throughout, and, in

point of structure and style, must have risen as high above ordinary human composition as heaven above earth; and that the authors of the Gospels and Epistles must have been so bound by the supernatural agency which controlled them, as to be irresistibly compelled to use the very words which they did use, and no others, down to *ands* and *buts*, in their inspired autographs: if this be verbal inspiration—and we hope we do not misrepresent Mr. Row in saying that his picture of it is tantamount to this—then we yield the point at once: an inspiration such as this, if it be conceivable, certainly never existed, and, so far as we know, was never held, even as a theory, by any man capable of apprehending the facts to which it refers.

But if there be an inspiration which directed the sacred penmen, both what they should write and what they should not write, determining their "silences"—to use Mr. Row's expression—as well as their words; which apportioned to them their several provinces and functions in the economy of revelation, and caused them, according to their respective temperament, and education, and mental habitudes, to record "in divers manners" the "wonderful works of God;" which, while it never failed to move and guide them, at the same time gave them liberty to describe the same events in whole or in part, in general or in detail, under this aspect or that, as circumstances might require; which, in agreement with all analogy, availed itself, not mechanically, but organically, of its consecrated human vehicles and exponents, with all their variety of sentiments, feeling, and character; which, avoiding the unknown and incomprehensible language of heaven, used, for its communications, the familiar and intelligible language of earth, that language which no two human beings have ever spoken alike; which counted it no wrong to paraphrase, expand, abridge, and make new applications at pleasure, of its own divine speech; which, while it did not tie up the New Testament writers to the use of language, which left them no alternative, and which must stand, without loss or alteration of jot or tittle, for all time, yet refused to sunder what God had joined, the thought and the word, giving doctrinal value to monosyllables, and causing forms of expression to mould the very essence and matter of eternal truth: such an inspiration as this, an inspiration so broadly and manifestly distinguished from any mere quickening of the faculties of the sacred writers, or from any remote and general influence exerted upon them, we think is only adequately characterized by the terms "plenary" and "verbal": and this kind of inspiration, as we judge, is precisely the inspiration under which the testimonies and other phenomena of the Christian Scriptures oblige us to believe them to have been composed. It is a question of the interpretation of facts. Mr. Row says, they ought to be interpreted one way. We contend, they ought to be interpreted another. Mr. Row appeals to men's intelligence and candour, whether the Evangelists do not violate chronological, historical, and philosophical truth. We answer

that, in humble association with a multitude of as candid and intelligent men as the earth has ever produced, we are satisfied that they have not fallen into any such error: the enormous numbers of instances in which they are demonstrably right, and that, too, not seldom, where they had been charged with being wrong, in all reason reducing the apparent exceptions to a logical nullity. Mr. Row insists, that if St. Matthew, for any reason, exhibits seventeen stages of a genealogical descent as fourteen, he is guilty of an error, which is not compatible with the idea of an inspiration passing beyond the limits of strictly religious fact and discovery. We confess ourselves quite unable to comprehend this objection. Why the Spirit of God should not employ relative as well as absolute truth in subservience to the purposes of the Christian revelation, we are utterly at a loss to imagine. Is it credible that St. Matthew did not know he was dropping three names in his second genealogical column? And if such a mode of treating historic records be "Jewish," what then? Relatively to the intention and purpose of the sacred writer, the "fourteen generations" are as much a fact as the "seventeen;" and to assume that the Holy Ghost could not endorse the Evangelist's statement, self-explained as it is by its position and circumstances, is to impose restrictions upon the Divine freedom, which neither reverence nor intelligence ought to be content to hear of. So again, when Mr. Row urges that vicious or defective grammar, as used by the Evangelists and Apostles, can by no means be made to sort with any rational doctrine of verbal inspiration, we can only express our wonder, that he should so far press the claims of the divine as against the human element in revelation, and should find in this phenomenon an argument against a doctrine which, in the rudest expression of it, makes account both of this and of a thousand idiosyncrasies and—if he pleases—infirmities of the human authors of Scripture. Altogether, notwithstanding the induction of our author, indeed, by virtue of that induction, as we ourselves understand and are compelled to estimate it, we still hold that the sacred writers of the New Testament are not in error as to matter of fact, even though such fact fall within the sphere of purely human literature and knowledge, and that not only was the substance of the truth which they deliver supernaturally communicated to them, but that under certain limitations, not difficult to gather from the nature of the case, and the facts of history, they literally wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

We cannot now part from Mr. Row without acknowledging our obligations to him for several important sections of his book. The force with which he maintains the reality of inspiration as against mere genius and natural endowment; his masterly discussion of the true doctrine of miracles in relation to the popular notions of immutable order and law; and the noble conclusion to which he brings the argument of his work in the chapter entitled "The Christ of the Gospels no creation of the unassisted powers of the human mind"; command our sincere respect, and mark out Mr. Row as a writer

on the great questions of the times from whom much may be hoped, and with whom it will be no satisfaction to any earnest and serious thinker to find himself at issue.

Sermons by Ebenezer E. Jenkins, M.A. Madras. 1863.

We have seen nothing, in its kind, to compare with this volume since the appearance of Frederick W. Robertson's Sermons; and in several important respects, the contents of Mr. Jenkins's book are immeasurably superior to anything that Robertson ever wrote. The author, now in this country, was for many years a missionary in India; and the twenty discourses before us were preached by him in the Wesleyan Chapel, Black Town, Madras, during the course of his public ministry there. The topics of the sermons are various. They do not form a connected series. They are doctrinal, analytic, expository, hortative. One exhibits the philosophy of faith; another applies the scalpel and microscope to the subtlest textures of human motive and character; a third puts us face to face with the mysteries of Isaiah's seraphim and the visions of Chebar; others toll the great bell of divine justice and law, or, more frequently, set in motion the chimes of the mercy which rejoices against judgment. But all have striking characters in common. They burn and flash with genius and soul. Old truths wear new faces in them. Everywhere there is power, intensity, passion. For penetration and vigour of thought; for acuteness and nicety of religious analysis; for play of rich but well-chastened imagination; for delicacy of feeling and fine touches of nature, unmarred by a trace of sentimentality; for deep probing of the conscience, and life-like pictures of man and his ways; for streams of true eloquence, charged with evangelical verity and power; we know few modern sermons, except those of Archer Butler, that will compare with these noble pulpit compositions of Mr. Jenkins. We wish we could transfer to our pages the author's description of the modern "concealment of God;" or his tender yet terrible exposure of the complaisance which gets rid of final punishment; or his exquisite portraiture of science doing homage to the divine goodness and beauty; or his profound and charming study on Christian courtesy; or his wonderful drawings in words of the falsehood of human nature and human society unsanctified by religion; or his comments on Christ's "loathing" of the Laodiceans; or his picture of what is implied in "walking with God." Our limits compel us to leave these and a crowd of other passages unquoted, to the great loss of our readers. We cannot refrain, however, from furnishing a single example of Mr. Jenkins's manner, which, though it fails to do justice to the many-sided excellence of the sermons, will show that our criticism has not spoken rashly. The passage occurs in one of the most remarkable of the sermons—the sermon on the Prophet Elijah: and the preacher's immediate point in the connection is, that divine in-

struction—the still small voice of God—and not signs, the tempest, the earthquake, and the fire, "are the last and crowning means of Christianity." "Look," he says, "at the people around us! We see whole nations prostrate before the three signs. To the Hindu, the splendours of Hinduism are the whirlwind, the earthquake, and the fire; and his homage is fear and admiration. When I have seen an idol arrayed in traditionary terrors, and magnificently paraded through the streets of a large native town, and in the night too, and when ten thousand human beings have pressed near to worship amid the gleaming of innumerable torches of coloured light, and rockets and candles of every device shooting up into the air, and when the priests have sung in solemn cadence, and the multitudes have shouted their acclamations, I have caught the prevailing awe. With all my better knowledge, I could not resist the terror and beauty of the spectacle. But the Lord was not there. The multitudes returned to their homes with an intoxicated sense and a fevered imagination, but no silent voice to instruct and win them to God. But I have taken one of those Hindus, whom the earthquake and the fire had dazzled, but not changed, I have drawn him away from the three signs, and invited him to wait with me for the fourth, and while we listened, a still small voice spoke in our hearts; and when he heard it, he wrapped his face in his mantle, and cried, *What must I do to be saved?*"

We are informed that Mr. Jenkins proposes to publish a second edition of his sermons in this country. In the interest of Christian truth, and of the highest style of pulpit oratory, we venture to express the hope, that this intention will not be delayed longer than is absolutely needful.

Christian Certainty. By Samuel Wainwright, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York. London: Hatchard & Co., 187, Piccadilly. 1865. 8vo. pp. 492.

THE object of the author is at once tersely and fully expressed in the motto upon the title-page, "That thou mightest know the *certainty* of those things wherein thou hast been instructed;" and upon the attainment of this, no little painstaking has been bestowed. The mere "analytical outline of contents" is a study, and awakens wonder, not to say fear, whether anything like justice can be done in one volume to so wide a variety of subjects, although they are cognate. But while the writer surveys almost the whole field of theology, he only stays, professedly, to examine the most prominent objects. Moreover, though he does not avoid even the most abstruse topics, he purposely eschews an abstruse method in handling them. Thus he aims at a manual for those to whom "a great book is a great evil;" and, on the whole, he has successfully accomplished his task. We can understand how hard it must have been to compress so much material into so small a space, and to avoid a cramped and unfinished

style. It is obvious, also, that the temptation to satire was very strong when dealing with weak arguments propped up by strong assertions, or with baseless assumptions and positive untruths uttered in pompous language. Yet we would have the pruning knife applied to certain parts that are too colloquial and somewhat undignified. The book would be more likely to accomplish its design without them; for if there be an occasion that imposes self-restraint, that demands a dignity which inspires reverence, and a pity which wins an opponent who is not altogether lost to the better side, it is when an author proposes to remove "the difficulties felt by some; the doubts which perplex many; the sophisms which bewilder more; and lastly and chiefly" to show "the immoveable and infallible certainty which is within the reach of all." In entering upon so grave a work there should be a careful avoidance of the caustic and humorous in method, and the issue should be made to rest upon calm, clear logic, and upon that alone. We are not unmindful, in these observations, of the propriety, in some circumstances, of answering a fool "according to his folly lest he be wise in his own conceits;" but should not the different but not contradictory maxim be here observed? Nor are we forgetful of the sterling facts, criticisms, quotations, and reasonings which our author has brought to bear so conclusively against those who are of the contrary part, and who ought to be "ashamed."

But it is time that we gave our readers an analysis of the book itself.

The first part is devoted to the sources and solution of *difficulties* as to the matter and manner of divine revelation, and those which arise from misrepresentation, ignorance, or mistake. The sources of these difficulties are ably described, and the conclusion is irrefragably drawn, that those parts of the Bible which are so "hard to be understood," so far from diminishing its credibility, confirm it in the highest degree. In the *matter* of divine revelation we can only "see through a glass darkly," because of the nature of the subject, the relation of the finite to the infinite, and the limitations of human capacity. In dealing with the *incidental* difficulties, our author has clearly shown the inadequacy of human words to express superhuman ideas, the necessity of the anthropomorphism of Scripture, and the perils to which any writings are subject in translation and transcription.

The misrepresentations of Atheists or Rationalists, such as Voltaire's sorry frivolity concerning Judges i. 19, and Goodwin's declamations on Genesis i. 8, are well exposed. By a natural transition, the author passes to objections raised through ignorance or mistake, as 1 Kings vii. 13, compared with 2 Kings ii. 13, and disposes of them with ease and frankness. In like manner the apparent discrepancies of Scripture are satisfactorily traced to peculiar modes of thought or peculiar and (especially) *idiomatic* expressions.

The chapter on the solution of these difficulties by the Scriptures themselves is worthy of special consideration. Mr. Wainwright now puts forth all his power—rather let us say exerts himself, for *power*

is not needed—in the refutation of the Bishop of Natal. "We might," to use the language of the *Christian Observer*, "fill pages with mere titles if we were to recount the pamphlets which have appeared" in answer to the bishop, "and there is probably not one of them which does not give a sufficient—some of them give an overwhelming—answer to the whole volume. What is the difficulty in his volume, to which these pamphlets, to go no further, have not supplied a sufficient answer?" But our author chooses also to come forward, and that with well-tried armour. He shows that the ex-prelate's difficulties are not new. Indeed, the very first of them, that concerning Hezron and Hamul, was observed and explained centuries ago by Christian fathers and Jewish rabbis. Nor are they formidable. They are met in a few chosen words in the book before us, but even of these we must content ourselves with an outline. The bishop's statement concerning Hezron and Hamul is not found in the text, is not implied in the text, nor is it warranted by the *usus loquendi*. There is an obvious miscalculation of Judah's age, and a positive misquotation of Scripture. In like manner the objection about the sacred shekel is shown to be a misquotation. But the best part is that which relates to Colenso's statement about the priest's duties and perquisites. Here our author excels himself. As to the priest's duties, it is well argued, the bishop, to sustain his objection, violates the canon, "qui facit per alterum facit per se"; ignores the common usage of the English language; contradicts the express letter of the Hebrew text; and disregards the impersonal rendering of the versions. As to their perquisites, and what they could do with them, our author replies—"How were they to get them? For (*a*) even those which were obligatory were not offered: (*b*) They could not be encumbered with flour when they had nothing but manna: (*c*) Nor could they eat eighty-eight pigeons a day when not a single pigeon was to be had." "The law was intended for the wilderness," says the objector: "the law-giver says the contrary at least five times over, is the reply." The bishop's ignorance of Hebrew next meets with deserved castigation, and one is almost reminded of the trenchant blows of Dr. Pusey in his masterly and unanswerable lectures on Daniel. All this is richly merited, for the melancholy opposition to the truth by Colenso owes all its fame assuredly to his ecclesiastical status. If the attraction lay in the subject, or in the superior scholarship which marks its treatment, men would read the neglected pages of Davidson. Before dismissing this part of our volume, we cannot but express our surprise that (so far as we have observed) none of the legion of pamphleteers and authors have made as full use as they might have done, in reply to the bishop's caricature of the priest "carrying on his back on foot" the skin, and flesh, and head, &c., of the bullock (Lev. iv. 11, 12), of what seems to us as satisfactory a solution as any that has been offered. The use of wagons was part of "the service of the tabernacle." On occasion of the completion

of the sacred tent, "the princes of Israel" brought their offering before the Lord, "six covered wagons and twelve oxen; . . . and the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Take it of them, *that they may be to do the service of the tabernacle* of the congregation" (Num. vii. 1—9).

The difficulties arising from critical sources (*e. g.*, whether Philippi was "*the* chief city of that part of Macedonia," and how statements of Daniel and Berosus as to the fall of the Babylonian monarchy may be reconciled) close this division of Mr. Wainwright's work.

Part II. is devoted to a consideration of *doubts*. "Does belief in Christianity involve belief in the Bible? Is the verity of the Christian religion inseparable from the veracity of the Christian Scriptures?" These are momentous questions, and are put by inquirers whose positions are directly opposite to one another. They are put wistfully by some who, while perplexed by what are called the difficulties of the Bible, yet find it impossible to abandon their confidence in that religion which the Bible reveals. And they are put maliciously and covertly by others who know full well the fundamental character of the Bible, and who, therefore, strain every nerve to carry, by a process of sapping and mining, the citadel, which seems only more impregnable after every fresh assault. Both classes are met here by "sound speech which cannot be condemned." We have two chapters on "Doubts arising from Literary Criticism" as to the books of Scripture and their contents. In the former, there is a plain statement of the genuineness, authenticity, and canonicity of the books, and a fair discussion of the subject of the Unity of the Pentateuch, especially in relation to the Divine names. Jehovah-Elohim are shown to present no such distinctions as would be required to support the theory of disintegrations, and even if they did, their character as inspired Scripture would remain unchanged. As actually found, however, they possess an instructive significance, so that the widest apparent diversity serves but to demonstrate the reality of the actual unity. The most important part touching the *contents* of the books is that which bears upon their inspiration. And on this great question the author gives no "uncertain sound." He adduces the various theories with which the theological world has become so familiar of late, and maintains his own, "That while the writers were allowed to pursue their own method and use their own powers, the Holy Spirit directed and controlled *all* that was written, so as to make the writings *infallible*." Thus, "It is written" is the decision for every doubt; and "Have ye not read in the Scriptures?" is the rebuke for every form of ignorance and error. The rock remains though the surges that dashed against it are broken and spent. Our confidence only grows stronger in the literal and absolute truth that "*All* Scripture is given by inspiration of God;" that "*The Scripture cannot be broken.*"

To many readers the summary of "Doubts arising from *Scientific* Investigation" will be especially welcome. According to a very com-

mon view, religion and science have always been afraid of each other, always fancying it impossible that they might sit side by side together on the throne of Eternal Truth. It is a causeless and foolish strife, for what Kepler beautifully calls "the finger of God and the tongue of God"—His works and His word—can never be contrary the one to the other. Whatever the discrepancy, it must be of our own making. We have generalized too hastily the facts of science, or we have interpreted too superficially the words of Scripture. This has been the history of all past disagreements; and one after another we have seen alleged discrepancies vanish, and sound science laying her offering at the footstool of the truth of God. The book before us shrinks from no part of the inquiry, but examines and refutes the theories of Lyell, and Darwin, and Goodwin, especially touching the high antiquity of the human race, and the plurality of races, and death before the Fall. Nay, the author goes further, and argues not only the minute and substantial oneness between Bible statements and the mature conclusions of the inductive philosophy, but the plenary inspiration of "all Scripture," from the positive and uniform agreement between Scripture and science as to the vitality of the blood; distinction between rain and dew; the power and the pressure of the atmosphere; the form and tentation of the earth; the circulation of water, and circuits of the winds; the "influence of pleiades;" the common origin of birds and fishes, and so on. This part is closed by a quotation from the gifted and eloquent author of the "Mission to the Mysore":—

"Turn now from these guesses of human wisdom to the authentic utterances of Divine revelation, and what do you find? You find a book written by one educated in the first Egyptian schools, and consequently versant in their system of cosmogony; written for a people still sunk in the ignorance attendant on serfdom, and thus prepared to receive blindly any feasible speculations on subjects beyond their reach; written in a desert, where there were no schools to criticise, no enlightenment to detect errors, no rivals to expose them; written, in fine, under every imaginable temptation for the author to indulge his fancy, or display his learning. Yet while the advancing sea of knowledge has swept into the sea of fiction all other early records of creation, this one stands proudly against the tides which fret against its borders, but bear not an atom away. The very torrents that have overwhelmed its counterfeits flow around it, an unfordable defence, while every tributary poured in from some new-sprung source of knowledge, only swells the stream that would bear down an assailant. He who believes that any man, by his unaided foresight, could have chronicled creation's birth in times when its system was grossly misconceived, without assuming principles and hazarding facts which would be falsified by the discoveries of subsequent ages, not only displays a capacious credence, but contravenes the facts which the sacred literature of ancient nations developes."

The next division deals with "*Sophisms;*" and here the author proposes to refute assertions which have been most prominently put

forward, and most frequently reiterated, as being most important; and which, with a dogmatism surpassed only by their fallaciousness, have a special claim to the title which heads the chapter. Among these sophistical webs are the following:—"That the Bible must succumb to a 'remorseless criticism!'" (and yet among the critics Hupfeld condemns Knobel; Knobel condemns Ewald and Hupfeld; and every variety and contrast of opinion is indicated by the mere names Astruc, Eichhorn, Ilgen, Gramberg, De Wette, and Von Bohlen. Assuredly in such conclusions nothing is concluded). "That if the Divine authority of the whole Bible could be established, it would still be unworthy the enlightenment of our age to submit to the bondage of the letter" (to what, then, must we submit? To the "internal oracle," according to Newman? But these boasted intuitions vary, and are themselves darkly groping and eagerly disputing! To "conscience," according to Dr. Temple? But that is flexible to an indeterminate degree). "Not the Book, but the truth of the Book" (this seductive fallacy of Jowett's is well met by the bold and undeniable declaration of Dr. Vaughan, "If we have not a Christianity sustained by authentic documents, we have none"). All pretence to anything certainly Christian on the part of men who repudiate the historical proofs of Christianity must be simply absurd. But we may not linger over the quibbles of the contentious. Our author proceeds to the discussion of the possibility and fact of miracles—of the so-called "incredibilities" of Scripture history—and then deals with the graver sophistries concerning everlasting punishment, and the infallibility of the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The last division, entitled "*Certainty*," brings us away from the mists and fogs into the clear sunny region of positive truth. And pleasant as it would be to wander here, we must now content ourselves with indicating the subjects which the author undertakes to prove in the several chapters. It is certain, (1) That man needs a religion; (2) That the Christian religion is perfectly adapted to the actual condition and necessities of mankind; (3) That the objections alleged against the Bible, as the Divine revelation containing that religion, are *untenable;* (4) That the reasons assigned for a belief in the Divine authority of the Bible are *unanswerable;* (5) That if the Bible be not Divine, then it is an effect without a cause; (6) That the life of Christ alone is sufficient to demonstrate the truth of Christianity; (7) That the testimony of Christ to the truth of Christianity receives irresistible force from the perfection of His character; (8) That the old arguments in proof of the truth of Christianity are not antiquated, but still remain unanswered, *e. g.* those of Paley, Butler, and Leslie; (9) That the most recent, subtle, and powerful assaults on the Bible, have utterly failed to shake the foundations of our faith, *e. g.* "Essays and Reviews," Colenso's productions, Renan's "Vie de Jésus," Darwin's "Origin of Species," Huxley's "Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature," and Goodwin's unblushing attack on the Mosaic cosmogony; (10) That against the evidence for Christianity, cumulative

and congruous as it is, our opponents are unable to maintain any single argument whatever; and lastly, That the certainty which characterises the demonstration of the truth of Christianity, is certainly of the highest kind.

We perfectly agree with the closing assertion and appeal, "*The religion of Christ is true; then it is* TREMENDOUSLY *true!*" "Let us then hold fast the profession of our faith. Let no man beguile us of our reward. Let us endure as *seeing* Him who is invisible. We are encompassed with a great cloud of witnesses. Sixty centuries are looking down upon us. Let us be strong, and quit ourselves like men. Let us gird up the loins of our minds, be sober, and hope to the end. While from those 'statutes' which we 'have taken for our songs' in the house of our pilgrimage, there comes, stirring as the blast of martial trumpet, soothing as the sound of whispering leaves, a strain of heaven's own music, 'Ye, beloved, building up yourselves upon your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.'"

We have only to add that in this book on "Christian Certainty," we may obtain glimpses of the real character and purposes of Rationalism; of the oppositions of science, falsely so called; of the manifold philosophies which have tinged the theology of successive ages of the Christian era, and may find in relation to each "a reason," which we may safely "give to every man that asketh," concerning "the hope which is in us." This volume will do good service to the young student in divinity; for by it he may familiarise himself with the greatness of the work before him. And it will yet more greatly serve the many who have neither leisure, nor ability, nor disposition to wade through the almost innumerable volumes which are appearing in defence of "the faith once delivered to the saints."

Lyra Sabbatica; Hymns and Poems for Sundays and Holy Days. By Benjamin Gough. London: Houlston and Wright. 1865. Pp. 176.

THESE sacred lyrics have been published at intervals in various periodicals, and are now collected into a beautiful volume, which is worthy of attention for the spirit of deep and fervent piety which it breathes.

Had the "*Lyra Sabbatica*" been presented to us as an example of the highest form of poetry, we should have taken exception, very decidedly, to some stanzas whose feet are lame, and to others whose conception and expression are prosaic rather than poetic. But we remember that this is a book designed to furnish material for meditation on "the Lord's Day;" and viewed in this aspect we bear cordial testimony to the admirable paraphrases of Scripture, the vivid pourtrayal of scenes from sacred history, the pure evangelical truth and homage paid to the Person and work of the Holy Ghost, and the spirit of fervent piety

by which these effusions are distinguished. The author would do well to ply his hammer and chisel, and perfect the work which he has so commendably begun. Several of the pieces would well reward such painstaking. And regarding the aim and tendency of the whole, it may, to use the language of the preface, be said that "they breathe a Catholic spirit, exalting Christ as the world's Redeemer, and stimulating to a pure and active Christian life;" and that the book may be safely recommended as especially suitable for Sabbath and devotional reading. As a specimen of this adaptation to feed the fire of a pure devotion, we quote the poem

"FOR THE FORTY DAYS OF LENT.

"'And rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for He is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth Him of the evil.'—Joel ii. 13.

"Why lies the church in sackcloth, and her hymns
And joyous anthems hushed in solemn pause,
And ashes on her head her beauty dims,
And, shrinking from earth's glare and vain applause,
For forty days to solitude withdraws?
Ask not for why—with tremulous steps and slow
She follows Him she loves, to love yet more,
And seeks the lonely wilderness, to know
More of His heart's deep love than e'er she knew before.

"There, in prostration at the Master's feet,
She drops the tears of penitence alone,
Embracing while she weeps, with reverence meet—
'Thy faithless bride, though faithless yet Thine own,
Cast not away, nor let Thy gathering frown,
Rise into judgment; spare Thy people, Lord!
Shall Satan triumph where Thy cross hath stood?
Speak to Thine heritage some peaceful word;
And comfort still Thy church, bought with Thine own dear blood.'

"She mourns defilement in her holiest things:
Alas! too oft her altar-fires have waned,
And worldly love held back her buoyant wings;
Her songs all heartless, and her prayers restrained,
And her twin sacraments by evil stained.
Her Captain always conquers, but in fear
She hides the cross, and drops the Spirit's sword;
Yet now in meek abasement she draws near,
And girds herself afresh to battle for her Lord,

"Who fought for her and triumphed; all His foes
And ours lay vanquished at His conquering feet;
Pain, sickness, death, and sin's unnumbered woes,
And Satan, in His wilderness retreat,
And earth, and hell, to Him pay homage meet.
Strength triumphed in His weakness, life in death:
On the cold ground, in dark Gethsemane,
And on the bloody cross, the conqueror's wreath
Blooms on His fainting brow, in sign of Victory.

"And shall Thy humbled church in vain desire
Pardon and quickening from her living head?
Wilt Thou not send the Pentecostal fire,
And give again the flaming tongues, to spread
The Gospel message, life unto the dead?

O bid the sacramental host arise,
Fair as the moon, and brighter than the sun,
And like a bannered army, rend the skies
With mingled shout and prayer, till earth to Christ is won.

"Sweet is the 'plaining of a contrite heart,
And welcome is the incense of its sighs
To Him we love; and sweet t' Him to impart
Pardon and joy, and wipe the weeper's eyes;
Before His loving voice all sorrow flies.
So, from the wilderness, the church returns,
Leaning on her Beloved, clothed in light,
His spotless bride; and now she only burns
To win the world to Him, and conquer in His might."

But the gem for symmetry and suggestiveness, two great elements of poetry, is found on page 34, entitled

"SLEEPING AND WAKING.

"'For so He giveth His beloved sleep.'—Psalm cxxvii. 2.
"'When I awake, I am still with Thee.'—Psalm cxxxix. 18.

"They only know the true repose of sleep
Who rest in God,
Within the fold, among the chosen sheep;
Them the Good Shepherd evermore doth keep,
With crook and rod.
With minds serenely calm,
And holy hymn or psalm,
Sleep's gentle healing balm
Steals softly o'er them in a dream of love,
While Heaven's own music charms,
And they lie down to prove,
Peace from above.
And so reclining in their Shepherd's arms,
They rest securely, Jesus' sheep,
'For so He giveth His beloved sleep.'

"Sleep is not sloth, nor dull forgetfulness;
Who sleep in God,
Their rest is holy, angels come to bless,
And their own sanctities of thought impress
And shed abroad.
Odours like incense sweet,
Until in dreams we meet,
Loved ones in bliss to greet,
And hear the whispers of our Father's voice
In tenderness divine,
Then faith is turned to sight:
And while we slumber we rejoice
Their ranks to join
And such high company to keep—
'For so He giveth His beloved sleep.'

"Sleep is not long. We wake, for day is here;
But still with God.
Sleeping or waking, God is ever near;
We grasp His hand, like children all in fear,
Along life's road.
And still secure abide
Close to our Father's side,
Whatever may betide;

And not more brightly doth the morning sun
Shine in the lattice-room,
Proclaiming day begun,
And scattering night's gloom
Than doth God's loving sunshine fall on me,
While with glad heart I bow the reverent knee;
Sleeping or waking, 'I am still with Thee.'

"Sleep in the grave is hallowed, and our rest
Is sleep in God.
Calmly we lie down on our Father's breast,
His holy arm around us prest,
In death's abode;
And ever through the night
We wait the morning's light,
Gloriously bright,
Bursting in splendour from the flaming sky,
To the loud trumpet blast
Of resurrection nigh.
Earth all ablaze we see, and hell aghast,
And Christ, cloud-throned, descending from on high.
O rapturous waking! when from death set free,
Thou, Thou, my God, art nigh, and 'I am still with Thee.'"

The *Lyra Sabbatica* contains hymns and poems on a great variety of spirit-stirring topics, *e.g.* The Hour of Prayer; Pleasures for Evermore; For another Pentecost (an earnest appeal on behalf of Christendom); The Martyrdom of St. Stephen (a vigorous and touching description of that suggestive scene); Praise ye the Lord an admirable versification of a Psalm); Christmas and Easter Carols; The Coming Millennium; The Church Militant and the Church Triumphant.

We give a hearty welcome to this "contribution to the accumulating store of religious poetry," the multiplication of which, as well as its extensive circulation, is a distinguishing and very pleasing feature of the present days.

The Higher Ministry of Nature. By George S. Ingram. Elliot Stock. London: 1865.

A DEVOUT, sensible, and interesting little work, designed to call attention to a much-neglected sphere of Christian thought—the religious symbolism of the more prominent objects of nature, and the lessons of Christian doctrine and practice which they read for those who have ears to hear. Mr. Ingram thinks for himself, and his book is much in advance of what writers on his great subject commonly inflict on their deluded readers. For the most part the author escapes the sentimentality in which his predecessors have revelled, and talks like a Christian man who has something to talk about. We wish him success with his publication, and shall be glad to meet him hereafter on the same or other ground.

Sabbath Storing. Two Prize Essays. London: S. W. Partridge. 1865.

THE essays contained in this useful volume are by the Rev. H. T. Robjohns, a well-known Congregationalist minister at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and by the Rev. George Fletcher, a Wealeyan minister, at present residing at Bury, Lancashire. The former of the essays, to which the first prize was awarded by the adjudicators, deals with "The Need and Method of Sabbath Storing:" the latter is entitled, "The Obligation and Advantages of Sabbath Storing for the Lord." Both Essays are worthy of their important topic; and though difference of opinion may exist as to the manner in which Christian "beneficence" should ordinarily do its work, the arguments adduced in this volume on behalf of the particular mode of charity which it is designed to recommend, are such as ought to weigh with all lovers of Scripture, of Christian antiquity, and of the common sense which dictates, that well-doing should be habitual and systematic.

Man's Age in the World according to Holy Scripture and Science. By an Essex Rector. London: Lovell, Reeve, and Co. 1865.

A THOUGHTFUL, temperate book on the wrong side. The works of human art found in the gravels of the Somme Valley; 'the change of a white people into black, from Egypt to the tropics, and their return into a lighter colour from the tropics to the Cape;' and the character of the statements made in the early part of the Pentateuch, as to the longevity of the antediluvians, etc.; compel us to believe that Moses, though divinely inspired, was indebted to traditions—in many cases, erroneous ones—for the accounts contained in his writings, and that man must have lived in the world much longer than the longest Bible chronology will allow. This is the author's doctrine. There are *two* objections to it, to say no more. In the first place, it assumes, what no man can prove, what indeed many geological phenomena strongly tend to disprove, that all things have gone on in the earth, from the beginning of the creation, at the present rate and after the present fashion. And, secondly, it altogether overlooks, what every believer in divine revelation is bound to make much account of, the action of *miracle* in the early history of the world and of mankind, as distinguished from the operation of mere physical law as we now know it. Science, as such, does not recognise miracles. But when science comes face to face with revelation, it must either do so, or it must enter into conflict with revelation. Revelation, *ipso facto*, involves miracles. It is itself miracle, and proclaims it. If science will grant no harmony between itself and the Bible, except on the principle of excluding miracle from the annals of the human race, the issue is obvious. Revelation will accept no such terms; and men must choose their side. We fervently trust there

may be a very different result of the present controversy: but most certainly the right conclusion will not be come to by turning man and the earth into a chain of purely natural sequences from the working of certain laws of matter and life established untold æons of ages ago.

Esther. A Poem by Jane Elizabeth Holmes. London: H. J. Tresidder, 17, Ave Maria Lane. 1865.

We are bidden, at the threshold of this little volume, to tread lightly: for the young and accomplished authoress is "far removed beyond the reach of all human praise or blame." This may have deepened our interest and won our sympathy. Be this so or not, we are free to confess ourselves among those of whom it is said in the preface, "some readers, pleased with the imaginative in literature, and stirred by the emotional, struck with the descriptive power of this poem, affected by its tenderness and pathos, and charmed with the purity of sentiment pervading the whole, will rise from its perusal in admiration of the writer."

A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon of the Old Testament, with an Introduction: giving a Short History of Hebrew Lexicography. By Dr. Julius Fuerst, Professor at the University of Leipzig. Third Edition, Improved and Enlarged, containing a Grammatical and Analytical Appendix. Translated from the German by Samuel Davidson, D.D. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

Dr. Davidson is not one of our idols; but there are few men in England equally capable of doing justice to the task to which, we rejoice to find, he has addressed himself as translator of Fuerst's Hebrew Lexicon. The value of the Lexicon is well known to German-reading students of Hebrew; and its appearance in English will be highly welcome to many others, who are too old or too much occupied to add a knowledge of German to their other acquirements. The translation is publishing in monthly parts at a shilling each; and so far as it has gone, it bears marks of very careful execution and editing. In respect of form, material, and typographical clearness and grace, it is all that can be desired in a work of its class.

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