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THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—1. *A History of Egypt under the Pharaohs, derived entirely from the Monuments.* By HENRY BRUGSCH-BEY. *To which is added a Memoir of the Exodus of the Israelites and the Egyptian Monuments.* In Two Vols. Murray. 1879.

2. *The Monumental History of Egypt, as recorded on the Ruins of her Temples, Palaces and Tombs.* By WILLIAM OSBURN, R.S.L. In Two Vols. Trübner. 1854.

3. *Ancient History from the Monuments. Egypt from the Earliest Times to* B.C. 300. By S. BIRCH, LL.D. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

4. *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypter.* VON C. RICHARD LEPSIUS, Erste Abtheilung. Text und Dynastieentafeln. Berlin. 1858.

5. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde herausgegeben.* VON PROFESSOR DR. R. LEPSIUS, zu Berlin.

6. *Essay on the Bearings of Egyptian History upon the Pentateuch.* By F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter. In Vol. I. of "Speaker's Commentary." Murray. 1871.

7. *Egyptian Chronicles, with a Harmony of Sacred and Egyptian Chronology, and an Appendix on Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities.* By WILLIAM PALMER, M.A. In Two Vols. London: Longman. 1861.

WHEN Dr. Arnold, nearly half a century ago, exclaimed, "Is it not marvellous that scholars can now read the old Egyptian readily, and understand its grammar! These

Egyptian discoveries are likely to be one of the greatest wonders of our age," he could scarcely have foreseen the remarkable confirmation which the monuments together with the papyri have afforded not only to the story of the Exodus as set forth in the Books of Genesis and Exodus, but also to many other parts of the Divine Word. Nor could he have foreseen the singularly perverted view which two men of eminence, in different ways, Brugsch-Bey as an Egyptologer of the first class, and Bishop Colenso, have displayed in their interpretation of what Scripture relates concerning the children of Israel in Egypt. We shall have occasion, in the course of this article, to show the difficulties connected with the view recently put forth by Herr Brugsch as to the route of the Israelites on their exode from the land of Ham. And as regards Bishop Colenso, it will be sufficient if we quote the words which he has used to express his view of the subject:

"All the details," he says, "of the story of the Exodus, as recorded in the Pentateuch again and again, assent *to propositions as monstrous and absurd as the statement in arithmetic would be that two and two make five.* . . . There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the first writer of the story in the Pentateuch ever professed to be recording infallible truth or even actual *historical truth.* He wrote certainly a narrative. But what indications are there that he published it at large even to the people of his own time, as a record of matter-of-fact veracious history?"*

This statement, especially as made by a Bishop of the Church of England, is the more extraordinary as Ewald, the great German critic, and a leader in the Rationalistic school, asserts positively in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, that "the historical existence of Moses is indubitably proved." And the late Dean Milman had no hesitation in declaring, in his *History of the Jews*, that "the internal evidence in respect to the genuineness of the Mosaic records is to me conclusive. All attempts to assign a later period for the authorship, or even for the compilation, though made by scholars of the highest ability, are so *irreconcilable with facts*, so self-destructive, and so *mutually destructive*, that I acquiesce without hesitation in the general antiquity." —Vol. I. p. 46.

This conclusion of a distinguished historian respecting the

* *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined.* By Bishop Colenso. Part II. pp. 370, 375.

"mutually destructive" nature of Rationalistic speculations on the genuineness and authenticity of the Books of Moses, appears still more evident when we see the differences which exist amongst those who ignore Scripture testimony respecting various incidents in the combined histories of Israel and Egypt. We propose to set this plainly before our readers in the following brief tables. First, as regards the primary coloniser or proto-monarch of Egypt after the dispersion at Babel, whose name is first seen on the monuments in the reign of Pharaoh Seti I., in the fifteenth century B.C., and therefore nearly 1,000 years after the Biblical date of the Noachian deluge, and read now by Birch and other Egyptian scholars as *Mena*, by Herodotus and the Greek historians as *Menes*, and in Genesis as "Mizraim," the son of Ham and grandson of Noah. Of him Manetho, the Egyptian scribe, thus speaks: "After the dead demigods, the first king was Menes the Thenite; and he reigned *sixty-two years*;" while Syncellus, a Byzantine historian, who gives the canon of the kings of Egypt, says that "Mizraim, who is the same as Menes, reigned *thirty-five years*." This difference between two ancient historians respecting the duration of the reign of him who is regarded as the first king of Egypt, is significant of the amazing variations between modern interpreters of Manetho as to the time when the said Menes lived. Thus the era of Menes is dated by various chronologers as follows:

1.	Mariette-Bey computes the era of Menes to have begun	B.C. 5004
2.	Brugsch-Bey	,, 4400
3.	Lepsius	,, 3890
4.	Bunsen, on the first occasion	,, 3623
5.	,, on the second occasion	,, 3059

showing a variation of nearly 2,000 years for the foundation of the Egyptian kingdom.

Perhaps this great difference may be explained by the fact of the ancient computers of Egyptian chronology being equally at sea on this point with their modern followers. Palmer, in his *Egyptian Chronicles*, points out that while the *Old Chronicle* makes "twenty-five Sothic cycles equal 5,844 full Egyptian years," the *Hieratic Scheme* of B.C. 1322 reduces those same twenty-five cycles to "4,383 full Egyptian years," while Manetho takes a sort of *juste milieu* view, by estimating them as 5,020 years. Thus we have a

difference between two of these systems of ancient cycles of nearly 1,500 years. So as regards the time when that greatest of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, was erected, the differences amongst scholars of the present day are still more marked. This will be seen in the following table:

1. Le Suer computes the building of the Great Pyramid	B.C.	4975
2. Brugsch-Bey	,,	3657
3. Bunsen	,,	3460
4. Lepsius	,,	3426
5. Piazzi Smyth, the Astronomer Royal of Scotland	,,	2170
6. The late Sir George Cornwalle Lewis	,,	993

Thus showing a difference of nearly 4,000 years! The only one of the above quoted authorities whose date may be accepted as the most correct, and this only approximately, is that of Professor Piazzi Smyth; and he is far from ignoring Scripture, though we believe he accepts the Septuagint computation in preference to that of the Hebrew.

So as regards the duration of the Shepherd or Hycsos dynasty, whereas—

1. De Rougé computes it at 2,017 years
2. Bunsen ... ... 926 ,, while
3. Lepsius only allows it... 500 ,,

showing a difference of rather over fifteen centuries!

And so in reference to the duration of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt—

1. Bunsen computes it at	1,434 years
And in the same work he alters it to ...	862 ,,
2. Brugsch computes it at	430 ,,
3. Lepsius* reduces it to	90 ,,

showing a difference between the highest and lowest figures of no less a period than 1,344 years, to which Scripture allots the sum of 215 years.

In a similar manner the date of the Exodus is variously computed by learned *savans*, who ignore Scripture, on this wise:

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* Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, Vol. III. p. 357, and Vol. V. p. 77. *Histoire d'Egypte*, par Henri Brugsch, p. 80. Lepsius' *Letters from Egypt*, p. 475.

1. Bunsen's computation fixes its date as having happened	B.C.	1320
2. Lepsius	„	1314
3. Brugsch-Bey	„	1266
4. Professor Max Duncker...	„	1250
5. M. Lieblein*	„	1008

The variations in chronology between the computations of a certain school of Egyptologers for events recorded in Scripture, may be compared with the still greater variations of those geologists who equally set aside the Hebrew chronology in their estimates of the antiquity of man. Thus Bunsen, after making certain calculations concerning the annual rate of sinkage of alluvial deposits in the mud of the Nile, came to the conclusion that "man existed on the earth about 20,000 B.C.," adding that "there is no *valid reason* for assuming a more remote beginning of our race." But it is a question for consideration whether there is any "valid reason" for accepting even Bunsen's date of B.C. 20,000 for the origin of prehistoric man. Estimating the rate of sinkage of such pottery at three and a half inches in a century, Bunsen pronounced accordingly. The French *savans*, who accompanied Bonaparte's army to Egypt, estimated the rate of sinkage at five inches in a century. This alone would have been sufficient to throw doubt on Bunsen's conclusion, when a far more evident proof of its weakness came to light by the unexpected discovery in the deepest boring at the foot of the statue of Ramessu the Great, of the *Grecian honeysuckle*, stamped upon some of these pre-Adamite fragments, which gave them a date of about 300 B.C., or some time subsequent to the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great! Hence Sir Charles Lyell, in his *Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man*, admits that "the experiments instituted by Mr. Horner, in the hope of obtaining an accurate chronometric scale for testing the age of a given thickness of Nile sediment, are not considered by experienced Egyptologists to have been satisfactory."

* M. Lieblein in the *Revue Archéologique* of October, 1868, and also in the *Zeitschrift* of 1869, p. 122, fixes the date of Ramessu the Great at B.C. 1134, who is regarded by Egyptologers of this school as "the king which knew not Joseph," when there were 126 years of the sojourn in Egypt unexpired according to the Hebrew chronology. This would bring the date of the Exodus down to the low date of B.C. 1008; and make it a few years *after* Solomon had begun to build the Temple at Jerusalem! Such are the aberrations of those who ignore Scripture evidence in reference to the histories of Israel and Egypt.

And well they may when it is remembered that in the limited period of the Christian era the surface level of the Temple of Serapis, on the shores of the Mediterranean, has altered twice, each movement, both of elevation and subsidence, exceeding twenty feet.* And we may measure the value of Bunsen's speculation respecting the age of man being dated as early as B.C. 20,000 from pottery having been found at a certain depth in the bed of the Nile, from the fact, to which we called attention some years ago,† that when the late Sir Robert Stephenson was engineering in the neighbourhood of Damietta, he discovered in the alluvial deposits of the Nile, at a greater depth than was ever reached by Mr. Horner's diggings, a brick bearing upon it the stamp of Mohammed Ali!

As our present object is to show the existing harmony between what is called Hebrew or Biblical and Egyptian chronology, it will be sufficient if we pass by the consideration of the antiquity of man on earth, and commence with the chronological computations of those two nations from the time of the Noachian deluge down to the time of the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, at the generally received date of B.C. 525, or as Brugsch-Bey places it, two years earlier. It may be at once admitted that neither the Hebrews nor the Egyptians knew anything, for chronological purposes, of an era such as we possess in the well-known A.D., which, by the way, only came into existence nearly six centuries after the birth of Christ, being the invention of a Roman abbot, named Dionysius Exiguus; and he certainly made a lapse of at least four if not more years, as he dates the Nativity four or five years *after* the death of Herod the Great, thus contradicting the positive statement of the Evangelist St. Matthew. For the Hebrews when they came to have a king, like the Egyptians from the earliest times when they wanted to record a date, mentioned the year of the sovereign's reign in which the event occurred. There are, however, two notable exceptions to this general rule, in

* Lyell's *Geology*, p. 499, 7th edition. It is remarkable how indifferent those who ignore Scripture, whether Egyptologists or geologists, are to the merit of consistency in their speculations respecting the prehistoric ages. Thus Lyell, in the tenth edition of his *Principles*, dates the glacial age at 800,000 B.C., while, in the eleventh edition of the same work, he puts it at 200,000 B.C., making thus a difference of 600,000 years! And so Bunsen, as we have already noticed, gives a double estimate for the duration of the sojourn in Egypt, showing a difference of nearly six centuries!

† *The London Quarterly Review*, No. LI. p. 240.

the Hebrew and Egyptian histories alike. The Authorised Version of 1 Kings vi. 1 reads thus: "*In the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel came out of Egypt*, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, he began to build the house of the Lord," &c. Archbishop Usher and others have accepted this as evidence of the exact interval between the Exode and the building of Solomon's Temple; but we have both Scriptural and other proof of the italicised portion of the text being an interpolation of later years. It will be sufficient if we mention that Origen, the great Biblical authority of the third century, quotes the text in his *Commentary on St. John* without the clause; and it is certain that it does not agree with the computation of other passages, both of the Old and New Testament: *e.g.*, Judges xi. 26 shows that in the time of Jephthah the children of Israel had then occupied the land of promise for more than 300 years, which, with the continuation of the rule of the Judges from Jephthah to Saul, the reigns of Saul and David, together with the forty years' wanderings in the wilderness, would make about a century in excess of the supposed interval of 480 years from the Exode to the building of the Temple. And further, this computation agrees with what St. Paul declared in the synagogue at Antioch, as recorded in Acts xiii., that the rule of the Judges alone lasted "about the space of 450 years." None of the Jewish writers, such as Demetrius or Josephus, nor of the Christian Fathers, such as Theophilus of Antioch, or Clement of Alexandria, could have known of this clause. The two Jewish authorities computed the interval between the Exode and the Temple at 592 years; Theophilus at 580 years; while Clement reduces it to 573 years; thereby showing sufficient agreement, without any servile copying from each other, as to the approximate interval between those two periods. There is, however, a remarkable secular testimony on this point, which is deserving of consideration from the fact that it affords a very striking synchronism between the histories of Israel and Egypt, as we shall presently have occasion to show. Theophilus, besides mentioning his own estimate of the interval, which he variously computes at 580 and 540 years, says: "There is an account among the Tyrian archives about the building of the Temple in Judæa, which King Solomon built 566 years after the Jews went out of Egypt."*

* Theophilus, *ad Autolyc.*, Lib. III. §§ 22, 24.

On this authority, so unexceptionable in itself, we are warranted in fixing the date of the Exode approximately at 1580 B.C., since the building of the Temple is fixed, on combined Scripture and secular testimony, at B.C. 1014, and the Exode preceded it by 566 years.

We now propose to show the existing harmony between the computed chronologies of Israel and Egypt, as gathered from the Scriptures of the one and the monuments and papyri of the other. It is a significant fact that there is no authentic chronology, whether it be Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Tyrian, Indian, or Chinese, which can trace back its origin to an earlier date than the twenty-fourth century B.C. It is true that Manetho, one of the two Egyptian writers whose histories have come down to us, though in a fragmentary form, gives us, as we have already seen, either the date of 5000 B.C., according to the computation of Mariette-Bey, or 3600 B.C., according to Bunsen, for the commencement of the Egyptian kingdom. And Manetho appears to have fascinated Bunsen to such an extent, that he considers him more trustworthy than Moses or all the sacred writers put together, going so far as to exclaim in his rhapsody, "*Truth have I sought at thy hands; truth have I found by thy aid.*" Now in order to show how thoroughly unreliable Manetho is (we shall presently prove this from the monuments), it may be sufficient to mention that whereas in his history of the first six dynasties he gives a list of forty-nine kings who reigned, he says, "1,504 years," the Turin papyrus, which was written in the reign of Ramessu the Great, or 1,100 years before the time of Manetho, allows *only* 355 *years* for the very same period, and limits the number of kings to forty-one![*]

The testimony of Eratosthenes, the librarian at Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, is in direct conflict with the chronology of his contemporary Manetho, as may be thus proved. Eratosthenes gives 986 years from the time of Menes, the proto-monarch of Egypt, to that of Pharaoh Nilus, whom Herodotus (ii. 3) calls the son and successor of Ramessu the Great. Dicæarchus, a Greek historian of the fourth century B.C., says, "From the time of Pharaoh Nilus to the first Olympiad there were

[*] The new Tablet of Abydos, engraved in the reign of Pharaoh Seti I., the father of Ramessu the Great, likewise gives forty-one kings to the first six dynasties.

436 years."* Supposing Dicæarchus to refer to the time when the Olympic games were first instituted by Iphitus, B.C. 884, this would give B.C. 1320 as the date of the death of Ramessu the Great and the accession of his son, and agrees sufficiently well with Manetho, who dates it, according to some, as synchronising with the year B.C. 1322. By adding 986 years to this we obtain B.C. 2308 as the date for the era of Menes, the proto-monarch of Egypt and grandson of Noah, according to the computation of Eratosthenes. As the dispersion at Babel is placed B.C. 2330, and the colonisation of Egypt followed directly after, the chronologies, deduced from the Hebrew Bible and that from Eratosthenes, are seen to be very much in harmony with each other.

Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as a chronology either of the Bible or of any Egyptian authority whatever; and therefore Brugsch-Bey, in his new *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, only commences what may be termed his scheme of chronology with the approximate date of B.C. 1700 as the beginning of the celebrated eighteenth dynasty, when Aahmes, or Amosis, as the Greek historians wrote the name, conquered the Shepherds, an event as notable in the history of Egypt as the Norman conquest with ourselves, and thus fulfilled in his person the statement of Moses in the first chapter of Exodus—"Now there arose up a new king which knew not Joseph," and which occurred, as we shall show, about the year B.C. 1706.†

Let us see how the Egyptian monuments as well as the Biblical chronology computed from the Hebrew accords with that date. As many Egyptologers in the present day ignore the evidence of Scripture on this subject, it is satisfactory to know that the elder Champollion, who may be regarded as the founder of Egyptology, in allusion to such

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* Dicæarchi Mem. de Græc. Rege Frag., as given by Bunsen in his *Egypt*, I. 712.

† Brugsch, *History*, Vol. I. p. xxxii., where he observes, "On this first introduction of *dates*, the reader should be especially warned against taking them for definite chronological epochs. They represent only an artificial system of *average approximation* based on genealogies. . . . The system only claims to give accurate results in a *long period*, and for such its truth is remarkable." The same high authority in his *Histoire d'Egypte*, published about twenty years ago, writes, "Canon chron. des Rois d'Egypte, de Menes jusqu'à Nectabenos II. Commencement of the reign of Pharaoh Amosis, B.C. 1706." The value of Brugsch's remark respecting the genealogies will be seen when we show how accurately they synchronise with the Biblical chronology for a period of nearly 1,500 years.

sceptics once wrote: "They will find in this work an absolute reply to their calumnies, since I have demonstrated that no Egyptian monument is really older than the year 2200 B.C. This certainly is very high antiquity, but it presents nothing contradictory to the sacred histories, and I venture to affirm that it establishes them on all points: for it is, in fact, by adopting the chronology and the succession of kings given by the Egyptian monuments, that the Egyptian history accords with the sacred writings."* More recent discoveries in Egypt since Champollion's time have proved that a tablet, which has been in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford for upwards of two centuries, must be approximately dated about B.C. 2300, and therefore about a century older than any monument known to the learned Frenchman; and inasmuch as the Oxford tablet, which does not appear to be as well known as it deserves, affords a valuable instance of the progress of Egyptology, we pause for a few moments to consider its details.

When Bunsen published the second volume of his *Egypt's Place in Universal History* in 1854, about twenty-five years after Champollion's decease, he wrote: "No place is found for an old monarch mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*, King Goose, in Egyptian *Sent*, whose scutcheon we give phonetically and figuratively. He may as well have been one of the unchronological kings *before Menes*."† About ten years later Herr Dümichen, following the indications first pointed out by Mariette-Bey, then curator of the museum at Boulaque, near Cairo, discovered amid the ruins of the Temple of Osiris, at Abydos, "the New Tablet of Abydos," as it is termed, in order to distinguish it from the one discovered by Mr. Banks at the same place about

* *Ancient Egypt, its Monuments and History*, p. 56.

† *Egypt's Place*, Vol. II. p. 112. Bunsen's speculations about the age of man as settled by pottery found in the Nile mud, and his violent hostility to the Biblical chronology, which he affirms to be "a fable strung together by ignorance and fraud, and persisted in out of superstition and a want of intellectual energy," have proved him to be an untrustworthy witness in anything relating to Egypt and the Bible. He had no pretensions to the name of an Egyptologer, and the really valuable part of his work on Egypt is the fifth volume, which was published after his death, containing a translation of that wonderful *Book of the Dead*, the hieroglyphic dictionary, and other Egyptian papers, all of which are due to the skill of the very learned Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, the *facile princeps* of English Egyptologers. The only useful portion of Bunsen's share in the work is his collection of the Greek authorities.

half a century ago, and which has been long regarded as one of the chief treasures of the British Museum. Both of these tablets contained originally the list of kings from Menes down to Pharaoh Seti I. and his better known son, Ramessu the Great. The value of the new tablet, which has found a resting-place at Berlin, consists in the fact that the list is perfect from beginning to end;* whereas in the one belonging to the British Museum none of the kings of the first six dynasties appear; and many lacunæ are visible in other parts; as Osburn remarks, when the news of its value began to be suspected, and before Mr. Banks could remove it, "it was broken to pieces by one of the rascally adventurers in the service of the late pacha in an attempt to saw it off from the wall." On the New Tablet of Abydos the name of this very King *Sent* appears as twelfth in succession from Menes, thereby showing that the Oxford tablet, which is part of the tomb of one *Shera*, a priest of King *Sent*, who is represented with his wife as making offerings to their deceased ancestors, so far from confirming Bunsen's speculation of its being a record of one of the unchronological kings *before Menes*, was in reality a king reigning about a century *after him*. Lepsius pronounces him to be the same as "Sethenes," the fifth king of Manetho's second dynasty; and is therefore, as Birch considers, the oldest† proof of man's existence on earth, notwithstanding all which speculators on the antiquity of man may have said to the contrary.

Assuming then, for a moment, that this Oxford monument, as being the oldest proof of man's existence at present known to us, may be dated within a century of the Biblical date of the Noachian flood, *circa* B.C. 4400, we have the authority of the Turin papyrus for saying that

* For an admirable drawing of this valuable monument, see the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* for October and November, 1864. An account of the New or Seti Tablet of Abydos is given in the *Revue Archéologique* of 1864, Vol. I. p. 310.

† Lenormant, in his *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, pronounces "the Pyramid of Steps," as it is called, supposed to have been the tomb of King Ata, the fourth king of the first dynasty, a door of which Lepsius, A.D. 1845, placed in the Berlin Museum, to be "the oldest monument in Egypt," adding, "and in the world likewise after the ruins of the Tower of Babel." Putting aside the question as to whether any of those ruins are now in existence, we cannot accept M. Lenormant's statement from the simple fact that there is no king's name on the tomb to prove in whose reign it was built. Mariette speaks confidently that it belongs to the time of *Ata;* Lenormant with equal confidence assigns it to the reign of King *Asa*, the second king of the dynasty. Probably neither are right.

only 355 years elapsed between the era of Menes, or the first colonisation of Egypt, and the end of the sixth dynasty. This would give the approximate date of the end of the sixth dynasty somewhere in the twenty-first century B.C. It has long been seen by Egyptologers that some of Manetho's dynasties are certainly contemporaneous. It is the failure of not seeing this which has caused certain authors to prolong the duration of some of the early dynasties far beyond what the truth of history warrants. To compare such with what went on in England during the Heptarchy: if all the kings of different parts of England were reckoned separately and continuously in place of being contemporaries, the duration of the Heptarchy, instead of being limited to about four centuries, would be prolonged to over 2,000 years, and thus the chronology of our Saxon kings would be all at sea.

A series of Pharaohs, discovered by Mariette-Bey on a tomb at Saqqarah, near Memphis, implies that in the order of succession the sixth dynasty is immediately followed by the twelfth dynasty. In the sepulchral grottoes of *Beni Hassan*, on the banks of the Nile, there are still to be seen some inscriptions belonging to the early kings of the last-named dynasty. Special mention is there made of the "Penegyry, or Festival of the First Year," which Poole refers to the commencement of the *tropical cycle*, i.e., a perfectly exact cycle of the sun, moon, and vague year, which happened in the reign of Amenemes, one of the early kings of the twelfth dynasty, and which the science of astronomy has enabled the Astronomer Royal of England to fix at the date of B.C. 2005.*

According to the Hebrew chronology, Abraham's visit to Egypt took place not many years before that date, *circa* B.C. 2010. According to the testimony of Josephus, when Abraham went down into Egypt he found the Egyptians quarrelling concerning their sacred rites. By his skill in disputation the patriarch confuted the arguments on all sides, and by his influence succeeded in composing their differences. Moreover he is said to have taught the Egyptians arithmetic and the science of astronomy, for before the time of Abraham, Josephus says, "they were unacquainted with that sort of learning."† The Jewish

* Poole's *Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, Part I. § 11.
† Josephus, *Antiq.*, Lib. I. c. viii. §§ 1, 2.

historian does not give his authority for such a statement, but when it is remembered that the temple records of Egypt were still in existence at the time when Josephus wrote, and that his work was specially addressed to the Greek and Egyptian philosophers of Alexandria as an apology for his own nation, we may accept his statement as true history. Moreover, this remarkable incident in the life of Abraham is confirmed, according to Eusebius,* by two heathen historians, Berosus and Eupolemus, both of whom lived between three and four centuries prior to the time of Josephus.

Osburn adduces some evidence in proof of Abraham's visit to Egypt having occurred during the reign of Pharaoh Acthoes, the father of Amenemes, the first king of the famous twelfth dynasty, and asserts with confidence, that while "of Acthoes and his times, and of those of all his predecessors, there exists no single record of king or subject having a date, tablets and papyri inscribed with dates of the years of the reign of Amenemes, the son and immediate successor of Acthoes, are not uncommon. The same practice continued with all the successors of Amenemes to the end of the monarchy."†

We have thus some authentic evidence for concluding that the visit of Abraham to Egypt, the treaty of peace in the reign of Acthoes, the knowledge of arithmetic possessed by the Egyptians as proved by the introduction of dates on the monuments of that period, together with the establishment of the earliest cycle, known as "the Tropical Cycle:" all these events must have taken place within a few years of the date B.C. 2000. And since this synchronises with the Biblical date for the time of Abraham's visit, it is satisfactory to know that the Egyptian monuments afford still more conclusive proof of the correctness of the Hebrew chronology for the succeeding fifteen centuries.

It may seem surprising to be told that there still exists in the wonderful land of Ham two genealogies, recording the names of forty generations from father to son, which, with the exception of two and a half centuries, carry us down the stream of time from B.C. 2000 to B.C. 500, when chronology has been sufficiently settled as not to leave any further room for doubt. And the said interval of two and a

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* Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel.*, § 9.

† Osburn, *Monumental History of Egypt*, Vol. I. chap. vi.

half centuries is more than covered by a tablet recently found belonging to the reign of Rameesu the Great, where the single instance as yet known of an era is mentioned, viz., the four hundredth year of the era of Noubti, and which, in round numbers, extends from B.C. 1800 to B.C. 1400.

On a tomb at El-kab, in Upper Egypt, which was founded by the aforesaid Pharaoh Acthoes, belonging to Prince Aah-mes, who bore the rank of admiral of the Nile, there the pedigree of the illustrious owner is engraved with extreme care, from the founder of the family who bore the name of *Ahi-snau*, signifying "two souls," and who was one of the original colonists of El-kab of the time of Acthoes, through eleven descents down to the time of Aah-mes or Amosis, the king and his admiral bearing the same name, whose conquest of the Shepherd dynasty has been fixed by Brugsch-Bey at B.C. 1706. The names of all the intermediate heads of the family, together with their respective wives, are recorded on the tomb; which with its eleven descents, on the well-established principle of three descents to a century, would give the required number of years, *circa* 330, between the reigns of Acthoes and Amosis, or the later reign of his grandson, Thothmes III., in whose time the admiral of the Nile died.*

A still more remarkable instance of the utility of Egyptian monuments which record genealogies is seen on a tomb on the Kosseir road, between Coptos and the Red Sea. There the chief architect of all Egypt, by name *Aahmes-si-Nit*, in the forty-fourth and last year of Pharaoh Amosis, B.C. 525, or two years earlier, according to Brugsch, recorded the genealogy of his ancestors in precisely the same way as the admiral of the Nile had done twelve centuries before. The pedigree goes back to the twenty-fourth generation, which, calculated back at the rate of three generations to a century, would cover a period of 800 years, and bring us to the date of B.C. 1325. *Ka-nefer* appears in the genealogical tree as the founder of the family: and he is described as the chief architect of all Egypt in the reign of Pharaoh Rameesu III., the commencement of whose reign has been fixed by astronomical science to B.C. 1311.† Such are some of the results following the decipherment of the hieroglyphic monuments

* Osburn, *Monum. Hist.*, Vol. II. chap. iv.

† Lenormant, *Manuel d'Hist. Anc. de l'Orient*, Vol. I. p. 300; Palmer's

of Egypt, which tend to confirm the truth of the Biblical computation, or rather to show the existing harmony between the computed chronologies of Israel and Egypt. And this will be further seen when we gather up what the monuments teach respecting the Israelites in Egypt, and the story of the Exodus, in contradistinction to the bold avowal of Bishop Colenso, who would, if he could, relegate it entirely to the region of myths, of the same value to history as the manufactured legends of the dark ages.

Before, however, proceeding to show from the monuments the confirmation of the Biblical story of the Exodus, it may be well to notice what we gather from Scripture respecting the interval of 430 years mentioned in Exodus xii. 40, between the time of Abraham and the exode of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt. We have already found some evidence for computing the date of the Exode at B.C. 1580, and the time of Abraham at B.C. 2010. And the date of a very important event in the history of Egypt, viz., the overthrow of the Shepherd dynasty, is fixed by Brugsch, in his interpretation of Manetho, to the year B.C. 1706, the starting-point of what he considers to be reliable chronology, whereas all previous chronology must be regarded as more or less conjectural. The following table, founded on Scripture testimony, will show a very important synchronism in the combined histories of Israel and Egypt. In the first chapter of Exodus it is recorded that "Joseph died and all his brethren, and all that generation;" and it is added in the verse following, "Now there arose up a new king which knew not Joseph," evidently implying a marked change in the treatment of Joseph's people at the hands of the Egyptians from that which they had formerly received. This can only be explained by the great change which must have ensued on the transfer of power from the rule of the foreign Hycsos, or shepherd kings, to that of the native dynasty of the Pharaohs. In Exodus vi. 16 the death of Levi, the brother of Joseph, and the last surviving member of that generation, as we may fairly assume, is recorded at the age of 137, and the year before the rise of the new king, which took place, according to the testimony of Manetho, B.C. 1706; the death of Levi having taken place in the pre-

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Egyptian Chronicles, Vol. II. p. 593; Brugsch's *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, Vol. I. p. 444, II. p. 211.

ceding year, as our table, gathered out of Scripture, clearly shows:

	B.C.	Year of call.	Genesis.
Abraham's visit to Egypt at the age of 75	2010	1	xii. 1, 4, 10.
Isaac born when Abraham was 100	1985	25	xvii. 1, 21.
Isaac married Rebecca when 40	1945	65	xxv. 20.
Jacob born when Isaac was 60	1925	85	,, 26.
Abraham's death at 175	1910	100	,, 7.
Joseph born when Jacob was 91	1834	176	xlv. 6, xlvii. 9.
Joseph sold into Egypt at 17	1817	193	xxxvii. 2.
Joseph viceroy of Egypt when 30	1804	206	xli. 46.
End of the seven years' plenty	1797	213	,, 47, 54.
Jacob presented to Pharaoh when 130, in the second year of the seven years' famine	1705	215	xlv. 6, xlvii. 9.
Jacob's death at the age of 147	1778	232	xlvii. 28.
Joseph's death ,, 110	1724	286	l. 26.
			Exodus.
Levi's death ,, 137	1707	303	i. 6, vi. 16.
Rise of the king which knew not Joseph	1706	304	i. 8.
Moses born	1600	350	ii. 1—10.
Moses flies to Midian when 40	1620	390	ii. 15; Acts vii. 23.
The Exodus, when Moses was 80	1580	430	vii. 7, xii. 40, 41.

Thus the Exodus took place "at the end of 430 years"—even to the very day—after God had called Abraham to go from his fathers' country into the land of Canaan. But, inasmuch as much controversy has arisen respecting the duration of the sojourn in Egypt,—Bunsen extending it, as we have already seen, to 1,434 years; while his collaborateur Lepsius limits it to 90 years,—it may be well to examine carefully the text which treats on this important point. The Authorised Version of Exodus xii. 40 reads as follows: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, *who dwelt in Egypt*, was 430 years." It will be seen by this that Scripture does not necessarily imply that the Israelites were either in Egypt or in servitude during the whole of that period; for it plainly teaches that though their *sojourning* lasted 430 years, it was only a portion of that time that they dwelt in Egypt, and a still more limited portion in which they were enslaved. Such appears to be the teaching of Hebrews xi. 9, where it is said, "By faith Abraham *sojourned* in the land of promise as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise."

This is confirmed by the reading both of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX., all of which in the various MSS., as Kennicott* observes, are uniform on this matter, and read the text as follows: "Now the *sojourning* of the children of Israel, and of their fathers, when they *sojourned* in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, was 430 years." And so St. Paul, in Galatians iii. 16, 17, declares that "the promises to Abraham and his seed were confirmed by the law (given on Mount Sinai), which was 430 years *after*" they had been first made.

That the Jews of all ages so understood the text may be thus shown. Demetrius,† who flourished in the third century B.C., reckoned 215 years from the call of Abraham to the going down into Egypt; 135 years from that to the birth of Moses; and 80 years more to the Exode; which sums up—215 + 135 + 80 = 430. Josephus, four centuries after Demetrius, expressly says, that "the children of Israel left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the 15th day of the month, 430 years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but only 215 years after Jacob removed into Egypt."‡ Both the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmuds speak of the sojourning of the Israelites as including that "in Egypt and in *all other lands*" besides.§ Aben Ezra, a learned Jew, and Joseph Goriondes, of the tenth century, interpret the passage in the following way: "The sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt *and in other lands* was 430 years. Notwithstanding they abode in Egypt only 210 years, according to what their father Jacob told them, to 'descend' or *go down* to Egypt, which in Hebrew signifies 210. Furthermore, the computation of 430 years is from the year that Isaac was born, which was the holy seed unto Abraham."‖

The testimony of the early Christian writers is to the same effect. Eusebius¶ distinctly says that it is "by the unanimous consent of all interpreters" that the text should be so understood. Augustine, in his 47th *Question* on Exodus, as well as in his *City of God*,** taught that the

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* Kennicott, *Dissert.*, II. pp. 164, 165.
† Demetrius, *apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.*, IX. § 21.
‡ Joseph., *Antiq.*, II. xv. § 2.
§ *T. Hierosol. Megillah*, fol. 71, 4; *T. Babyl. Meg.*, fol. 9, 1.
‖ *Historie of the Latter Tymes of the Jewes' Common Weal.* By Joseph Ben Gorion. Translated by Peter Morwing, pp. 2, 3. Oxford, A.D. 1567.
¶ Euseb., *Chron. Can. Lib. Prior*, § 19.
** August., *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xvi. § 24.

430 years included the sojourn in Canaan as well as in Egypt. And Sulpicius Severus says: "From the entrance of Abraham into Canaan until the Exode there were 430 years."* These interpreters of the text of Scripture appear to have well understood the force of an argument, which some in the present day have strangely overlooked, that if the 430 years are to be counted only from the time of Jacob's descent into Egypt until the Exode, *the mother of Moses must have given birth to her son* 262 *years after her father's death*, according to the Biblical computation, which is a physical impossibility. Hence Clinton wisely observes: "Some writers have very unreasonably doubted this portion of the Hebrew chronology, as if it were uncertain how this period of 430 years was to be understood. Those who cast a doubt upon this point refuse to Moses, an inspired writer,—in the account of his mother and father and grandfather,—that authority which would be given to the testimony of a profane author on the same occasion." †

We come now to the consideration of those events recorded in Scripture which appear to be confirmed more or less distinctly, either by the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments or the hieratic written papyri. It is frequently said that neither of these witnesses afford any confirmation to the Noachian Deluge. Even Poole considers that "Egyptian mythology has not been found to contain any allusion to a deluge," though he cautiously adds that "discoveries may, however, modify this view." ‡ We think this is a mistake; for though no positive evidence has yet been discovered to show that the ancient Egyptians knew of the judgment which overtook the antediluvian world, it is more than probable they had some traditions concerning it. In the *Egyptian Ritual*, or *Book of the Dead*, some portions of which are prior to the time of Abraham,§ and which has been so skilfully rendered into English by Dr. Birch, there is frequent mention of

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* Sulpic. Sev., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. xxvi. § 4.

† Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, Vol. I. p. 299, Appendix.

‡ Poole's Article on "Egypt" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition, p. 730.

§ "The earliest appearance," says Dr. Birch, "of rituals is in the eleventh dynasty (*i.e.* before 2000 B.C.). It is then that extracts of these sacred books are found covering the inner sides of the rectangular chests which held the mummies of the dead."—*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, V. p. 127.

the name of Noah, variously written as *Nh*, *Nuh*, and *Noa*, who was worshipped in Egypt as *the god of water*, and who appears to be identified with the deified hero, whom the Egyptians so worshipped, who was entitled, "the father of the gods," and "the giver of mythic life to all beneath him." Hence says Osburn, after a careful analysis of the various ways in which the name of *Noah* appears on the monuments, "so indissolubly was the name of Noah linked with the remembrance of the general Deluge, that it was afterwards called by the Hebrews *the waters of Noah* (Isaiah liv. 9). It is on this ground that we distinctly deny the assertion of Lepsius, that there is no memorial whatever of Noah's Flood in the hieroglyphic records of Ancient Egypt." * According to Plutarch, the Egyptian tradition mentions Noah under the title of "the giver of mythic life," when Typhon, a personification of the ocean, enticed him into the ark, which was forced out to sea through the Tanaitic mouth of the Nile; which things, says Plutarch, "were done *upon the seventeenth day of the month Atyr*, when the sun was in Scorpio, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Osiris." † So is it recorded in Scripture that the Flood in the days of Noah commenced "in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, *the seventeenth day of the month*, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up and the windows of heaven were opened" (Genesis vii. 11). The fact that two such different authorities as Moses and Plutarch mention a great flood as having commenced on the seventeenth day of the month seems to show that they are speaking of the same event.

It is also worthy of note that the *Egyptian Ritual*,‡ or *Book of the Dead*, contains not only a far sounder faith respecting the one supreme Creator of all things than that of the Grecian philosophers, such as Democritus and Epicurus in ancient times, or some of our materialists of the present day, who have adopted the incredible

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* *The Monumental History of Egypt.* By William Osburn. Vol. I. ch. v.

† Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 13.

‡ There is reason to believe from the *Egyptian Ritual* that the ancient Egyptians had some traditionary knowledge of the promised Deliverer in the person of Horus, who is represented as "the only-begotten son of his Father." But the Horus myth in its relation to Christianity, which has been carefully treated by the late W. R. Cooper, Hon. Sec. to the Society of Biblical Archæology, is too large a question to be entered upon here, deeply interesting to the Biblical student as it necessarily must be.

hypothesis of the world having been created by a fortuitous concourse of atoms without an Omnipotent Ruler. In chapter xvii. of that remarkable work it is written—"I AM, THE GREAT GOD, CREATING HIMSELF,"—golden words which might be profitably considered by some of our present Professors, who confidently say with the fool of the Psalms, "There is no God." So Jamblichus, in his account of the creed held by the ancient Egyptians, as found in the hermetic books, quotes as follows:—"Before all existing things, and before all principles, *there is one God*, prior to the first god and king, immovable in the solitude of His unity. He is *the self-begotten Father of Himself*, who is truly good—the fountain of all things, and the root of all primary intelligible existing forms. Out of this one mould the self-ruling God made Himself shine forth; wherefore He is the First Principle and God of gods."*

The two most important epochs in the histories of Israel and Egypt, so far as Scripture is concerned, are those relating to the times of Joseph and Moses; and we now propose to consider what the monuments and papyri say on the subject; and to show how far they afford any confirmation to the truth of the story of the Exodus. The differences among Egyptologers who ignore Scripture in regard to chronology, as we have already seen, exists to a considerable extent respecting the reigning sovereigns of the times of Joseph and Moses. If their names had been recorded by the sacred writers, we should have had a sure test for identification; but Moses confines himself to the generic name of "Pharaoh," which, like "Cæsar" of later times, was sufficiently understood for the purpose of history; and it was not until 1,000 years later, towards the period when the Jews were carried captive to Babylon, that we find the name of the individual Pharaoh, such as "Necho" and "Hophra," recorded in the Bible; "Shishak, king of Egypt" (1 Kings xiv. 25), being the single instance of a Pharaoh's name recorded in Scripture during the intervening period.

We have already seen that the time of Abraham's visit to Egypt synchronised probably with the reign of Pharaoh Acthoes, shortly before the commencement of the twelfth dynasty, which in round numbers may be dated *circa* B.C. 2000. Consequently the time of Joseph being sold as a

* Jamblichus, sect. viii. c. 2, § 3.

slave into Egypt would fall *circa* B.C. 1800, when a Shepherd dynasty was seated on the throne of the Pharaohs. This is seen in the fact that Brugsch-Bey, in his *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, considers that anything like correct Egyptian chronology can only be said to commence with the rise of the celebrated eighteenth dynasty, which he dates approximately at B.C. 1700, as in his earlier work on Egypt he dates it more exactly at B.C. 1706; and inasmuch as he is perhaps the first of Egyptologers who has given his attention to this particular branch of the subject, and as it harmonises perfectly with the Hebrew chronology deducible from Scripture, we may accept the learned writer's conclusions on this point as most right and just.

That Joseph's captivity and subsequent viceroyalty over the land of Egypt occurred during the reign of the Hycsos or shepherd kings is apparent from various incidents recorded in Scripture. We learn there that no sooner had the Jewish captive interpreted the dream of the king of Egypt than "the thing appeared good in Pharaoh's eyes, and he said unto his servants, Can we find such an one as this is, a man in whom *the spirit of God* is? And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this, see, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt." *

In order to understand this remarkable fact of a heathen king recognising at once the God of Israel, we must consider who this king really was. As far as we can gather from the traditions of ancient times, it unquestionably was one of the Hycsos or shepherd kings; and though recent discoveries have made it doubtful whether the current tradition was strictly correct, we have monumental proof of its general accuracy. Syncellus, a Byzantine historian of the eighth century, writes that "All are agreed that Joseph governed Egypt under Apophis, *and commenced in the seventeenth year of his reign.*" Apophis is represented in Manetho's lists to have reigned sixty-one years; and the monuments show that Apophis was contemporary with the immediate predecessor of the head of the eighteenth dynasty, "the new king which knew not Joseph." Our comparison of the synchronisms in the histories of Israel and Egypt show that the rise of this new king and the death of Joseph synchronised with each other. Now, Scripture shows that Joseph began to govern Egypt at the

* Genesis xli. 37—41.

age of thirty, and died at one hundred and ten, leaving eighty years for his government of the country, supposing him to have been in office the whole of that period. But if his government commenced, according to the tradition, "in the seventeenth" year of Apophis' reign, the duration of which was sixty-one years, this would only leave forty-four years out of eighty for Joseph's rule under Apophis. Moreover, the discovery of the Zoan Tablet with a recognised era throws some additional light on this complicated portion of Egyptian history.

A few years ago Mariette-Bey found in the ruins of the great temple at Avaris or Tanis (the Zoan of Scripture) a *stele* of the reign of Ramessu the Great, showing that it was put up "in the four hundredth year of the era of Noubti." M. de Rougé, in his account of Mariette's discovery, says that "Noubti belonged incontestably to the Shepherd dynasty, and is a local form of Sutekh," one of the Hycsos kings who preceded Pharaoh Apophis. "So that," continues De Rougé, "the four hundredth year of Noubti means the same as the four hundredth year of the god Sutekh." * The year of Ramessu's reign when this tablet was set up is not stated. But assuming that it was in the early part of his reign, which extended, according to Brugsch, B.C. 1407—1341, and that 1404 was the exact year, this would give the *terminus a quo* for the era of Noubti-Sutekh as B.C. 1804, when Joseph was entering upon his government as viceroy of the king of Egypt.

But if Noubti-Sutekh was the actual Hycsos king who made Joseph his prime minister, Joseph may equally have been in office during the whole of Apophis' (the successor of Noubti) reign. It has been further proved from the monuments that the deity exclusively worshipped by the shepherds under the name of "SUTEKH" was the local god of Syria, from which country Joseph and his patron, the king of Egypt, had alike come: as it is written of Jacob: "A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went

* *Revue Archéologique* for 1865, Vol. XI. p. 169; and likewise Vol. X. p. 130. In a work published at Leipsig in 1875, entitled, *The Sun and Sirius Year of the Ramesides, with the Secret of the Intercalation and the Year of Julius Cæsar*, the author, Herr Karl Riel, adduces evidence in great detail to prove that the four hundredth year of the era Noubti extended from B.C. 1766 to 1366, which, if correct, would do equally well with our conjecture in the text, the only difference being that Karl Riel's estimate would make it fall towards the end, in place of the beginning of Ramessu's long reign.

down to Egypt and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous" (Deut. xxvi. 5). A papyrus now in the British Museum, entitled "Sallier I.," of the time of Ramessu the Great, throws considerable light on this subject, as it shows Apophis, the Hycsos king, supreme over all the land of Egypt, and acknowledging *Sutekh*, the Syrian god, as the sole deity whom he worshipped. This important passage reads as follows: "It came to pass when the land was held by the Hycsos, Ra-skenen was ruling in the south, and Pharaoh Apophis was in his palace at Avaris. The whole land paid homage to him with their manufactures and all the precious things of the country. Pharaoh Apophis had set up Sutekh for his lord; *he worshipped no other god in the whole land.*"

This noticeable fact of the Hycsos king having been devoted to the worship of Sutekh has been confirmed by the discovery of a colossal statue at Avaris, the capital of the Hycsos sovereigns, with the following inscription, "PHARAOH APOPHIS, WORSHIPPER OF THE GOD SUTEKH."

Hence observes Brugsch-Bey, "the mention of this god in combination with the Shepherd king proves most clearly what is stated in the papyrus concerning Apophis having been specially devoted to the worship of this god, to the exclusion of all the other deities of the whole country."*

The well-known hieroglyphic of the god *Sutekh* represents him under the form of a nondescript quadruped animal, *with the head of an ass.* He is so represented in the time of Apophis,† and 400 years later in that of Ramessu the Great, when Sutekh had long been admitted into the Pantheon of the native Pharaohs. In the treaty of peace between Ramessu and the Hittites of Syria, under Khitasir their king, which is still to be seen on an outer wall of the grand temple of Karnac, the inscription reads—"That which is in the middle of this silver tablet and on its front side is a likeness of the god Sutekh, surrounded by an inscription to this effect, *This is the picture of the god* SUTEKH, *king of heaven and earth.*"‡

The connection between Sutekh, the ass-head god of the Hycsos, the Hittites, and of the Syrian nations generally,

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* Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, p. 79.
† See Lepsius, *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypten*, Tafeln XV.
‡ Brugsch, *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, Vol. II. p. 74.

may serve to explain Pharaoh's readiness to recognise the God of the Hebrews directly Joseph had interpreted his dream. An *ass* was to the Egyptians, as Döllinger in his *Gentile and Jew* points out, the type of their northern enemies in Syria, and so Sutekh came to be represented with the head of an ass, the Egyptian name of which was *Typhon* or *Tao;* and under the name of IAO the Greeks designated "the God of the Hebrews." Hence Diodorus relates that when "Antiochus Epiphanes, after his conquest of the Jews, B.C. 170, entered the Temple of God, into which no one was permitted by their law to enter but the high priest, he found there the image of a man with a long beard, carved on stone, *sitting upon an ass*, whom he took for Moses, the founder of Jerusalem."* In a similar manner the early Christians were mocked, according to Tertullian, who says—"A new report of our God hath been lately spread in the city of Rome, since a wretch published a picture with some such title as this, *the God of the Christians conceived of an ass.* This was a creature with ass's ears, with a hoof on one foot, carrying a book, and wearing *a gown*." †

There is ample monumental proof that very shortly after the conquest of the Shepherds, Sutekh came to be regarded by the Egyptians under a very different aspect from what they did when they considered him as the deity of their enemies the Hycsos. Mariette says he will "not be surprised if fresh discoveries show that Amosis, the conqueror of the Hycsos, in his turn sacrificed to the god Sutekh." At all events it is certain that Amosis' grandson, Thothmes III., acknowledged this deity; for in a fine tablet on a wall of the Temple of Karnac, Sutekh is represented as instructing that Pharaoh in the use of the bow. And two and a half centuries later the Temple of Abou-Simbel was dedicated by Ramessu the Great to the four principal deities in the Egyptian Pantheon, at that period of history, viz., Ammon, Phthah, Ra, and *Sutekh*.‡ In the reign of Ramessu's son a monument at Thebes represents Manepthah worshipping "the god Sutekh of Avaris." Ewald, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 450, asserts that *Avaris* means philologically nothing less than "the city of the Hebrews;" and De Rougé shows from the monuments that

* Diodor. Sicul., lib. xxxiv., *Frag.*
† Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. xvi.
‡ Burton's *Excerpta Hieroglyhica*, plate xxxvii.

Avaris is the same as the Tanis of the Greeks, and the Zoan of Scripture, which in Hebrew signifies "motion," and the equivalent in the old Egyptian tongue for "the place of departure," from which the Israelites went forth at the time of the Exodus. Hence we may not be far wrong if we interpret the inscription "*The god Sutekh of Avaris*," as bearing in its esoteric meaning the sense of "JEHOVAH, THE GOD OF THE CITY OF THE HEBREWS."

Although no monumental proof has yet been discovered in Egypt, speaking of a famine of exactly seven years' duration, such as followed the seven years' plenty when Joseph became viceroy of Egypt, yet Brugsch has produced satisfactory evidence that such a famine did occur during the reign of Pharaoh Apophis, which affords additional confirmation to the opinion that he was in reality the patron of the Hebrew slave. In the Life of the late Baron Bunsen mention is made of the delight with which he received a communication from Dr. Birch, upwards of a quarter of a century ago, with the decipherment of an inscription on one of the tombs at Beni Hassan, belonging to a prince named Ameni, a portion of which reads as follows: "When in the time of Sesertesen I. the great famine prevailed in all the other districts of Egypt, there was corn in mine." Bunsen hastily pronounced this to be "a certain and incontrovertible proof" of the seven years' famine in the time of Joseph. Brugsch, with far better reasons, both as an Egyptologer, of which science Bunsen knew nothing, and as a believer in the Mosaic record, pronounced his speculation "impossible for reasons chronological." With this we entirely agree; for, independent of the fact that the reign of Sesertesen I. preceded that of Joseph by about two centuries, if we carefully note the words of Scripture we see how much they differ from the inscription on the tomb. In Genesis xli. 54 it is written, "The seven years' dearth began to come according as Joseph had said, and the dearth was *in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread.*" The inscription on Prince Ameni's tomb speaks of a great famine extending *over all Egypt, save one district;* Scripture records that the seven years' famine was *in all lands but Egypt.* Surely these two records cannot refer to the same event.

Brugsch-Bey, however, adduces very strong evidence in favour of another tomb inscription, of the time of Pharaoh Apophis, bearing on this portion of the story of the Exodus

as related in Holy Writ. "We have," he says, "great satisfaction in adding another very remarkable and clear confirmation of our remarks on the tradition preserved by Syncellus and received by the whole world, that *Joseph ruled the land in the reign of King Apophis*, whose age within a few years corresponds with the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. Upon the grounds of an old Egyptian inscription, hitherto unknown, whose author must have been a contemporary of Joseph and his family, we hope to adduce a proof that Joseph and the Hycsos cannot henceforth be separated from one another. The inscription which appears to us so important exists in one of the tombs at El-Kab. From the style of the internal pictorial decoration of the rock chambers, but principally from the name of its owner, BABA, we consider that the tomb was erected in the times immediately preceding the eighteenth dynasty. Although no royal cartouche ornaments the walls of the tomb, to give us certain information about the exact time of its erection, yet the following considerations are calculated to inform us on this point, and fortunately to fill up the gaps." Then Brugsch continues to describe the tomb of this Baba, which contains the following simple childlike representation of his happy existence on earth, owing to his great riches in point of children:

"The chief of the table of princes, Baba, the risen again, he speaks thus: I loved my father, I honoured my mother; my brother and my sisters loved me; I stepped out of the door of my house with a benevolent heart; I stood there with refreshing hand, and splendid were the preparations of what I collected for the feast day. Mild was my heart, free from noisy anger. The gods bestowed upon me a rich fortune on earth. The city wished me health and a life full of freshness. I punished the evil doers. My children, which stood opposite to me in the town during the days I have fulfilled, were sixty in number, small as well as great, and they had as many beds, chairs, and tables as they required. My speech may appear somewhat facetious to my enemies. But I call the god Month to witness to its truth. I collected in the harvest, a friend of the harvest god. I was watchful at the time of sowing. *And now, when a famine arose, lasting many years, I issued out corn to every hungry person in the city which I ruled.*"

"The only just conclusion," adds Brugsch on this remarkable discovery, "is that the many years of famine in the time of Baba must precisely correspond with the seven

years of famine under Joseph's Pharaoh, one of the Shepherd kings." Then he continues to show how applicable the details recorded in Scripture respecting the story of Joseph are to the history of Egypt at this period, by remarking:

"Joseph's Hycsos-Pharaoh reigned in Avaris or Zoan, the later Ramses-town, and held his court in the Egyptian style, but without excluding the Semitic language. His Pharaoh has proclaimed before him in Semitic language an *Abrek*, that is 'bow the knee,' a word which is still retained in the hieroglyphic dictionary, and was adopted by the Egyptians to express their feeling of reverence at the sight of an important person or object. He bestows on him the high dignity of a Zaphnatpaneakh, governor of the Sethroitic nome. On the Egyptian origin of the offices of an Adon and Ab, which Joseph attributes to himself before his family, I have already made all the remarks necessary. The name of his wife, Asnat, is pure Egyptian, and almost entirely confined to the old and middle empire. It is derived from the very common female name Sant, or Snat. The father of his wife, the priest of On-Heliopolis, is a pure Egyptian, whose name, Potiphera, meant in the native language Putiper'a (or pher'a), 'the gift of the sun.'"*

Brugsch's admission that Joseph became viceroy of Egypt under one of the Hycsos kings is a sufficient reply to those Egyptologers who consider that the reading of Genesis xlvi. 34, in the Authorised Version, "every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians," contradicts the idea. But we think that a careful examination of the context of that very passage proves that Brugsch is right. For did not Joseph, when his father and his brethren had come down to Egypt, and he was about to present them to his patron the reigning sovereign, prompt them to declare to the king that they were "*shepherds*" whose trade had been to feed cattle? "When Pharaoh shall call you and shall say, What is your occupation? ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." Now how could Joseph have advised his brethren to give such an answer to the inquiring king, unless that he had been a Pharaoh of the Hycsos or Shepherd dynasty?

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* Brugsch, *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, Vol. I. pp. 262—265.

Another instance of the harmony between the histories of Israel and Egypt is to be found in the record of Joseph's death. The Book of Genesis closes with these words: "So Joseph died, being 110 years old, and they embalmed him and he was put in a coffin in Egypt." Now it is an interesting fact that the monuments show that about this very period of history the Egyptians recognised the term of 110 years as the limit of human longevity; and as this can be traced for several centuries back, to almost the period of Joseph's death, we may infer that the expression "the happy life of 110 years" became proverbial among the Egyptians from the very high esteem in which their greatest benefactor was held. An inscription in the British Museum from the tomb of one *Raka*, of the time of Ramessu the Great (fourteenth century B.C.), and another in the Munich Museum, on a statue of *Baken-Konsoro*, the high priest of Ammon in the following century, with a third in the British Museum, carved on a black stone in hieratic characters in place of hieroglyphs (a most unusual circumstance), belonging to the time of Amenophis III., of the sixteenth century B.C.—all these speak alike of thankfulness for repose in the tomb "*after a happy life of* 110 *years on earth.*" And in the select papyri of the British Museum, named *Anastasi*, 3, pl. 4, we find similar expressions which remind us of the death of the great lawgiver of the Jews, about a century and a half after the death of Joseph. "Thou approachest the fair *Amenti* (the place of repose for the dead) without growing old, without being feeble; thou completest the happy life of 110 years upon earth, thy limbs being still vigorous and strong." And so Scripture records that "Moses was 120 years when he died; his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated."* Moreover Mariette-Bey has shown, in his description of the tombs belonging to the first six dynasties, and therefore prior to the time of Joseph by some centuries, that the limit of human longevity was higher among the Egyptians (as it was with the Hebrews) in those early times than it subsequently became in after ages. Thus in place of the later formula, "May you obtain repose in the tomb after a happy life of 110 years on earth," the earlier one ran as follows: "May you obtain repose, &c., after a happy and prolonged old age," without any number of years being specified.†

* Deuteronomy xxxiv. 7.

† *Revue Archéologique* for 1868, p. 388.

From these circumstances we gather that the monuments of Egypt confirm the Scripture narrative respecting the age of Joseph at his death.

"The age of King Apophis," says Brugsch, "corresponds within a few years with the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty." This affords the most important synchronism between the histories of Israel and Egypt, not only in respect to chronology, but respecting the great change which must have ensued when Amosis, the head of the eighteenth dynasty, conquered the Hycsos, and the favoured race of Israel, who were until that time dwelling "in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt," were reduced to the condition of bond slaves. We have already seen that the death of Levi, the last of Joseph's brethren, occurred, according to the Hebrew computation, confirmed by secular chronology, B.C. 1707; and that the following year, according to Brugsch's reading of Manetho, saw the conquest of the Hycsos by the chief of the eighteenth dynasty, which is thus tersely announced in the Book of Exodus: "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph." Then immediately commenced the enslavement of the Israelites, occasioned by the fear of the new king that "the people of the children of Israel (might become) more and mightier than we. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And the Israelites built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses. But the more they afflicted them the more they grew. And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour: and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage."*

One of the first tasks imposed on the afflicted children of Israel was to build two treasure cities named *Pithom* and *Raamses*. It is commonly assumed by those Egyptologers who ignore the supremacy of Scripture that as the name of one of these places was "*Raamses*," it must be accepted as proof that Ramesses, or Ramessu,† as his name is more frequently written, commonly called "the Great," must have been the "new king which knew not Joseph." But, independent of the fact that history as well as chronology are alike subversive of this theory, it goes a great deal farther than its founders contemplate, for it equally shows

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* Exodus i. 6—14.

† See Lepsius, *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypter*, Tafeln XXXII.

that the same name must have been in use nearly a century earlier, viz., at the commencement of Joseph's rule, when "he placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, *in the land of Rameses*, as Pharaoh had commanded."* Moreover, since the several instances recorded in Scripture during the 126 years of bondage which remained to the children of Israel after the rise of the new king do agree very closely with the history of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and do not in any wise accord with the history of Egypt after the accession of Ramessu the Great, there should not remain in the mind of any one who bows in reverence to the oracles of God the slightest doubt to whom belongs the shame of having reduced the inoffensive children of Israel from their quiet life in Goshen to a state of the most cruel bondage.

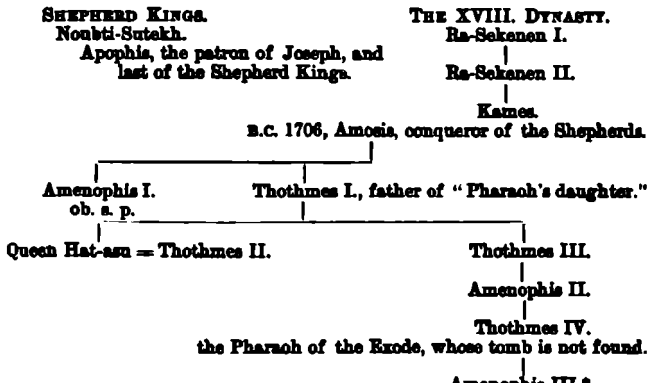
The name of "Pithom" has been identified by Brugsch with the *Pâ-chtoum en Zalou*, i.e., "the treasure city of Thom, built by foreign captives,"† and which occurs in the annals of Pharaoh Thothmes III., grandson of Amosis, the new king which knew not Joseph; and there can be little doubt but that it was the original treasure city *Pithom*, built by the enslaved children of Israel. So as regards the other treasure city, which is variously rendered in the Authorised Version as *Raamses* or *Rameses;* which some Egyptologers contend is a proof that it is confined to the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty. But this is a mistake: Lepsius in his *Königsbuch* shows that Amosis, the conqueror of the Shepherds, and founder of the eighteenth dynasty, had a son whose name in hieroglyphs reads Ra-M SS. The *Raamses* of Exodus was written in Hebrew R H M S S, and sufficiently near in sound to the son of Amosis to warrant the conclusion that they refer to one and the same name.

We have already noticed that various incidents recorded in Scripture connected with the story of the Exodus accord with the history of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty. And in order to see at a glance the claims which they have for identification with the Pharaohs of the time of Moses, it may be advisable to insert a brief genealogical sketch of the order in which they stand, as gathered from

* Genesis xlvii. 11.

† Compare Brugsch, *Hist. d'Egypte*, p. 129, with Brugsch, *Geograph. Inscript.*, III. 21.

the monuments and the papyri, together with Manetho's history of thirty dynasties of Egyptian kings:



It is sometimes asserted that no names resembling those of the "Hebrews," or "Jews," or "Israelites," have yet been discovered on any Egyptian monument. But this is probably incorrect. In the statistical tablet of Karnac, erected by Pharaoh Thothmes III., on which Dr. Birch has commented with his usual ability, we find among the various captives under that king the name of *Hebu* (Brugsch, i. 364, reads the name as *Hibu*, in Abusembel called *Hibuu*) as the seventy-ninth on the list, which is sufficiently like the word *Hebrew* to make it possible that they refer to one and the same people,

So in an inscription deciphered by Brugsch, certain captives called "*the Fenchu*," of the time of Amosis, "the king which knew not Joseph," are mentioned as employed in transporting blocks of limestone from the quarries of Rufu to Memphis and other Egyptian cities. According to

* Amenophis III. extended his conquests as far as Mesopotamia, and must have passed through Canaan, weakening the power of its inhabitants at the very time the Israelites were wandering in the wilderness, thus fulfilling God's purpose, as mentioned in Joshua xxiv. 12, and other passages of Holy Writ. One of the well-known symbols of the Egyptian kings is a "hornet," just as marked a feature in their heraldry as the lion is in that of the kings of England. The writer has in his possession a large rubbing or squeese of Amenophis III.'s name sent him by a friend from Egypt, in which the "hornet" is very plainly represented over the cartouche of the king's name.

Brugsch, the name means "bearers of the shepherd's staff," and the occupation of these captives corresponds with the forced labour of the children of Israel during their bondage. Hence he observes, in his *Geographische Inschriften*, "with this name are designated the pastoral and nomad tribes of Semitic origin, who lived in the neighbourhood of Egypt, and who are to be thought of standing to Egypt in the same relation as the Jews." In his more recent history Brugsch speaks of the same people when describing the conquests of Pharaoh Shishak, of the time of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, as follows:

"The smitten peoples (Jews and Edomites) are named 'the *'Am* of a distant land' and the *Fenekh* (Phœnicians). The *'Am* would, in this case, answer exactly to the equivalent Hebrew *'Am*, which signifies 'people,' but especially the people of Israel and their tribes. As to the mention of the *Fenekh*, I have a presentiment that we shall one day discover the evidence of their most intimate relationship with the Jews."*

A few years ago M. Chabas, a distinguished French Egyptologer, endeavoured to identify another tribe of captives with the enslaved Israelites. He had read from a papyrus in the Leyden Museum the name of a captive tribe, the *Aperi-u*, who were employed in drawing stone for the Temple of the Sun, built by Ramessu the Great, near Memphis, which alone would be sufficient to prevent any identification of them with the children of Israel, seeing that they had left Egypt between two and three centuries before his reign. Nevertheless, M. Chabas was so enamoured of his theory that he was venturesome enough to declare his perfect certainty of its truth. "Cette identification," he writes, "qui repose sur une juste application de principes philologiques incontestables, et sur un ensemble de circonstances caractéristiques, n'a été contesté par aucun égyptologue."† And so successful had the French savant been in persuading others, that at the International Congress of Orientalists, which met in London in 1874, M. Chabas' identification of the *Aperi-u* with the Hebrews was accepted as true history. We saw at the time how impossible it was that this theory could stand, both on philological as well as chronological grounds; and we have now the satisfaction of finding that Brugsch-Bey, in his new work,

* Brugsch, *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, Vol. II. p. 210.
† Chabas, *Mélanges Egypt.*, deux série, p. 144.

entirely rejects the theory on much the same grounds. He observes that—

"Some have very recently wished to recognise the Egyptian appellation of the Hebrews in the name of the so-called *Aper*, *Apura*, or *Aperi-u*, the Erythræan people in the east of the nome of Heliopolis, in what is known as the 'red country' on the 'red mountain;' thence they have drawn conclusions which, speaking modestly, according to our knowledge of the monuments, rest on a weak foundation. According to the inscriptions, the name of this people appears in an historical narrative of the time of Thothmes III. as horsemen, or knights. In another document of the time of Ramses III., *long after the exodus of the Jews from Egypt*, 2,083 *Aperi-u* are termed knights of the Aper, settled people who dwell here. Under Ramses IV. we again meet with 800 of the *Aperi-u*, as occupying the western shore of the Red Sea in the neighbourhood of Suez."*

To which Brugsch justly adds:

"These and similar data completely exclude all thought of the Hebrews, unless one is disposed to have recourse to suppositions and conjectures against the most explicit statements of the Biblical records. On the other hand, the hope can scarcely be cherished that we shall ever find on the public monuments—rather, let us say, in some hidden roll of papyrus—the events, repeated in an Egyptian version, which relate to the exodus of the Jews and the destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea. For the record of these events was inseparably connected with the humiliating confession of a Divine visitation, to which a patriotic writer at the court of a Pharaoh would hardly have brought his mind."

One of the earliest statements in the Book of Exodus after the enslavement of the Israelites under the rule of the new king which knew not Joseph, is the wonderful preservation of the child Moses by the instrumentality of PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER. The name bestowed on the child by his royal preserver is thus described in Exodus: "And the child grew, and she (the child's mother) brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name MOSES: and she said because I drew him out of the water." Hence Josephus (*Antiq.*, ii. ix. s. 6) derives the name Moses from the Coptic for "water" and also "to deliver." And in strong confirmation of the truth of our understanding this period to apply to the

* Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, &c., Vol. II. p. 129.

eighteenth dynasty and not to the nineteenth dynasty, two centuries later, as some Egyptologers contend, this fact comes clearly out from our investigation of Egyptian history. The equivalent to the word Moses in hieroglyphs is found in the names of both the grandfather and father of "Pharaoh's daughter," both of which might be rendered according to the Greek transcript, as *Aa-moses*, *Thoth-moses*. Brugsch shows, in his Hieroglyphic Dictionary, that the sense "drawing out," is the original one; but Birch seems to limit it to being "born" or "brought forth," and hence the signification of *Mes* or *Mesa* is "child." Canon Cook renders the speech of Pharaoh's daughter, on having adopted Moses as "her son"—"I gave him the name of Moses, 'brought forth,' because I brought him forth from the water."* And it is worthy of note that Josephus calls Pharaoh's daughter by the name of *Thurmuthis*, which is probably only another way of writing the name of her father *Thoth-moses*.

The other references in Scripture to Moses' treatment by Pharaoh's daughter, such as Acts vii. 22, and Hebrews xi. 24, show that he was reared as her adopted son, with the possible succession to her throne, only that by grace he "chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt." Further, we may fairly infer that this royal princess must have been a queen regnant in her own right, as none but such could have compelled a jealous priesthood to train her adopted child "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Now it may be shown from the monuments that in the whole line of Pharaohs, extending over nigh 2,000 years, there is only one real queen regnant with whose history we are at all acquainted during that long period of time. Her name appears on the monuments in full as *Hat-asu* or *Hasheps* (as it is variously read), *Numpt-amun*, and exactly in the place we should expect to find her from the account in Exodus, she being, as appears in the above genealogical tree, the grand-daughter of "the king which knew not Joseph." She reigned many years most gloriously, first in the name of her father, then conjointly with her insignificant husband, and subsequently alone, until she took into partnership with herself, probably when

* Cook's *Excursus*, in Vol. I. p. 484, of the *Speaker's Commentary*.

Moses refused any longer to be called her son, her younger half-brother,* Thothmes III., who after her death showed the meanness of revenge by erasing, wherever he could, every sign of his great sister's rule over Egypt, either in malice on account of her having offered the succession to Moses, or from some other unknown cause.

There are many existing monumental proofs of her reign, the most glorious in the annals of the female sovereigns of Egypt, like that of her present Majesty, our own Queen Victoria. She erected at Thebes two obelisks in honour of her father, one of which is still standing, and fragments of the other are scattered all around. The standing one, thirty feet higher than the obelisk which now adorns the Thames Embankment, and certainly the most beautiful one in the world, is formed of a single block of red granite, ninety-eight feet in length, from the far Syene, highly polished, with reliefs and hieroglyphs of matchless beauty. The inscription on the plinth states that the work was commenced in the fifteenth year of her Majesty's reign, on the first day of the month Mechir, and finished on the last day of the month Mesore, making seven months from its commencement in the mountain quarry. "Her Majesty," it adds, "gave two obelisks capped with gold, and so high that each pyramidal cap should reach to the heavens, that she should place them before the pylon of her father, Thothmes I., in order that her name should remain always and for ever in this Temple." Among other titles which the obelisk bears, such as those of "Royal Wife," "Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt," is found the significant and well-known name of "PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER."

* Any one who has seen the beautiful style of features belonging to Queen *Hat-asu*, as represented in Rossellini's great work, and compares it with the hideous original bust of Thothmes III. in the British Museum, with its strongly-developed negro cast of countenance, will be inclined to doubt if they could be as nearly related as half brother and sister. The picture of Thothmes III., as given in the *Types of Mankind*, in no way resembles the original, and proves what little reliance can be placed on that pretentious work. Sir G. Wilkinson, in describing a statue of Thothmes III., where Queen Hat-asu is called his "sister," observes that "she was probably only so by an earlier marriage of his father;" and such was the hatred borne by Thothmes against her, that, after her death, he ordered her name to be erased from her monuments and his own to be sculptured in its stead. But this was not always done with the care required to conceal the alterations; and sentences of this kind frequently occur: "King Thothmes, *she* has made this work for *her* father Amun."—Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, App., Book II. c. viii. § 19. Such animosity, as shown by the unforgiving brother towards his great sister after death, can only be explained in the way we have suggested above.

The temple of *Der-el-bahri* is another monument due to the munificence of this great queen under the superintendence of one Semnut, the son of Rames, the chief architect of all Egypt during her reign. And although Brugsch seems to entertain an unworthy prejudice against Queen Hat-asu, he admits that her buildings are "the most tasteful and most brilliant specimens of the matchless splendour of Egyptian art history." The walls of this temple, besides recording the expedition of her fleet to the shores of Arabia Felix, in order to collect the marvellous productions of this country,—which recalls to mind the voyages of Solomon's fleet to the same country seven centuries later,—such as gums, scents, incense, trees, ebony, ivory, gold, emeralds, asses, &c., &c., give the details of a campaign against the Ethiopians in the Arabian peninsula. They represent the Egyptian commander-in-chief of Queen Hat-asu's army receiving the enemy's general, who presents himself as a suppliant before him, accompanied by his wife and daughter. And it is not impossible that the Egyptian queen's general may refer to her adopted son, *Moses;* as Scripture tells us that he became "mighty in words and deeds in Egypt;" and Josephus and Irenæus alike relate "the fame which Moses gained as general of the Egyptian army in a war with Ethiopia,"* which, though somewhat encumbered with romance, still helps to explain a statement in the Book of Numbers that Moses married a woman of that country.†

The most satisfactory proof, however, of the existence of the enslaved Israelites in Egypt at this period of history is found in the well-known picture of the brick-makers at the village of Gournou, near Thebes, at which place there is to be seen the remains, now fast crumbling away, of a magnificent tomb belonging to an Egyptian nobleman, named *Rekhmara.* He appears to have been overseer of all the public buildings in Egypt during the reign of Thothmes III. The paintings on this tomb, which are admirably delineated in Lepsius' grand work on Egypt,‡ not only afford evidence

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* Josephus, *Antiq.*, II. x. § 2; Irenæus, *Frag. de Perdid. Iren. Tract.* p. 347.

† Numbers xii. 1. These different explanations have been given of this text respecting the wife of Moses. (1) A real inhabitant of Ethiopia or a Cushite, *i.e.* an Arabian (see Bryant's *Analysis*, vi. 122). (2) The Ethiopian princess mentioned by Josephus. (3) Zipporah herself; which last opinion is possible from the juxtaposition of Cush with Midian in Habbakuk iii. 7.

‡ Lepsius, *Denkmäler Aeth.*, III. Pl. 40.

of the Israelites being in Egypt at the time Moses was compelled to flee to Midian, but of their having been forcibly engaged in the occupation of brick-making. There are several inscriptions on this remarkable monument, some of which read as follows:

The centre inscription reads—

"Captives brought by Pharaoh (Thotmes III.),
In order to carry on the works at the Temple of Amun."

On the left the inscription reads—

"Moulding bricks for making a treasure city in Thebes."

On the right—

"The chief taskmaster says to the builders, 'Work hard—
The stick is in my hands. Be not idle. Let there be no giving in.'"

On these inscriptions Brugsch observes: "The picture and the words present an important illustration of the accounts in the Bible concerning the hard bondage of the Jews in Egypt." And in reply to a criticism which has been made against so treating the illustration, because the captive Israelites were not likely to have been removed so far from the place of their original bondage, we may point out that the inscription pointedly says that the captives, some of whom bear the unmistakable features of the Hebrew race, had been "brought" from some place for this special service; and also the Book of Exodus states that "the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble instead of straw."

Of the Pharaoh of the Exode the inscriptions give but little information, though sufficient to confirm our belief that it was the grandson and namesake of Thothmes III. to whom we must ascribe that great disgrace. It appears that his reign was short and inglorious, which agrees with what Scripture records of this infatuated king. A tablet between the paws of the Great Sphinx at Ghizeh is one of the few remaining monuments of his reign, besides the Obelisk at Rome, standing opposite the Church of St. John Lateran, which bears the names of no less than three Pharaohs, with an interval of more than two centuries between them. It was commenced by Thothmes III., continued by Thothmes IV., and completed by Ramessu the Great. Another inscription of this reign on a granite rock

opposite the island of Phile, has this singular circumstance connected with it. After the usual boasting titles, it stops suddenly short with the disjunctive particle "*then*," evidently pointing to defeat and disaster, which were certainly the characteristics of this Pharaoh's reign.* And the inference that he was the Pharaoh overthrown in the Red Sea appears to be confirmed by the fact that, after all the careful researches of modern explorers, *no trace of this king's tomb* has been found in the royal burial place near Thebes, where the sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty lie; while the tomb of his immediate successor, Amenophis III., has been discovered in a valley adjoining the cemetery of the other kings.†

This may be explained by the fact that the Pharaoh of the Exode was drowned in the Red Sea along with his army, as Moses in the story of the Exodus seems to imply, and as David in the Psalms positively declares, by his song of praise, "O give thanks unto the Lord of lords, for His mercy endureth for ever. To Him that smote Israel in their firstborn: and brought out Israel from among them with a strong hand. To Him which divided the Red Sea into parts, and made Israel to pass through the midst of it; but *overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea*, for His mercy endureth for ever."‡

Wilkinson and others have considered that the Mosaic record does not state as positively as it might the fact of Pharaoh himself having been drowned in the Red Sea along with his army, but that he continued on the throne for some time after the great catastrophe had taken place, as Sennacherib, king of Assyria, did some centuries later. If this be the correct interpretation of the Scripture account, it may serve to explain the tradition which Eusebius gives in the *Armenian Chronicle*,§ from Manetho's *History of Egypt*, viz., that this Pharaoh, Thothmes IV., whom he calls *Armais*, after he had reigned four years in Egypt, was expelled from the country in the fifth year of his reign, by his younger brother *Danaus*, when he fled to Greece, where he founded the city of Argos. Other authorities call this fugitive king of Egypt *Cecrops*; as Augustine positively asserts that "in the reign of *Cecrops*, king of Athens, God

* Osburn's *Monumental History of Egypt*, II. p. 318.
† Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Thebes*, pp. 122, 123.
‡ Psalm cxxxvi. 3—15.
§ Eusebius, *Chron. Canon*, liber prior, cap. xx.

brought His people out of Egypt by Moses."* Accepting this as one of the many floating traditions connected with the story of the Exodus, it receives a singular confirmation in the matter of chronology from an unexpected source. We have already seen that according to the Hebrew computation the date of the Exode may be fairly placed at B.C. 1580. Now the *Parian Chronicle* at Oxford, a witness of the most unexceptionable character, inasmuch as it was drawn up as early as B.C. 264, commences with this announcement: "Since *Cecrops* reigned at Athens, and the country was called Actica, from Actous, the native, 1,318 years have elapsed.† Now 1,318 + 264 = 1,582, *i.e.* within two years of the Biblical computation for the date of the Exodus.

In confirmation that this Exodus date harmonises better than any other system, besides what has already been gathered from Brugsch's reading of Manetho, we might adduce the testimony of the Apis Cycle, which has been so finely illustrated by Mariette-Bey,‡ whose discovery of sixty-four mummies of the Apis Bulls, from the time of Amenophis III., the successor of Thothmes IV., in the sixteenth century B.C., to the time of the Roman Conquest B.C. 30, sufficiently accords with our computed date of the Exode to warrant our acceptance of the Apis Cycle—a well-known period of twenty-five years—as a confirmation of its truth.

Assuming, then, the identification of Thothmes IV. with the Pharaoh of the Exode, it is not quite certain that his successor Amenophis III., the Vocal Memnon on the plain of Thebes, either succeeded his reputed father immediately on his death, or was indeed his son as he pretended to be. The history of that period is singularly confused and perplexing at that very point, which is best explained by the disturbed state of the kingdom, which naturally followed the overthrow of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea. Sir Gardner Wilkinson says that "though Amenophis III. calls himself 'the son of Thothmes IV., the son of Amenophis II.,' there is reason to believe that he was not of pure Egyptian race. His features differ very much from those of other Pharaohs, and the respect paid to him by some of the

* Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xviii. § 8.

† *Marmora Arundelliana*, Selden's Edition, London, 1628, pp. 1 and 6.

‡ *Le Sérapeum de Memphis Découvert et Décrit*, par M. Mariette, Paris, 1863.

'Stranger Kings,' one of whom treats him as a god, seems to confirm this, and to argue that he was partly of the same race as those kings who afterwards usurped the throne, and made their rule and name so odious to the Egyptians."* If this surmise be correct, it is noteworthy to see how far it agrees with the Biblical statement that the eldest son of the Pharaoh of the Exode did not succeed his father on the throne, as it is written, "At midnight Jehovah smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, *from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne*, unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon."†

The testimony of Manetho concerning this period of Egyptian history is, to a considerable extent, in harmony with the Biblical story of the Exodus, though he mingles his account of that event with the expulsion of the Shepherds, for he mentions the leader of the Israelites by name, as well as the country to which they went. He says that "the Shepherds were subdued by Amosis, and driven out of Egypt, and shut up in a place called *Avaris*, with 480,000 men; and that in despair of success, he compounded with them to quit Egypt, on which they departed, in number 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness to Syria, where they built a city, and named it *Jerusalem*, in a country now called *Judæa*. It was also reported that the priest who ordained their government and their laws was by birth of Heliopolis; but that when he went over to these people his name was changed and he was called *Moses*."‡ Considering that Moses was reared at the court of a Pharaoh, one of whose capitals was at Heliopolis, we see in this Egyptian tradition, which was current when Manetho wrote, about thirteen centuries later, an undesigned testimony to the truth of the story of the Exodus as recorded in Holy Writ.

There is one more point of very grave importance in connection with the story of the Exodus which we must not omit to notice, in consequence of the eminent Egyptologer by whom the theory has been brought forward, as well as by the fact that it seems to have met with acceptance and

* Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, App., Book II. c. viii. § 21. See also Dr. Birch's paper in *Archæological Journal*, No. 32, of December, 1851, in confirmation of the opinion that Amenophis had an elder twin-brother, and that he succeeded his father when very young and was for many years under his mother's tutelage.

† Exodus xii. 29.

‡ Manetho apud Joseph., *Contr. Apion*, I. §§ 14, 16.

approval by the International Congress of Orientalists in London in 1874. Herr Brugsch there first propounded his idea, which he has more fully elaborated in his recent *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, that the Israelites at the time of the Exodus never passed through "the Red Sea" at all, but that the sea of *Suph*, or "sea-weed" as it is termed in the Hebrew, through which they triumphantly passed when pursued by Pharaoh and his host, referred to the Lake Serbonis, on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, of which Diodorus Siculus (lib. i. c. 30), writing fifteen centuries later, says that "many have been swallowed up with their whole armies, through unacquaintance with the nature of the spot, and through having mistaken the road;" and which recalls to mind the image which the greatest of our poets has described:

> "A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog
> Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,
> Where armies whole have sunk."
>
> *Paradise Lost*, II. 592.

Brugsch, although deeming that the translators and interpreters of the Scripture record of the Exodus have "for almost twenty centuries" misunderstood "the geographical notions contained in that part of the Biblical text which describes the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt," professes so deep a reverence for Holy Writ, that he takes the opportunity of saying that his opinion is "based, on the one hand, upon the texts of Scripture, of which I have not to change a single iota; on the other hand, upon the Egyptian monumental inscriptions, explained according to the laws of a sound criticism, free from all bias of a fanciful character. . . . Far from diminishing the value of the sacred records on the subject of the departure of the Hebrews out of Egypt, the Egyptian monuments, on the faith of which *we are compelled to change our ideas respecting the passage of the Red Sea*—traditions cherished from our infancy—the Egyptian monuments contribute rather to furnish the most striking proofs of the veracity of the Biblical narratives, and thus to reassure weak and sceptical minds of the supreme authority and the authenticity of the sacred books."*

The passage of the Red Sea has been of course the fixed

* Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, Vol. II. pp. 334, 366.

point of every attempt on the part of every Jewish and Christian interpreter alike for more than "thirty centuries," as we shall presently see, to trace the march of the children of Israel on their exodus from the land of Ham. Now it is unquestionably true that in the Hebrew the word used is always *Yam-Souph*, "the sea of sea-weed," but it is also true that the LXX. translators, B.C. 290, always render that term by ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, "the Red Sea," with the exception of Judges xi. 16, where they preserve the Hebrew name in the form ΣΙΦ.

The first argument which Brugsch brings forward in support of his new theory seems to break down at once. Remarking on the general practice of scholars to resort to Greek and Roman geographers, in order to discover the itinerary of the Hebrews on their march out of Egypt, he says: "If a happy chance had preserved that *Manual of the Geography of Egypt*, which, according to the texts engraved on the walls of the temple of Edfou, was deposited in the library of that vast sanctuary of the god Horus, and which bore the title of *The Book of the Towns situated in Egypt, with a Description of all that relates to them*, we should have been relieved from all trouble in rediscovering the localities referred to in Holy Scripture. We should only have had to consult this book, to know of what we might be sure with regard to these Biblical names. Unfortunately, this work has perished, together with so many other papyri, and science has once more to regret the loss of so important a work of Egyptian antiquity" (Brugsch, ii. 336). Remembering that the temple of Edfou, containing this great literary treasure, whose loss Brugsch so justly deplores, was built not by the Pharaohs, but by the Ptolemies, and took, as he tells us (i. 278), exactly one hundred and eighty years, three months and fourteen days in building, from B.C. 237—157, the presumption is that the LXX. translators, who executed their important work at the court of two of the Ptolemies, Soter and Philadelphus, in the first half of the third century B.C., must have been acquainted with the very knowledge which this Manual of Egyptian Geography was intended to teach; and they invariably, as we have already said, with but one exception, have translated the Hebrew name *Yam-Souph* in every place by the well-known term "*the Red Sea.*"

Another argument against Brugsch's new theory is seen in the geological changes which have taken place on the

shores of the Mediterranean, especially near the *septem ostia Nili*, during the 3,500 years which have intervened since Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt. There is every reason to believe that the narrow neck of land by which, according to Brugsch, the Israelites escaped out of Egypt, and which in his very fanciful and highly coloured map bears the names of *Aegyptische Heer Strasse* and *Berg* KASIOS *Baali-Tapuna*-BAAL-ZEPHON, separating the "Sirbonis See" and the "JAM ZUPH See," was at the time of the Exodus, thirty-five centuries ago, *at the bottom of the Mediterranean Sea.*

Or if we are wrong in this inference it is utterly impossible that the nation of Israel, at that time consisting of 600,000 warriors, besides women and children, with their flocks and herds, together with the "mixed multitude" which accompanied them in their retreat, and which must have raised their number to over 2,000,000, could have escaped by that narrow neck of land which Brugsch supposes to have been the case. The space allowed by nature and the time allowed by the pursuing Egyptians would assuredly have prevented all possibility of escape by the *Yam-Souph* on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. For underlying Brugsch's whole theory is the assumption that "the sea" over which Moses stretched out his hand, mentioned in Exodus xiv. 2, 21, must be the Mediterranean Sea, or as a Conference held at Alexandria, in 1874, on the subject expressed it, "the sea, or the Egyptian sea, which is none other and *can be none other than the Mediterranean.*" Whereas if we refer to Isaiah xi. 15, where the Egyptian sea is again mentioned, we find it is prophesied that "the Lord will utterly destroy the tongue of *the Egyptian sea.*" Now this prophecy does not accord with the assumption of the Alexandrian Conference, whereas it does agree with the well-established fact that the ancient tongue, or extension of the Red Sea to the north above Suez, has been so far "smitten," that the Red Sea in ancient times extended about forty miles in that northerly direction.

Nor should it be forgotten that the tradition mentioned by Diodorus particularly points to the Red Sea, and not to the Mediterranean Sea, as the scene of the catastrophe. His words are: "There is a tradition among the Ichthyophagi, who border upon the Red Sea, which they had received from their ancestors, and was preserved among them unto the present time; how that once upon a great recess of the

sea having taken place, every part of the gulf became dry, *the sea falling on opposite sides*, and the bottom appearing quite green (from the sea weed); and returning back was restored to its place again just as it was before."* We can scarcely fail to see that this tradition points to the time when the children of Israel successfully escaped from Egypt by the passage of the Red Sea; and if so, tradition, for which there must be some foundation, emphatically contradicts the theory propounded by the learned Herr Brugsch.

Perhaps the strongest point in favour of this theory is the account which he gives of the existence of a road from Ramses, which he assumes to be the same as the Scripture Zoan, to Migdol, through the intermediate stations of Succoth and Etham, and which he considers would be traversed by any one escaping from Egypt into the wilderness of Sinai. His account is as follows:

"A happy chance—rather, let us say, Divine Providence—has preserved, in one of the papyri of the British Museum, the most precious memorial of the epoch contemporary with the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt (assuming they were still there under the nineteenth dynasty, which is contrary to all evidence). This is a letter written more than thirty centuries before our time by the hand of an Egyptian scribe, to report his journey from the royal palace at Ramses, which was occasioned by the flight of two domestics. 'Thus (he says) I set out from the hall of the royal palace on the ninth day of the third month of summer towards evening, in pursuit of the two domestics. Then I arrived at the barrier of Sukot on the tenth of the same month. I was informed that the two fugitives had determined to go by the southern route. On the twelfth day I arrived at Khetam. There I received news that the grooms who came from the country (the lagoons of Suf) said that the fugitives had got beyond the region of the wall to the north of the Migdol of King Seti Meneptah.'"†

"If you will substitute," adds Brugsch, "in this precious letter, for the mention of the two domestics the name of Moses and the Hebrews, and put in place of the scribe who pursued the two fugitives, the Pharaoh in person following the traces of the children of Israel, you will have the exact description of the march of the Hebrews related in Egyptian terms."‡ But Brugsch forgets that what was possible and comparatively easy for *two fugitives* to do when trying

* Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*., lib. iii. p. 174.
† Brugsch. *Hist. of Egypt*, Vol. II. p. 359.
‡ See p. 57.

to escape from a hard master's service, was quite impossible for 2,000,000 of fugitives to succeed in doing by the same way, especially as that way was for many miles across a narrow neck of land on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, as every one is aware who has any knowledge of the space required for moving large masses of men, to say nothing of women and children, within a given limited time.

These and other considerations* which might be urged with equal force compel us to withhold our assent from Herr Brugsch's novel and startling view concerning the route which the children of Israel took when escaping from their prolonged bondage in the land of Egypt, notwithstanding what the learned Egyptologer says about "the number of monumental indications which are every day accumulating, and continually furnishing new proofs in favour of our discovery;" though we can cordially assent to his remark on the subject of Egyptology in general: "Any one must certainly be blind who refuses to see the flood of light which the papyri and other Egyptian monuments are throwing upon the venerable records of Holy Scripture, and, above all, there must needs be a wilful mistaking of the first laws of criticism by those who wish to discover contradictions which really exist only in the imagination of opponents."†

We have omitted to notice that the way in which Brugsch theorises on the *Yam-Souph* is really most inconsistent and confused compared with the consistent and clear statements as detailed by Moses in the Book of Exodus; one most important result of the theory being that it does away with all miraculous agency in the passage of the sea, whether it be called "the sea of sea-weed," or "the Red Sea." Brugsch admits this when he says of his own theory: "True, the miracle then ceases to be a miracle; but let us avow it with full sincerity, the Providence of God still maintains its place and authority."‡ The Editor has justly criticised this very questionable sentiment in the following way:

"Dr. Brugsch has here made a perfectly gratuitous concession, and fallen into the common error of confounding a miracle with

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* *E.g.*, Brugsch makes the Rameses of Exodus xii. 37 to be the same as Tanis, the Zoan of Scripture; whereas it is evident that it must have been some place in the valley of Wâdi-t-Tumeylât, between thirty and forty miles south of Zoan, which corresponds in part at least with the district of Goshen.

† Brugsch, *History*, &c., Vol. II. p. 330. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

a special providence. The essence of the miracle consists in the attestation of the Divine presence with His messenger by the time and circumstances of an act, which may nevertheless be in itself an application of what we call the laws of nature to a particular case. It shows the Creator, whose word established the laws of nature ('He spake and it was done: He commanded and it stood fast'), repeating the word, through His prophet or minister, by which those laws are applied to a special purpose and occasion. Thus here the wind and the sea-waves are the natural instruments: their use, at the will of God and the signal given by Moses, constitutes the miracle, without which all becomes unmeaning."—Vol. II. p. 364.

This is a very just reply to the mistake which the learned Herr Brugsch has made by attempting to set aside the belief of Jew and Christian alike for thirty-five centuries, when endeavouring to support an untenable theory at the expense of rejecting the miraculous nature of the passage of the Red Sea.

Postscript.—Since the above article was written it has come to our knowledge that M. Lesseps, the distinguished French engineer, who designed and executed the Suez Canal, has made a report to the Academy to this effect, viz., that "at the time when the children of Israel under Moses quitted Egypt, the ebb and flow of the tides of the Red Sea reached as far as the foot of the Saragain, near Lake Timsah"—*i.e.*, between thirty and forty miles north of Suez. If this be correct, we may believe that the Israelites crossed to the north of Suez, and not, as is generally supposed, to the south of the present head of the Red Sea. The Abbé Moigne has traced the course of the children day by day in accordance with the new data, and he invites the whole Christian world to aid him in raising the sum of £12,000 sterling, for the purpose of making excavations at the place where he supposes the Israelites crossed, and which might result in bringing to light some of the relics of Pharaoh's army. Although this of course will appear very visionary to most people, it is not absolutely impossible, in the event of the excavators discovering the exact spot where the Israelites crossed, and where the Egyptian host was overwhelmed, seeing that the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford contains an Egyptian tablet of the reign of King Sent, of the second dynasty, which is at least seven centuries earlier than the true date of the Exodus.

ART. II.—*The Realistic Assumptions of Modern Science Examined.* By THOMAS MARTIN HERBERT, M.A., late Professor of Philosophy and Church History in the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester. London: Macmillan and Co. 1879.

WHO shall say what English Philosophy now is? What it has been we know; but what is it now? At the close of the last century it was tolerably easy to say what English Philosophy was. So far as it existed, it existed as a doctrine of sensationalism, more or less impregnated with materialism, for the subtle minds of Berkeley and Hume made but little impression on an age intolerant of subtlety. During the earlier decades of the present century likewise English Philosophy was comparatively easy to define, for the Associationist school then rising into prominence represented nearly all of native English force and vigour in the speculation of the time. At the present moment, however, it is not so easy to determine what English Philosophy is. Materialism, properly so called, is no longer in fashion; and the Associationist movement has spent its strength. Not, indeed, that Intuitionalism is gaining, or likely to gain, ground amongst us. Englishmen show at present little sign of a tendency to approximate towards the older form of the *à priori* doctrine. On the other hand, that small minority which looks to German Transcendentalism for the healing of the nations makes as yet almost no impression on contemporary thought. At the same time, Positivism is out of favour with us; for science is in the ascendant, and Positivism has been repudiated by our scientific men. For scientific men, like the rest of us, need a philosophy, and Positivism being radically inconsistent with the Evolution hypothesis, will not serve their turn. The Evolution hypothesis is found to imply at least so much Metaphysic as is represented by the affirmation of an "Ultimate Reality." Pure Positivism will neither affirm nor deny such ultimate Reality. It will not consider the question of its existence. But the Evolutionist finds himself transcending the limits which Positivism prescribes for him at every turn. His physiology and psychology are powerless without the assumption of

something more than the present state of the conscious subject. He must believe in an environment and an organism, and in an "Ultimate Reality" which transcends both. However he may insist that the nature of this "Ultimate Reality" is quite inscrutable, he must yet maintain its existence, if his science is to retain significance for him, and orthodox Positivism is as surely outraged by the doctrine of the Absolute as by the Apostles' Creed. Accordingly we find that English Philosophy is chiefly represented at the present moment by a school of scientific thinkers who repudiate both Metaphysics and Positivism, and seek in the doctrine of Evolution the means of harmonising the rival claims of Empiricism and Intuitionalism. Metaphysic is a part of the nature of man, and though the thinkers we refer to certainly do their best to drive out Metaphysic, they are not quite successful. Successful, indeed, to some extent they are. They succeed in making Metaphysic, *their Metaphysic*, the barrenest and most unprofitable of doctrines; for the Absolute in which they deal is precisely the type of that "pure being" which is likewise "pure nothing." In virtue of their assertion of an "Ultimate Reality" against the Empiricists and Positivists, these thinkers (of whom H. Spencer is the recognised chief) call themselves Realists.

Their right to the title might indeed be disputed. For a Realist is one who holds that at some point or other man does come face to face with Reality, that he has immediate knowledge of more than phenomena, whereas Spencer and Lewes alike teach that to transcend phenomena is impossible, and that no more than the bare fact that something real exists, in Aristotelian phrase, a ὅτι of which the πῶς and the διότι are for ever inscrutable, is given to us to know of the noumenal world.

In the established and historical signification of the term, a Realist (as we have said) is one who holds that something real is knowable by man, a doctrine the precise negative of either the Transfigured Realism of Herbert Spencer, or Reasoned Realism of Lewes. In this way Plato and Aristotle, Plotinus, Bacon, Locke, Berkeley, Kant, Hegel, and Sir William Hamilton may one and all be designated Realists. It appears from this simple enumeration of names that it is by no means easy, when a thinker is described, or describes himself, as a Realist, to determine the precise sort of Realistic doctrine which is

thereby implied. It is impossible for us in the space at our disposal to enter into a critical examination of ancient and modern Realism. We can but refer the curious reader to an article entitled "Varieties of Realism, Ancient and Modern," which appeared in this Review under date January, 1861.

Professor Herbert wavers somewhat in his use of the term. At times he seems to mean by Realism Materialism, at times Sensationalism, while again he identifies it with Natural Realism.

We may say generally that, up to the 174th page, he is chiefly thinking of the last-mentioned doctrine, which is sometimes described as Dualism—the doctrine, viz., that mind and matter exist (and are known by us) as two separate and disparate realities. This dualistic doctrine is part of the "Realistic assumption of science," and it is Professor Herbert's business to demonstrate its untenability from the scientific point of view. He rejects the weapon commonly employed by metaphysicians, viz., a psychological analysis of perception. He will judge the scientific men out of their own mouth, and he does so after the following fashion.

Supposing mind and matter to be (as we have described them) two separate and disparate realities, what is their relation to one another? Concerning this relation only two hypotheses are possible. We may suppose (1) that mind and matter are in reciprocal interaction, or (2) that they are related in the way of simple correspondence.

The first hypothesis is manifestly untenable. It is inconceivable that mind and matter should pass over the one into the other.

The second hypothesis is the Pre-established Harmony of Leibnitz, without the being whom Leibnitz supposed to have established it.

It is, therefore, open to the objection of explaining nothing. It is *otiose*. We may try to extricate ourselves from our embarrassment only by abandoning the dualistic position, and we may do so in two ways. We may regard matter as alone real, and mind as an accident or concomitant of matter; or we may consider both mind and matter to be a phenomena of a *tertium quid*, which alone is, properly speaking, real, and of which we know only that it is. Neither view gives us any real help. We may say that mind is an accident or concomitant of matter; the

problem yet remains to explain how it is so, and the theory of the *tertium quid* is an explanation of *ignotum per ignotius*. Only one course, therefore, remains for the conscientious man of science, viz., to disregard "mental facts" altogether.

As we understand Professor Herbert, the position is this. "We cannot" (the scientific man may be supposed to say) "conceive how two antithetical existences like mind and matter can be related to each other. Nay, it is inconceivable that they should be related, for mind is just the negation of matter, as matter is the negation of mind. We, therefore, are bound to deny that they are related. Accordingly we give notice that we shall henceforth disregard the problem. To us, as physicists, mind is non-existent. We have just as little evidence of the existence of human as of Divine consciousness."

This doctrine, according to Professor Herbert, is (as Kant might have said) empirically true, transcendentally untrue. Science deals with phenomena; and facts which are termed material are really mental. Accordingly the position which Professor Herbert, in the name of the conscientious man of science, assumes is tenable only on the understanding that science does deal with mere phenomena, and never with things as they really are. So interpreted it amounts to vindication in the interest of science of the right to treat phenomena as if they were things in themselves. Science labours under the necessity of dealing with phenomena precisely as if they were not phenomena, but things in themselves. To the physicist, matter is a reality—the sole reality; to the philosopher it is a fiction. The enlightened and conscientious man of science will remember that matter is a fiction, while treating it as though it were a reality. His theories (he will be aware) are transcendentally ideal, at the same time that phenomenally or empirically they are rigorously true. Professor Herbert's complaint is that scientific men generally forget, or refuse to recognise, the transcendental ideality of their doctrines. Thus his quarrel with science is that it is not phenomenal enough. Scientific men (says, in effect, Professor Herbert) are always forgetting that after all they deal only with phenomena; in Kantian phraseology, they take phenomena for things in themselves. This abuse of the liberty which they enjoy, of dealing with phenomena as if they were things in themselves, by perversely identifying

phenomena with things in themselves, is the Realistic assumption of science, and this assumption is common alike to the sciences of mind and of matter.

The psychologist has commonly no doubt about the nature of mind (it is he holds a succession of feelings, just what it appears to be), and the physiologist has, of course, as little. Professor Herbert shows that both the physiologist and psychologist are equally (though on different grounds) bound to deny the existence of mind, even in the sense of a succession of feelings, and by consequence of so much as a single feeling. This nihilistic result Professor Herbert treats as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the assumption that science represents things as they are. To the physicist who finds no evidence of God in Nature he similarly retorts—"Neither ought you to admit the existence of human design." The empirical psychologist sees no more in mind than a succession of feelings which, as it began to be, will also presumably have an end. Professor Herbert tells him that as he is immediately conscious of no more than a single present feeling, mind, if it is to be defined at all, ought to be rigorously limited to the now present state; but, inasmuch as a single state of consciousness is a figment of abstraction, mind, in fact, ought not to be defined or described in any way, but dismissed as a self-contradictory nonentity.

These absurd results Professor Herbert accepts as science to reject them as faith. They are, according to him, the inevitable outcome of the scientific treatment of phenomena, and phenomena are all we know.

Nevertheless, they cannot be believed, for they are unthinkable, and the precise contrary must be the truth, though how it should be so must remain for ever inscrutable. We know (our author would say, we infer) that we exist, and that other beings than ourselves exist, though we cannot explain how we come to make the inference, or justify it. Professor Herbert argues that we have as good ground for believing in the existence of God, as for believing in the existence of ourselves, and of other beings like ourselves.

The above is a very brief and bald outline of an argument extending over 460 large octavo pages.

There is much in this book with which we sympathise: much, also, with which we disagree. We agree with Professor Herbert that a "dualistic theory of mind and

matter" is impossible, but we hold that there is no longer a *via media* between Materialism and Transcendental Idealism. Accordingly we cannot admit with the writer here that sensational psychology furnishes a "scientific account of the human mind." We go a step further than Professor Herbert. Professor Herbert holds that the doctrine of mind, as expounded by such thinkers as the late John Stuart Mill and Professor Bain was in the main correct, though absurd; that is to say, he supposes that, absurd and self-contradictory though it is, it is the best attainable—the necessary though paradoxical result of psychological inquiry. We hold that a better philosophy of mind is extant. It will therefore be our business in this article to carry the author's argument a step further—to furnish what seems to us a more adequate vindication of Transcendentalism than that with which Professor Herbert closes his book.

Before proceeding farther, we must, however, say a few words about Professor Herbert's conception of—(1) Idealism; (2) Transcendentalism. Idealism he identifies with Positivism (*vide* p. 401). It is (he says) the doctrine "that we have no right to recognise any reality behind the mental appearances, which alone confront us." That is to say, Professor Herbert defines Idealism as the simple negation of Realism; he regards Realism and Idealism as mutually exclusive terms. Transcendentalism he apparently considers as a *tertium quid* some *μεταιχμίον* between the rival camps of the Realists and Idealists.

When Professor Herbert says that science is essentially idealistic, he means that science has to do only with phenomena. When he vindicates Transcendentalism he appears to denote by that term no special doctrine or method of Philosophy, but the conviction of the objective reality of certain transcendent ideas, notably the ideas of God and of the soul. We are unable to discover any difference between Professor Herbert's Transcendentalism and ordinary faith, though he labours to make out a distinction between them (*vide* pp. 357—367).

We shall henceforward take the liberty to call Professor Herbert a Berkeleyan idealist, and it will be our duty to try and make clear in what his idealism consists, and whither it leads.

According to our author's rather eccentric view of Realism, one of its cardinal doctrines is "that our

mental life consists simply of conscious states accompanying nerve-changes, and dependent on them." This portion of sensationalistic Materialism Professor Herbert ably shows to be irreconcilable with "our knowledge of the past by means of memory," and with (what are only other sides of the same incompatibility) "the unity of thought into which ideas must be brought in order to be compared," "and our conviction of the permanence of the *ego*, which it is impossible to doubt, and which is obviously indispensable to mental life."

As Kant long ago pointed out, "Only the permanent changes;" and the consciousness of succession is conditional upon the consciousness of something constant throughout the several moments of the series, and with which they are contrasted, and by contrast perceived. To say, then, that "our mental life consists simply of conscious states accompanying nerve-changes," is to forget (as it has been tersely said) that "a successive consciousness is not a consciousness of succession;" or, in other words, unless our mental life were more than "conscious states accompanying nerve-changes," it could not be so much—it could not know itself as so much as a succession of conscious states. Yet Materialism can find on the physical side nothing to correspond with this something more, "which is absolutely indispensable to our mental life."

If, then, we accept the "Realistic" position, we must deny that we have any consciousness of ourselves as permanent throughout the flux of sensation; that we are able to compare, that is, to think, that we have any knowledge of any single past event. Our consciousness contracts to the now present sensation, and, as that cannot be known except by contrast with past sensations, we may fairly be said not to be conscious at all. Ergo, our mental life cannot really be what it seems to be—cannot be a mere succession of conscious states. Similar considerations apply to time. Time is commonly identified with simple succession. It is clear that if it were so, we could not know it, or any event in it.

"The present, in which alone we live, in which alone the universe as conceived by us exists, is, strictly considered, no period of time at all—nothing but the transition from the past to the future, and too short for anything to take place in it, though, according to our notions, everything takes place in it. For the

smallest period of time which could be assigned to it would have an earlier and a later half, and these halves would be made up, the first of the no-longer-existent past, and the second of the not-yet-existent future. Only the timeless transition between could be assigned to the actual present. And that inappreciable instant of transition would, moreover, be too brief to allow us to apprehend a single feeling in it, for we have seen that a certain duration of feeling is essential to consciousness. Hence some direct apprehension of past feeling seems essential even to present consciousness. But that is impossible according to our conception of time."—Pp. 292, 3.

We are not sure that the expression is as luminous as it might be in this particular instance; but it is proverbially difficult to be luminous and metaphysical at the same time, and Professor Herbert has succeeded in making an important point tolerably clear. Professor Herbert is equally effective at an early stage of the work, where he skilfully turns the materialistic doctrine of perception against the reality (in the popular sense) of space, and consequently of the external world. The doctrine in question briefly stated is as follows. Perception is the result of an object acting through some particular portion of the nervous system upon one of the ganglia of the brain. The last effect, the effect upon the ganglion affected, is sensation. This is as much as to say that we cannot be conscious of the object which is supposed to initiate the chain of sequences which results in sensation. Between the object and us sensation is, in fact, interposed. Of sensation alone are we conscious. Or, in other words, the materialistic doctrine of perception is inconsistent with the popular Realism, which Professor Herbert—not without justification—supposes to go along with it. Either space and the world in space, commonly called the external world, is relative to consciousness, has its being only for consciousness, or the materialistic doctrine of perception is false. Thus does "Realism," according to Professor Herbert, devour itself.

"See then the alternatives to which we are driven. If we hold what science teaches us, that external material objects are revealed to us only by the physical mechanism of perception, that amounts to saying that we do not perceive external objects at all, for we have seen that they cannot be revealed to us by mechanical action. In this way Materialism confutes its own claim to represent things as they are, and lands us in Idealism. While, on the

other hand, if we maintain that by some means, necessarily not mechanical, our feelings do truly reveal to us an external world, we disavow the teaching of science that distant objects telegraph mechanically their existence to the brain, and that there is a material universe outside us obeying mechanical laws."—P. 183.

The student of Berkeley is familiar with the fact that that brilliant thinker's Idealism was constructed with the express purpose of providing an argument against the popular Materialism of the day; he is likewise aware that the immediate result of the Berkeleyan doctrine was rather the development of the scepticism of Hume than the effective silencing of Materialism. It is easy to destroy Materialism on paper, and the doctrine has never had attractions for those who are capable of philosophical thought. But to construct an idealism which shall give science its due, and be adequate to the real world—*hoc opus, hic labor est.* We have called Professor Herbert a Berkeleyan idealist, and the designation is in so far just, as the volume before us may be described—roughly indeed, but, we hold, in the main correctly—as a restatement of the Berkeleyan doctrine, with such amplifications and adaptations as are suggested by the present state of the controversy between faith and unbelief. Let us then, in the first place, briefly consider the mode in which Professor Herbert has stated the well-known doctrine of Berkeley; and, in case the criticisms we shall have to offer should seem technical and formal to the degree of pedantry, we can but beg our readers to bear in mind that in philosophising it is scarcely possible, at least for Englishmen, to err on the side of a too severe precision of statement.

Idealism, as all the world knows, sets out with the analysis of the object of perception. How do we know external objects? is the first question in philosophy; and the manner in which we answer this question mainly determines the lines of our thinking, its character, and its results. Professor Herbert's answer is, as we have seen, a brief and simple one. According to him, we do not perceive external objects at all. "The external world," he says, "cannot be what it seems to us" (p. 163). This expression, the external world, so often recurs in the pages of the work before us, that we must expend a little trouble in determining its precise signification. To what, then, is the external world external—to the body of man, or to his

mind? If we say—to his body, we imply that the body is not a part of the external world, which is absurd. If, on the other hand, we answer—the external world is external to the mind, it follows that the mind is situated either inside or outside the external world. If the world is outside the mind, the mind must be either within the world or without it. Hence it follows—inside and outside being terms expressive of space-relations—that the mind, whether inside the world or without it, is itself extended in space. Thus the second alternative answer to our question—to what is the external world external? is found to involve an absurdity. This being so, it is time to inquire whether the question be not itself an absurdity, whether the term external world which suggested the question is really an intelligible one. To what is the external world external? is an absurd question, because the external world is an indefinite conception,—is nothing more nor less than the indefinite, unimpeded movement of the imagination in bodying forth to itself the world of experience, which indeed is (whether in actual perception or in memory) only as, and inasmuch as, it is shapen and informed by the "constructive imagination." The external world is the world in space; and it is just as absurd to ask concerning the external world to what is it external? as it would be to ask of space in general to what is it external? This particular portion of space is external to that other particular portion of space; this district or province of the world in space is external to that other district or province of the same world. But as space itself is external to nothing, so likewise is the world in space considered "in itself," or indefinitely external to nothing. By the external world we mean the ideal sum total of extension, which we can never make into a real sum total. In Kantian phraseology, we mean by the world an infinite whole. We believe the world to be a whole, yet we know our apprehension of it to be necessarily partial. The several parts of it, as we apprehend them, we know as external and internal to one another. The ideal whole itself is neither external nor internal to anything whatever. The expression external world is an absurdity.

It may be said that the above argument is based on an unwarrantable assumption, viz., that those who use the expression external world, mean by it that infinite whole of extension, which Kant meant by the world in space.

"On the contrary," an objector might say, "we mean by the external world rather what Kant meant by the world of 'things in themselves;' we mean the unknown causes of our sensations, the manifold processes which, whether we wake or sleep, go on around us and determine for us in part at least the nature of our experiences." To this we are ready to assent. We believe that for the most part those philosophers who still speak of an external world do mean just what our ideal objector represented them as meaning. This, at any rate, is what Professor Herbert meant by the external world, when he said that the external world cannot be what it seems to us. The expression, however, has no better justification in this latter sense than in the former. If the external world is unknown to us, how can we know it to be external? To say that it is external implies that it is in space, and moreover that it is external to another world likewise in space. If, then, we define the external world as the world of things in themselves, we state by implication that the world of things in themselves is a world in space, outside or inside of which is another world in space—a fulness of knowledge concerning the nature of the unknown causes of our sensations which is quite inconsistent with the doctrine that the external world cannot be what it seems.

In brief, the external world is a term empty of meaning. The perceived world of space is not an external world, though its several parts are external to one another (space being simply the aggregate of partes extra partes), while of the thing in itself, or unknown cause, we can say neither that it is external nor that it is internal to the perceived world.

This expression, "the external world," is one of those familiar terms which few take the trouble to analyse, and its constant recurrence in speculative writing has been at once the symbol and the cause of much loose and confused thinking. Had Professor Herbert made his mind clearer on the signification of the expression in question, he would have been able to use a much shorter method against Helmholtz and Spencer than he has actually done. Instead of arguing that our perceptions cannot be symbols of the objects of the external world, as both Spencer and Helmholtz will have them to be, because there is no symbolical relation when the object symbolised is unknown —an argument not quite as conclusive as could be desired, since the bare existence (which is all that the

thinkers in question affirm) of an unknown object may rather infelicitously be said to be "symbolised" by an object which is known, and it may be important to bear in mind the existence of such unknown quantity even while abandoning the hope of bringing it within the sphere of the known—he might have cut the matter short by pointing out that the only world in regard to which the term external has any significance is the actually perceived world; and that of the world which Helmholtz calls external, the hypothetical world of things in themselves, the first, and indeed only, thing which we can affirm for certain is that, in what manner soever it may be related to the perceived world, it is not related to that world in the way of externality or internality. That an objective order of things or universe (whether we describe it as a world of things in themselves or not) exists, of that there can be no doubt; as little doubt can there be that that universe, or objective order of things, is not external to the mind of man (that expression being, as we have seen, pure nonsense): the important question then is—How far is this order of things knowable by man? Do we know no more than the fact that such an order of things is, or does the knowledge of the fact carry with it more than the mere fact, and, if so, how much more? In dealing with this latter problem, Professor Herbert is hampered by his imperfect conception of Idealism. He is in a strait betwixt two—betwixt his Berkeleyan Idealism on the one hand and his transcendental instincts on the other. Had he known more of Idealism than is suggested by his explicit identification of Idealism and Positivism,* he might have seen his way through a systematic investigation of the nature of objective existence to a stabler, because more idealistic, Transcendentalism. Transcendental Idealism is in truth a method of Ontology, or the science of Reality, which seeks to determine the nature of reality as consisting in thought. It is distinguished from Materialism, which defines reality as the simple opposite or negation of thought, and from sensational scepticism, which endeavours to show on psychological grounds the impossibility of ontological science. Transcendental Idealism then, as a

* *Vide* p. 401.—"Idealism, a name which would be better confined to the view that we have no right to recognise any reality behind the mental appearance, which alone confront us. The upholders of this doctrine, if it has any adherents, and they alone, are pure consistent Positivists."

theory of reality, may fitly be termed Realism. It is not the denial of reality; by implication it is the affirmation of reality. It is the attempt to understand reality, and its method is the only possible one, viz., a criticism of experience. It is opposed to the so-called Natural Realism, as an intelligible theory is opposed to an unintelligent affirmation, as a reasoned faith to a blind dogmatism, and to Materialism as an explanation of the known by the known to a barren *regressus in ignotum*. This idealistic Realism starts (as we have said all Philosophy starts) by asking for an account of the act and object of perception. It differs from sensationalism by affirming that the simplest act of perception involves the co-ordination of a complex of relations held together in a unity which appears in nature as the object or thing, and in the mind as self-consciousness—in the technical language of philosophy, Transcendental Idealism posits the correlativity of subject and object. The object is just the group of perceived relations; the subject is just the consciousness of unity which binds these relations together. Neither is the group of relations anything without the self-consciousness which is present in it, nor is the self-conscious subject anything save in so far as in knowing the object it knows itself. It is equally impossible to conceive an object without a subject, or a subject without an object. Subject and object are two sides of the same reality, or two moments in the same process. Even the sense of personal identity can exist only by virtue of the manifold differences to which it is opposed; just as the consciousness of difference implies that of identity. The objective reality of the objective world consists in its being known by a subject which knows itself as one throughout the various moments of its being; the subject can only know itself as one and identical by contrast with the kaleidoscopic changes of which it is conscious.

The importance of apprehending aright the true relation of subject and object may be enforced by a glance at the two most important ontological systems of modern Europe prior to Kant. It may be said that the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of both Cartesianism and Berkeleyanism lay in a defective doctrine of the relation of subject and object. It is impossible to cast doubt upon the reality of the object without opening the way for a hardier speculator to apply a similar treatment to the subject. Cartesianism was

founded upon the rock of self-consciousness, the "I think" which there is no gainsaying; yet the legitimate outcome of Cartesianism was Spinozism, and the personal individual subject in which Des Cartes believed is reduced by his disciple to a mode of the Divine Being.

"All knowledge derived from the senses and experience is nothing but delusion; only in the ideas of reason is truth."

So say Des Cartes in the *Principia* and elsewhere, and we can imagine Spinoza mentally arguing with his master somewhat as follows: "You tell me I may doubt of the reality of all that I see and feel, only I cannot doubt of the reality of my own self-consciousness, and of the clear ideas of reason, of which the idea of God is one. I am willing to give you my assent with a qualification. I cannot indeed doubt that my present consciousness of self is true so long as it lasts; but in like manner I cannot doubt that the world of sense is to me really what it seems to me. May not both reason and experience, self-consciousness, and the world of sense, thought, and extension, be alike accidents of the same substance, passing modes of the same eternal Being? In this case both are equally real and equally unreal—real in that like a consistent dream they are true while they last; unreal in that they are by nature transient phases of that which abiding eternally the same is alone absolutely real."

The Berkeleyan ontology has even less power of maintaining its equilibrium than the system of Des Cartes. Berkeley's doctrine is defective at both ends. He can furnish a true account neither of subject nor of object. The objective world being successfully reduced to a succession of ideas, it never occurs to him to inquire concerning an idea—what it is? what it implies? how it is related to the mind? while of the mind he thinks he has said enough when he has told us that—"A spirit is one simple undivided active being. As it perceives ideas it is called the understanding; and as it produces or otherwise operates about them it is called the will. Hence there can be no idea formed of a soul or spirit."*

Berkeley subsequently retracted this incautious admission that "there can be no idea formed of a soul or spirit."

* *Principles of Human Knowledge*, Pt. I. § 27.

"In a large sense, indeed, we may be said to have an idea, or rather a notion, of spirit; that is, we understand the meaning of the word, otherwise we could not affirm or deny anything of it."*

This *naïve* utterance is a sort of philosophical counterpart of Bardolph's celebrated definition of accommodate. "Accommodated; that is, when a man is, as they say, accommodated, or when a man is, being—whereby—he may be thought to be accommodated; which is an excellent thing."

We can readily appreciate the amusement which young Hume must have experienced on finding the redoutable demolisher of conceptualism admitting the existence of that of which no idea can be formed, and then trying to make matters better by shuffling between idea and notion. He has but to leave out Berkeley's inconsistencies—an easy task—and his own philosophy, with its smooth obliteration of both subject and object transmuted into ideas and impressions (*i.e.*, into impressions of different degrees of liveliness), is already before him.

The lesson to be drawn from the disintegration of the Cartesian and Berkeleyan ontologies is not that of the futility of metaphysical speculation. The ruin of those great systems teaches a very different moral. They failed—not because the human mind is incapable of ontology, but because the method on which they proceeded was false. Instead of investigating the relation of thought to its object; instead, that is to say, of analysing the act of knowing, they separated subject from object, and considered either term in a false abstraction from the other. Des Cartes' affirmation of the reality of self-consciousness was rendered null and void by the implication with which it was accompanied, that that reality was independent of the reality of the world of experience; and the empirical reality which Berkeley attributed to the world of experience was vitiated by his imperfect conception of the nature of spirit, by relation to which alone, as the unifying principle of self-consciousness, the world of experience is a real world. Hence, on the one hand, the abstract Pantheism of Spinoza; on the other, the no less abstract scepticism of Hume. The immortality of the soul and the being of God are susceptible of demonstration only when we recog-

* *Ibid.*, 140.

nise in the self-consciousness of man the bond of the reality of the phenomenal world to rise therefrom to the conception of a spiritual subject, which is the central point of that real noumenal universe which science presupposes. By one who realises that the world of experience, with all its manifold processes in space and time, is what it is—a world and not a chaos—in virtue of that consciousness that I am I, which is the stable condition of time and change, the annihilation of the human soul, is seen to be inconceivable because self-contradictory. Only a being who retains self-consciousness can suffer the interruption of that continuity, or, in other words, an entire rupture of the continuity of consciousness is a contradiction in terms. A rupture of continuity is to an idealist, who seeks to render words into thought, equivalent to a consciousness of a rupture of continuity. An entire rupture of the continuity of consciousness means, therefore, a consciousness of an entire rupture of the continuity of consciousness, or a consciousness of absolute unconsciousness, which is absurd. In like manner the well-informed idealist finds himself unable to disbelieve in God without disbelieving in the universe. He regards the existence of an order of things of which he understands but a part, and that obscurely, as carrying with it by implication the existence of a Supreme Mind for which that order exists, precisely as the existence of that part of the universe which he does understand implies his own existence. Knowing that the kosmos of his experience is conditioned by his own self-consciousness, he is assured that the larger kosmos which embraces his is but, as it were, the other side of the self-consciousness of God. Without identifying God with the universe in any other sense than that in which he may identify himself with the world which he knows, and of which the *esse* is in truth *intelligi*, he yet regards God as necessarily related to, and manifesting himself in, the universe, or as the living God in whom we live and move and have our being.

For lack of knowledge of the true account (as it seems to us) of the relation of self-consciousness to the world in space and time, Professor Herbert embarrasses himself and his readers with many difficulties which really do not exist, or which exist only for those who have not risen above the popular sensationalism of the day. A clear and logical thinker, he pushes the conclusions of Mill to their

legitimate results in an unqualified scepticism, which the student of Hume has no difficulty in recognising as an old acquaintance. Improving upon Mill's definition of mind "as a series of feelings aware of itself as a series," he argues justly that—

> "This implies that there has been a succession of past feelings, as well as that there is a present feeling. While, as we have seen, we are conscious only of the present, and it is impossible to see how the idea of past feelings could arise in the present, besides the further impossibility of proving that present feelings represented past feelings truly if they did arise. . . . Mr. Mill should have gone further if he went so far. My present feeling is all of which I am conscious. All else is but assumption."—Pp. 260, 1.

This is acute and unanswerable criticism, but it does not lead to the conclusion it should have led to, viz., that consciousness contains more than feeling. If the content of consciousness were merely phenomenal, we could not know more than the present feeling, not even so much as that it is present. It is because we transcend the present that we are conscious of the present. A now which is not distinguished from a then is, properly speaking, no now. Now and then, like subject and object, are correlatives, neither of which has any meaning in abstraction from the other. Professor Herbert, however, does not see this. As strenuously as an empiricist he asserts that the conscious ego is no more than "a complex present feeling representing an aggregate of past feelings" (p. 257). How a complex present feeling can represent an aggregate of past feelings, or even how present feeling can be complex, or how feelings can be aggregated, he owns himself entirely unable to explain.

Professor Herbert, in fact, identifies present consciousness with consciousness of the present. Hence, all consciousness being present, he supposes that all consciousness ought to be consciousness of the present, and of no more than the present. We have, however, shown that present consciousness both can and does contain immediate consciousness of the past. About the fact, Professor Herbert is at one with us; but he puzzles himself (as we think, needlessly) about the theory of the matter, and the source of his difficulties is the unjustifiable assumption to which we have just adverted, viz., that a present consciousness ought to contain no more than a single unrelated feeling.

Regarding the mind as a series of feelings, he naturally cannot understand how any single moment of consciousness can be the complex fact it really is. Yet Professor Herbert maintains that Philosophy has said its last intelligible word about the nature of the soul, which, after all, turns out to be an unintelligible word.

"A theory of the mind which is incompatible with some of its most important characters is proved to be wanting and self-condemned. Mr. Mill urges that the facts are unaccountable on any theory: that is true, they baffle all explanation. But they are in direct contradiction to the view that mind is a mere stream of feelings, while they favour any view which teaches that Memory and Personality imply much more than a stream of feelings, though those who hold it cannot say exactly what is implied. Theories which attempt to explain them may be inadequate, but a theory which leaves no room for them refutes itself."—Pp. 259, 60.

We are then shut up to a dilemma from which there is no escape. We are face to face with an antinomy which proves insoluble. On the one hand "we cannot help regarding the Ego as something enduring and distinct from the fleeting series of our conscious states, something which perceives them and judges them;" while on the other hand "mental phenomena present to us only a stream of feelings of which the Ego, when we make it a subject of thought, appears one."

A true realistic idealist would meet this latter statement with a denial. He would refuse to admit that "the Ego, when we make it a subject of thought, appears one," among the fleeting feelings which make up the stream of phenomenal consciousness. He would say that there is all the difference in the world between the judgment, "I am I," and such a sensation as that *e.g.* of blue. He would add that without this judgment "I am I" there would be, properly speaking, no stream of feelings at all. A stream, it is to be presumed, is continuous; so is a series. But this feeling, and that, and the other, do not of themselves constitute a stream or a series. They only do so by ceasing to be mere feelings, by being brought into the unity of self-consciousness, by being judged to be objects of which I, a being conscious of past and future, am aware. The well-instructed idealist has no need to infer the reality of personal identity, or of the past as given in memory. He appeals to introspection, to immediate consciousness, *ἐν τῇ αἰσθήσει ἡ κρίσις.*

It is, he holds, only by a vulgar confusion of thought that "deliverances" of consciousness so diverse as "I think" and "It is painful," "I am" and "It is sweet," are lumped together indiscriminately under the general category of Feeling. Because man cannot feel without thinking, or relating his feelings to one another, it is perversely assumed by the popular psychologists that thought and feeling are one and the same, or that thought is a kind of feeling. Hence the absurd inversion whereby the mind is treated as an artificial unity built up of sensations or "units of feeling," much as a house is built up of bricks. First of all an assumption is made that "units of feeling" there are, and then these hypothetical units are treated as fortuitously coming together to form a mind. Against this strangely paralogistic procedure we must enter our most emphatic protest. The unit of feeling is just as unverifiable a metaphysical entity as the atom of the materialist. The "unit of feeling" is unverifiable from the very nature of the mind and of knowledge. To know, as we are often told, is to relate. In knowing a "unit of feeling" we should of necessity transform it, for a feeling cannot be arrested, related to, and compared with other feelings without entering into an intelligible judgment; that is, without ceasing to be a "unit of feeling," and becoming a "unit of thought." The "unit of feeling" must be relegated to the limbo of the unknowable. Like the ὕλη of Aristotle, or raw material of thought, it cannot be submitted to the operation of the informing intelligence without ceasing to be itself. It is the absolutely discontinuous, and as such the absolutely surd or irrational. Its very existence must be admitted to be problematical even by those who do not admit the absolute identity of being and thought, while for those who do so it is a wordy periphrasis for nothing. If, then, it is impossible to know a feeling except by classing it with others like it and distinguishing it from others unlike it (thereby giving it a "local habitation" in the context of experience), it follows that to define mind as a series of feelings is to use a paradoxical mode of expression in preference to a simpler and more intelligible one. A feeling, properly speaking, means one of the terms or members of one of the many relations which, as aggregated together, make up what we know as experience. Now, relations cannot aggregate themselves, nor can the terms of which those

relations are composed. Hence, were the mind merely a series of feelings, it could not know itself as such. It is precisely because the mind is a unity of consciousness which abides self-identical throughout the successive moments of its being, that it can know those moments as they pass; or, in other words, succession in time as well as change in place are knowable only for a consciousness that knows itself as unchanging. It is, to say the least, a ὕστερον πρότερον to begin by describing the mind in terms of the successive, and then to add, by way of postscript, that the succession is aware of itself as such, when it is only because it is aware of itself as other than a succession that it is aware of itself as a succession. It is strange that psychologists should choose to describe the mind by metaphors drawn rather from inanimate nature than from life. A far more adequate definition of mind than "a series of feelings aware of itself as a series" would be—Mind is conscious life, or a continuous process of conscious assimilation and reproduction.

But to return to Professor Herbert's difficulties. With that strangely uncritical conception of Realism to which we referred at the beginning of this article, he treats the Associationist psychology as a form of Realism, accounting the failure of the Associationist to explain memory as so much additional argument against "Realistic science," and in favour of the doctrine that "things are not what they seem," which he takes to be the ground principle of Transcendentalism. We accept our author's criticism of the Associationist account of memory as simply a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Associationist premises. Association, argues Professor Herbert, cannot explain memory, because it cannot explain itself or in any way get itself explained.* Thus he obscurely raises a most important question, viz., How is association possible? That question was long ago asked and answered by Kant; but the Professor does not seem to have fully appreciated the significance of the answer. Kant left the Associationists without logical standing ground, by demonstrating that, in place of association accounting for the law of cause and effect, that law must be presupposed in order to account for associa-

* *Vide* pp. 253—6. This difficulty respecting memory applies to all the grouping of thoughts into a unity of conception which is indispensable to thinking. All integration of ideas, all comparison of them, would be impossible unless many could be apprehended in one complex whole, p. 256.

tion. He showed that the simple sequence of one idea upon another itself involves the consciousness of law. Let us not be misunderstood. Kant did not mean anything so absurd as that in knowing a sequence we must necessarily know its law. He did mean that in knowing a sequence we necessarily know some law, with which the fugitiveness of the casual sequence is contrasted and so known. To take a familiar instance. The successive tickings of a clock are perceptible only because they are regular, the occasional dropping of water from the eave is perceived for precisely the same reason, and the most sudden of all casual occurrences, such as a flash of lightning, or the passage of a meteor across the sky, must have some uniformity either of speed or direction, or they cannot be perceived. Rigorously exclude law from consciousness, and you exclude consciousness. The cases we have instanced are cases of simple sequence, not directly involving the relation of cause and effect. Yet it is only because they form part of a kosmos, or order of things, though a part the precise relation of which to the rest of that kosmos has not yet been ascertained, that they are perceived at all. Thus in Kantian* phrase the judgment of sequence implies that of causality. If this reasoning is correct, it follows that the Associationist theory of causality is an *argumentum in circulo*, deriving its plausibility from the presupposition of that which it professes to explain. The same observation applies equally to the doctrine of the popular psychology concerning the axioms of mathematics and physics. "The axioms of mathematics and physics are inductions from experience," say the Empiricists. The most effective method of dealing with loose statements of this description is to ask—From an experience of what kind? Of a kind that already contains them, or of a kind that does not? If experience, in its most rudimentary state, already contains the axioms in question, to say that they are derived from experience is like saying that they are derived from themselves, while an experience that does not contain them is inconceivable.

It is now, however, necessary to bring this review to a close. But we are reluctant to quit the important subjects which have occupied us so far without endeavouring to precipitate, as it were, or crystallise into a few

* Vide *Caird's Philosophy of Kant*, cap. xi., The Principles of Pure Understanding, and therein especially pp. 453—460.

sentences the main drift of our observations. In brief, then, it appears to us that as a philosopher Professor Herbert is not far from the scepticism of Hume, which, as he truly says, can furnish no adequate account of personal identity, causation, or memory, and (he might have added) of the actual procedure of science. Yet he accepts this philosophy only to reject it, and to reject it without making any attempt to construct a better. He rejects it, moreover, not because he disputes the premises from which it starts, or the steps by which it reaches its conclusion. He rejects it because it is incredible, yet he does not try to show why it is incredible, or how any other is possible. Hence his vindication of Transcendentalism would not be accepted by the Transcendentalists. It is, in fact, little more than the reiterated assertion (supported by slender or incongruous considerations) that the precise contrary of that which, as a philosopher, he ought to accept, must be the true state of the case, inasmuch as we cannot but so suppose it to be. To illustrate our meaning we will examine with some detail the following sentence, which the reader will find on p. 373. It is a criticism of Ferrier's doctrine of the relation of subject and object. It is as follows:

"Professor Ferrier has properly insisted that the ego or subject is the one universal element in all our experience; the objects of thought vary perpetually, but in every conscious state there is a more or less explicit recognition that I think this or feel that. But the ego is not hereby revealed as a phenomenon. For, in the first place, it is only the mature mind which clearly recognises the subjective ego; and further, what leads it to infer a permanent ego is the complex background of fused feelings, making up at each instant our life as we apprehend it; and with this each new mental state allies itself, seeking its like, and discriminated from contrasted feelings."

In the first place we must enter a protest against this expression, "a conscious state," which often occurs in this book. Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as a "conscious state." It is bad enough to hear incessantly of "states of consciousness," but "a conscious state" is a contradiction *in adjectivo*. A state is a particular determination of consciousness, as hope, fear, pain, colour, or curiosity; and we have yet to learn that these affections of consciousness are themselves conscious. A more important point is raised by the statement that "in the more or less explicit recognition that I think this or

feel that, the ego is not revealed as a phenomenon." The puzzled reader looks about to discover what the precise import of this proposition may be, with what success in our own case we will endeavour to explain. So far as we can judge, for the words "as a phenomenon," we may substitute in immediate consciousness. Professor Herbert meant that we had no immediate consciousness of the permanent self, but that we inferred it from "the complex background of fused feelings;" and he used the phrase "as a phenomenon" as coextensive in signification with the expression "in immediate intuition." That he should have done so is significant of the hold which sensationalistic modes of thinking had over his mind. It is one of the assumptions of sensationalistic Positivism that whatever is known is necessarily phenomenal, and by consequence that the noumenal is necessarily unknowable. We hold, on the other hand, that for the scholar and the philosopher the noumenon should have only one signification—the intelligible. An unknowable noumenon is a contradiction in terms. The laws of nature (we hold) are properly speaking noumena, while the phenomena of nature are the particular events that happen according to those laws. And the unity of consciousness, which is presupposed in a law of nature, is likewise a noumenon, indeed the noumenon of noumena. It is therefore quite true that in the "I think" the ego is not revealed as a phenomenon, simply because it is revealed as a noumenon; but in being revealed as a noumenon it is yet revealed in immediate consciousness. That the ego, if it is to do the work Professor Herbert requires of it, must be revealed in immediate consciousness is, we think, unquestionable. The function of the ego is, as he very justly says, to give unity to our phenomenal consciousness. In order that the ego should thus play the part of a bond of unity, bringing the manifold content of consciousness into synthesis, it must be equally present to each several determination of the said consciousness. We take it that this Professor Herbert's ego cannot be. About this *recondite subetratum*, this something, we know not what, for ever hid from our view, one thing, and one thing alone, is certain. It can in no way effect the synthesis of the phenomenal consciousness. It is therefore *otiose*. There is no good reason why we should not call it, with Hume, a fiction, for in truth this something of which we can have no "idea,"

but only a "notion," is simply the reflection of that real present immediate consciousness of self which is the bond of unity of the known world.

In a word, Prof. Herbert seems never fairly to have faced the problem—How from mere phenomena can that which is not a phenomenon be inferred? That problem we hold to be insoluble. From phenomenal premises only phenomenal conclusions can be reached. Nay, we may go further and maintain that from mere phenomena no conclusion whatever can be reached. For inference presupposes association, association law, and all laws are noumena, and have their ground in the noumenon of noumena, self-consciousness. We are grateful to our author for his acute reduction of Empiricism to the absurd conclusions which are necessarily involved in it. As he had seen so far before his untimely death, perhaps, had he lived, the latter portion of his work might have been more than a mere *argumentum ad hominem:* it might have been a philosophical theory of reality.

Radically imperfect, indeed, as, for the reasons we have assigned, we hold Professor Herbert's criticism and argument to be, it is, within certain limits, very effective and valuable. We have indicated this at several points; we have implied it even in our last words of abatement from the claims and authority of the volume; we desire to affirm it distinctly and emphatically before we lay down our pen. The argument, as against Mr. Spencer and the *soi-disant* school of scientific Realists, is unanswerable; the dilemma in which Mr. Herbert places them is one from which there is no escape. As against theism, their battery is silenced; it is shown that for every difficulty they raise against the faith and worship of those who believe in a personal Deity and in Divine Providence, an analogous difficulty must equally be encountered by themselves as lying against their own position as thinkers, and against the modicum of belief and conviction which they assume and build upon for themselves. A consistent scientific Realist of the agnostic school can be allowed to affirm nothing, can have no leave to argue or to conclude. For logic or inference, for metaphysics or philosophy, there can in the agnostic world be no light, no power, no place. The agnostic who disallows theism can only do so by disallowing his own personality. If the latter be admitted, his principles are already forsworn, and he will find himself unable to disallow our faith in God.

ART. III.—*A Victim of the Falk Laws: The Adventures of a German Priest in Prison and in Exile.* Told by THE VICTIM. *Empire Library.* London: Richard Bentley and Son, New Burlington Street. 1879.

ENGLISH Protestants have watched with keen interest the protracted struggle in Germany, extending over many years, but culminating in 1873, between Papal and Parliamentary authority—akin to those historical conflicts which rent England during the seventeenth century, and France towards the close of the eighteenth. Happily for reconstituted Germany her religious differences did not result in civil war. Emperor, ministers, and the large majority of the people and their representatives were in accord; while the Ultramontanes fought their battle, and made a stand which was rather harassing than dangerous, with little aid save the "moral support" of Rome. When the crisis of the long conflict arrived, Protestants in this country naturally sympathised with the "Cultus Minister," whose ecclesiastical bills were framed with the object of substituting a national or German for a foreign or Ultramontane clergy, and of removing the supreme jurisdiction from the Roman Curia to the Berlin Government: in other words, from the Pope to the Emperor.

These bills—which repealed the 15th Article of the Prussian Constitution of 1850, empowering the Evangelical and Catholic Churches and all other religious bodies to administer and regulate their own affairs in an independent manner—were the outcome of the inevitable antagonism between the Protestant heads of the State in Germany, and the Catholic heads of the Church in Rome which claimed through their bishops more than spiritual sway over a large proportion of German subjects. When it became evident that the King of Prussia would not assist the Pope in his struggle with Victor Emmanuel for temporal power, the Ultramontanes retaliated by throwing impediments in the way of the unification of Germany. And when a tide which no Jesuit intrigues could stem bore "William the Conquering" into an Imperial throne, they interfered in elections with a rancour which provoked a

protest from Cardinal Antonelli; denounced from their pulpits the "sin against the Church" of choosing moderate or Protestant representatives; and even allied themselves with Socialists in order to hamper and impede the "odious Protestant Government of William and Bismarck." On the plea of "religious liberty" Romish Infallibilists openly declared their preference for Garibaldi and a Republic rather than Victor Emmanuel and a Constitutional Monarchy; and German "High Church" priests favoured democratic cabals. Meanwhile the sixty members of the Landtag representing the High Clerical party, and known as the *Centrum faction*, made the unconditional and unlimited supremacy of Rome their watchword; and, influencing moderate men through their dread of democracy and infidelity, fought against the great Chancellor with a determined and an organised persistence which at one time threatened to shake the newly-cemented foundations of the German Empire. Against so insidious a foe retaliation with a strong hand was the only course to be expected from the "man of blood and iron." Of the imperative necessity for his vigorous measures, the wisdom with which they were framed, and the temper in which they were put in motion, our readers will judge for themselves. The operation of the new laws extended to both State-subsidised religions—the Protestant or Evangelical as well as the Catholic. They protected the freedom of individuals, releasing those who might have left a particular Church from any obligation to contribute towards its support; they placed all religious seminaries under the direct supervision of the State; and subjected candidates for the clerical profession to State examinations, claiming a veto over appointments and dismissals. The danger always inherent in a separate priestly caste was to be obviated by free intercourse between lay and clerical students; and the *Demeritenanstalten*, or houses of discipline, for the Roman clergy were placed under strict surveillance. Finally, a Supreme Royal Court at Berlin was to decide all questions between Church and State, with power to dismiss clerics whose conduct might be "inimical to the State," and to set aside ecclesiastical sentences.

Some alarm at the character and scope of these measures was expressed even by the Supreme Consistory of the Protestant Church; and the angry opposition of the Catholic bodies knew no bounds. The Roman bishops assembled at

the Tomb of St. Boniface, at Fulda, and addressed a solemn protest to their flocks, threatening with excommunication all who should contravene the existing organisation of the Catholic Church, and binding all faithful Catholics still to "place in the hands of the Holy Father the decision of all doubtful questions respecting the Church." The bishops also refused to submit their seminaries to Government inspection. The State promptly retorted by declaring the pupils in the seminaries under the refractory bishops ineligible for ecclesiastical appointments, and the schools were closed. The Prince Archbishop of Breslau, who expelled the Dean from his Chapter for being an Old Catholic, was officially informed that no distinction must be made between "Old" and "New" parties; while the Archbishop of Cologne, who excommunicated priests belonging to his diocese for professing the tenets of Döllinger, was himself subjected in turn to a State prosecution. We have not space here to enter into the extraordinary career of Ledochowski, Archbishop of Posen, who systematically set at defiance all the May Laws, and went steadily on his usual course regardless of fines, warnings, the suspension of his income, and a summons to resign his see—his only answer to the latter process being a declaration that he would remain at his post till the Pope should require his resignation. The expulsion from the Empire of the Jesuit orders—a measure declared by Bismarck "absolutely necessary to remove elements directly injurious to the community . . . as leaders and stirrers-up of the plots against the Imperial Government"—imposed on the whole Catholic party the *rôle* of martyrs, although many school-sisters and school-brothers were allowed to remain. The Bishops, declaring that "the State had laid the axe to the root of the tree of the Catholic faith," announced that no Catholic could thenceforward be expected to respect its dictates.

Pope Pius then tried the effect of a personal remonstrance with the Emperor William on the promulgation of "measures which all aimed more and more at the destruction of Catholicism"—insinuating that the Kaiser himself was supposed not cordially to countenance them. The Emperor's reply was dignified and firm. After stating that according to the Prussian Constitution his Government could never enter on a path of which he did not approve, he added:

"To my deep sorrow a portion of my Catholic subjects have organised for the past two years a political party which endeavours to disturb, by intrigues hostile to the State, the religious peace which has existed in Prussia for centuries. Leading Catholic priests have unfortunately not only approved this movement, but joined in it to the extent of open revolt against existing laws. . . . . It is not my mission to investigate the causes by which the clergy and faithful of one of the Christian denominations can be induced actively to assist the enemies of all law; but it certainly is my mission to protect internal peace and preserve the authority of the laws in the States whose government has been entrusted to me by God. I am conscious that I owe hereafter an account of this my kingly duty. I shall maintain order and law in my States against all attacks as long as God gives me the power. I am in duty bound to do it as a Christian monarch, even when, to my sorrow, I have to fulfil this royal duty against servants of a Church which I suppose acknowledge, no less than the Evangelical Church, that the commandment of obedience to secular authority is an emanation of the revealed will of God. Many of the priests in Prussia subject to your Holiness disown, to my regret, the Christian doctrine in this respect, and place my Government under the necessity, supported by the great majority of my loyal Catholic and Evangelical subjects, of extorting obedience to the law by worldly means."

In conclusion the Emperor made a spirited stand against a very wide and wily assumption contained in the Papal letter.

"I cannot pass over without contradiction," he wrote, "the expression that every one who has received baptism belongs to the Pope. The Evangelical creed, which, as must be known to your Holiness, I, like my ancestors and the great majority of my subjects, profess, does not permit me to accept, in our relations to God, any other mediator than our Lord Jesus Christ. But the difference of belief does not prevent my living in peace with those who do not share mine."

The publication of this correspondence created an unprecedented sensation throughout Germany. The Emperor was overwhelmed with congratulatory addresses from public meetings and corporations throughout the country. In many cases they were signed by Catholics and Protestants conjointly, and all thanked the Emperor for so firmly upholding "unity and domestic peace;" asserted that the Papal complaint of "persecution" was wilfully untrue; and denounced the Ultramontanes as "dishonest,

ambitious, and frivolous enemies of the German Empire." This correspondence took place in the autumn of 1873. In the following January a great meeting was held in London to express sympathy with the Emperor of Germany in his struggle for the great principles of religious liberty, and the emancipation of a large body of his people from spiritual thraldom. Earl Russell, who had been prevented by illness from taking personal part in the proceedings, was selected to convey to his Majesty the resolutions passed. In the course of his reply the Emperor said:

"It is incumbent on me to be the leader of my people in a struggle maintained through centuries past by German emperors of earlier days against a power, the domination of which has in no country in the world been found compatible with the freedom and welfare of nations—a power which, if victorious in our days, would imperil, not in Germany alone, the blessings of the Reformation, liberty of conscience, and the authority of the laws. . . . I was sure, and I rejoice at the proof afforded me by your letter, that the sympathies of the people of England would not fail me in this struggle—the people of England, to whom my people and my royal house are bound by the remembrance of many a past and honourable struggle maintained in common since the days of William of Orange."

These sympathies have unflaggingly attended every stage of the modern reformation in Germany from its commencement to the present day; but it is always desirable to endeavour to see clearly both sides of a question. No national benefit was ever yet achieved without individual suffering; and whatever opinion we may hold as to the fundamental justice and expediency of the Falk Laws—laws which, however suitable to the present condition of German society, would not be tolerated in the United Kingdom for a moment as applicable to the Protestant Established Church of England, the Presbyterian establishment in Scotland, the Catholic Church in Ireland, nor least of all to the Nonconforming Churches—it is both useful and interesting to look at their working from the point of view of one who considers himself their "Victim."

The writer of the trenchant little volume standing at the head of this article begins by telling his readers that into his name, age, appearance, &c., they have no need to inquire. Nor does he state in specific terms what offence placed him at issue with the German Government. As, however, he calls himself "a young curé, installed as such in

the year of grace 1873, after the promulgation of the celebrated May Laws," it is clear that he was one of the unlicensed priests whose appointment, made by the archbishops in defiance of the new ordinances, were void in sight of the law, and were well known to expose both those bestowing and those receiving them to heavy penalties. "So far as my humble personality is mingled with these *grand scenes of progress*," he says ironically, "I beg the reader to consider me solely as the representative of a principle, and merely an individual personification of the sufferings I have only shared in common with so many banished and imprisoned priests." Adding, somewhat illogically, that he writes for Catholics, of whose sympathy he is certain beforehand, and not for men who wear liberal colours; "the champions of Progress have neither heart nor understanding for the sufferings of the Church." Now, it must never be forgotten that these were self-inflicted sufferings, for the Church knew perfectly well how to avoid them without sacrificing anything but temporal authority and personal pride. Surely, if the opponents of the Falk Laws have a genuine grievance, it is to Protestants, who require conversion, that they should expound it, not to Catholics, who are already of the same opinion as themselves. But the logic of the Church of Rome has been defective from time immemorial.

In October, 1873, the "Victim" tells us, he arrived, "light of heart," to take possession of his cure. The keys of his presbytery had "somehow or other wandered into the pockets of the mayor," and accordingly he made an undignified entrance through a back door, his excited parishioners assisting to introduce his furniture after the same fashion. Early next morning the mayor called on the priest, and, in return for his polite offer of a cigar and glass of wine, ordered him at once to leave the place into which he had effected an illegal entrance. The priest denied the illegality, as he had found the garden-gate unlocked, and, far from wishing to take anything away from the premises, he had introduced many articles into them. Moreover, he added, he was there by command of his bishop, and had "a canonical right to the cure." The wrathful mayor stamped, swore, gesticulated, and went off to collect the villagers to expel their contumacious would-be pastor. Not one of the hundred or so who had gathered round the presbytery would lift a finger against

him. Finally, a gendarme, pistol in hand, led the priest out of the house; a parishioner instantly threw open the doors of his own, and scores of ready hands stowed the priest's furniture within it. This is recorded by the narrator as a great triumph of Catholic principles and proof of the attachment of the flock to their shepherd. But it is an almost invariable rule that, up to a certain point, and so long as no personal risk is involved, the populace will side with the opponents of *any* law—just as a criminal is, in their eyes, nearly always a hero.

The curé began, in his new abode, to exercise his official functions; and was thereupon informed by the mayor that, "by default of any preliminary announcement to the First President on the part of the bishop, the Government regarded his nomination as null and void," and warned of the penalties he incurred by persisting in acting upon it. The churchwardens were ordered to circulate the same information among the parishioners, and the schoolmaster was apprised by an elaborate official document that the new curé had no right to give religious instruction in the school.

"The church and the school being thus closed against me, what," he asks, "in the eyes of the Government, could be the part left for me to play? If I had not scrupled to act upon certain insinuations made to me, and prefixed the adjective *old* to my title of Catholic, and so signed myself a traitor, benefices and emoluments, honours and prefectorial favours were ready to rain upon me. But as I have a conscience as well as a heart, as I am mindful of the oath I made to my bishop, as I prefer the sufferings of this life to those of the next, as I do not wear a chameleon's skin, and as I refuse to hang up my cassock to serve as a weathercock, I persisted in my obstinacy; and, as the inevitable consequence, felt the iron grasp of the god Progress close more tightly upon me."

There is something very like wilful perversion of facts here. One of the sharpest bones of contention between the Pope and the Emperor certainly had long been the toleration extended by the German Government to the "Old Catholics," followers of Döllinger, who refused to subscribe to the doctrine of Papal infallibility. The Pope, the Jesuits, and the Ultramontanes could not forgive the State recognition of those excommunicated archbishops and bishops who had been severed from Rome by her latest

dogma. The rapid growth of the *Alt Katholiken* excited alarm and jealousy in the Papacy. In 1873 there were twenty-two Old Catholic congregations in Prussia, thirty-three in Bavaria, twenty-seven in Baden: their numerical strength being even then estimated at over a quarter of a million zealous adherents. The Old Catholics giving the Imperial Government faithful and conscientious support, and impressing loyalty and patriotism on their congregations, naturally received favours from the Emperor and his ministers, in spite of that Papal denunciation which stigmatised them as "wretched sons of perdition." Naturally, also, the State, which, in Germany, subsidises both Catholic and Protestant religions, preferred to bestow her chief patronage on that branch of the Catholic Church which was a friend instead of a foe. But the Falk Laws offered no premium on compulsory or mercenary conversions. Opinions were not legislated for or against. Catholics and Protestants alike were simply required to comply with certain regulations, and acquainted with the penalties for not doing so.

"A short time afterwards," continues the curé, "I received a monition to appear before the municipal forum to answer for my legal transgressions in the exercise of ecclesiastical functions unauthorised by the civil authorities. . . . It is needless to say that I paid no attention to this amiable invitation. I then received a second, on the part of the *huissier* or constable, to appear before the Tribunal of Correction at Trêves. I was condemned for contumacy to pay a fine of three thalers, or submit to one day's imprisonment. I did not pay the fine. To the despair of my good mother, my furniture was seized and carried into the street to be sold. Having, in the times we live in, learnt some little tricks of trade, it occurred to me to sell all my furniture to my host to hinder its being sacrificed beneath the hammer of the town crier. Then there was nothing to be seized but myself. I had not long to wait. The first condemnation was quickly followed by a second, imposing on me a fine of one hundred thalers, or a month in prison. . . . I left the public force to take whatever trouble it thought proper. It presented itself one fine morning in the spring of 1874, in the form of a well-known gendarme."

We think the curé would have been setting a better example to his parishioners, besides sparing his mother unnecessary "despair," by showing respect for the law. The result of his dogged persistence in an unlawful course,

in spite of repeated warnings, and a graduated scale of punishments extending apparently over six months (the precise date of his arrest is not mentioned), was perfectly well known to him all along. The claim to the honour of martyrdom made in consequence reminds us of a certain familiar prototype of the "Victim," who

> "Knocked his head against a post
> And called it persecution."

Although we have no desire to adopt the flippant tone of the curé, who describes the citation of illegal exercises of his functions—baptising, celebrating mass, preaching, &c. —as "long enough for the register of Don Juan's Leporello," it is scarcely possible to speak seriously of the sort of guerilla warfare against the authorities which he narrates with such gusto—the dodging and "doing" the gendarmes, the ingenuity exercised in embarrassing and perplexing mayors and magistrates.

However, even the irrepressible curé found his month's imprisonment irksome enough. Hundreds of his parishioners crowded round with tears and sobs to bid him farewell as he was marched away. He subdued their inclination also to "hurrah" by a little speech, in which he bade them go quietly to their homes, and remain faithful, come what might, to "the holy Catholic and Roman Church, their holy father the Pope, the bishops and faithful priests." Even the gendarme, we are told, was "not without emotion." But the cause of *his* sympathetic agitation was, perhaps, rather an anti-climax. He did not like the task of conducting a priest to prison because his wife, being the wife of a man fulfilling so unpopular an office, could not get a drop of milk supplied to her in the village!

The prison at Trêves, formerly the Dominican cloister, is a gloomy congeries of one-storied buildings. The men's prison,—popularly called, since the religious prosecutions, "the priests' hotel,"—horse-shoe shaped, encloses a space of cultivated ground, and is separated from the women's prison by the kitchen and chapel. The windows are planked or grated; each building is isolated within high whitewashed walls; and at the distance of only a few gloomy, rarely-trodden streets stands the cathedral—the "widowed cathedral." Once received within the prison walls, the curé had to give up his watch, money, knife,

pencil and cigars; after which ceremony he was conducted through long corridors and bolted doors to a whitewashed cell, six feet by four, and just high enough to allow a tall man to stand upright, except where the roof slanted to the window, which opened only "a hand's breadth." The furniture of this clean but not luxurious abode comprised a table, two stools, some pans and pitchers for washing, and a pair of trestles supporting what was by courtesy termed a bed, but which in fact consisted of a miniature bolster and a sack so short that the occupant, says the curé, had to arrange himself in the form of the letter S in order to keep his place upon it. The daily routine following the fragmentary and uneasy sleep snatched on such a pallet was severely monotonous. At five the prisoners were roused by a loud bell, accompanied by rattling of locks and keys as the warders patrolled the corridors. After this:

"The prisoners made their toilet and said their prayers, swept and dusted their cells, made their beds, and worked till seven. Breakfast consisted of a thin broth served in a dog-skillet accompanied by a wooden spoon. At half-past eleven dinner, which consisted of a *squash* (I can use no other word) of boiled pease or potatoes, served in large baskets. Each prisoner, plate in hand, attacked the indistinct mass as best he could. A prayer was always said before and after the repast. At supper we were regaled with a watery decoction which went by the name of *schlicht*. Daily after dinner we performed the exercise called the *goose's march*, when we had to walk slowly round the court at a distance of five feet from each other. At seven in the evening (six on Sundays) everybody went to bed."*

The deprivation most keenly felt by the curé was that of tobacco, for which he had a truly national affection. The want of his pipe caused him much physical as well as mental discomfort; but the possession of a scrap of tobacco would have entailed on the offender fifteen days in a dark dungeon with bread and water. Study was also at first prohibited, and as the prison library mainly consisted of

* Our own self-made martyr for conscience' sake, the Rev. Arthur Tooth, had, we believe, to clean his cell and conform generally to prison discipline. But while his recalcitrancy did not excite the sympathy of his countrymen even to the same small extent as that of his Catholic *confrère*, neither had he to complain of equal rigours. He was permitted to receive his friends and provide his own "diet" as a "first-class misdemeanant." But then England is not yet under a military *régime*. Nor have we heard that the English "priest" was deprived of tobacco—if he smokes.

works relating to the military exploits of the Prussians, the unfortunate clerical prisoner was "half dead with ennui." From five in the morning till seven in the evening, he says:

"I used to traverse my tiny cell from the door to the window, and from the window to the door; counted every minute—every stroke of the bell from the cathedral tower; watched one by one the flies which travelled over the walls; prayed—and, in short, forgot one thing only, namely, to take a resolution to correct myself. To remain for long months under bars and bolts, guarded at night by gaolers; to see high walls incessantly before one; to hear only the sounds of locks and keys and the orders of the patrol; to meet at every step faces fit for the galleys, is a situation which, after a time, becomes insupportable."

It was relieved in the case of the ecclesiastics by one indulgence; morning and afternoon they were allowed to walk and talk together for one hour, their rendezvous being the inner court, one hundred feet long by eighty wide, and surrounded by high whitewashed walls. Part of this court is paved, part sown with herbs. "In the centre rises a majestic monument—a wooden pump, round and round which we walked like horses in a thrashing machine." At the time of the curé's imprisonment several other priests, the editor of an Ultramontane journal, and the venerable Bishop Mathias, were undergoing the same discipline. Mass was said in the prison chapel at six on Sundays and Thursdays by the prison chaplain; the bishop celebrated it at seven, with closed doors; he was also present at vespers, at the "religious instruction" on Wednesdays, and in the confessional. The chapel is described as "small but pretty, containing a crucifix, a statue of the Blessed Virgin, one of St. Joseph, and an altar adorned with flowers, a present from the ladies of Treves to their imprisoned bishop." After fourteen days' solitary confinement the curé was transferred to the large "detention room" occupied by six ecclesiastical prisoners, and divided into two by a green curtain hanging from the ceiling. Only a thin partition separated this room from one occupied by weavers, whose incessant din resounded from morning until night. But the priests were too glad to be together to heed the annoyance. "*Solamen miseris socios habuisse malorum* is as true to-day as when first sung by the poet. We had wooden stools to sit upon, slimy

soup to eat; we shivered with cold or melted with heat; but were as happy as Daniel in the den of lions. The hardest of our deprivations was not being allowed to say Holy Mass." But the longest term of imprisonment must come to an end; and after an absence of five months and a half the curé returned to his parish, being welcomed by thousands of his parishioners, bearing flags and garlands, and a procession of young girls dressed in white. His own rooms were made a perfect bower of flowers.

At the close of the following October, the unsubdued curé having resumed all his functions as though he had never been punished for exercising them, the Government determined to sentence him to banishment from the district of Treves. He was absent on a visit at the time; but he says: "As I had neither any intention of evading penalties nor any desire to exile myself of my own accord, I returned at once to my own parish. I found fastened to the door of my room an administrative decree, informing me that I must quit the district within twenty-four hours. Much more than this space of time had already elapsed. I left the paper in its place, and, as far as I am concerned, it may remain there still, to give future generations an idea of the toleration of this enlightened century."

Punishment in any form—whether by exile, imprisonment, or forfeiture of civil rights—for holding religious opinions or performing religious services, does not approve itself to English minds, and contravenes the great shibboleth of Protestantism—"freedom to worship God." But it must never be forgotten that the attitude taken by the Ultramontanes in Germany was that of *political* antagonism to the Government. The "Victim," and those "thousands of companions in misfortune," to whom, by a slight exercise of the magnifying power of imagination, he lays claim, fell under the ban of the law not because they professed certain theological doctrines or fulfilled certain ecclesiastical functions, but because they enunciated those doctrines and exercised those functions without submitting—in common with the clergy of the equally State-subsidised Evangelical Church—to certain preliminary formalities enjoined by the law and having no bearing whatever on the doctrines they professed, except so far as related to the supreme temporal authority of the Pope. Their blood has not crimsoned the streets of German towns as the penalty for holding "heretical"

opinions, as that of the Protestant martyrs of St. Bartholomew ensanguined the streets of Paris; nor have their bones whitened on "Alpine mountains cold" like those of the "slaughtered saints" massacred by Catholics in Piedmont; they have not, like the Puritan Pilgrim Fathers, been compelled to trust themselves and all they loved to stormy seas and seek refuge on a desolate shore in order to escape bitter persecution, often ending in violent death. These were the true "victims" of religious intolerance: not priests who, knowing that their very ordination was unlawful, knew also from the first the temporary inconveniences to which it would expose them. Perhaps the nearest parallel to their position was that of the so-called "faithful" as opposed to the "constitutional" priesthood of the Gallican Church in 1792. In both cases the law triumphed, as it always must triumph when based on reason and equity. For his opposition to the law of the land, Louis XVI. lost his crown and life; by enforcing it William I. has materially strengthened his government. If "victims" like the present would read history, they would recognise the virtue of obedience, and that *preces et lachrymæ sunt arma ecclesia*. Unfortunately, those who are most imperative in exacting, aye, and tyrannical in enforcing obedience to themselves, are often the first and most obstinate rebels when brought under the law by others.

The morning after the curé had, on his return home, discovered the decree of banishment affixed to his door, a police agent arrested him when leaving the altar after celebrating mass. The distress of the congregation was extreme. Men and women, old people and children, with tears streaming down their faces, pressed round their priest to bid him farewell. He was taken to the *mairie*, and there told that he must pay the expenses of the journey to K—— both for himself and the policeman who was to accompany him. This he would not do; and he was next ordered to go on foot, which he said he *could* not do; a medical certificate to this effect was procured, and, finally, a gentleman placing his carriage at the curé's disposal, he and his escort started in comfort so far as locomotion went, though he had not been allowed to wait to take breakfast or even supply himself with money before starting, which certainly seems a most unnecessary piece of severity. On reaching the high road there was a skirmish with a mounted gendarme, who demanded the

curé's passport, and finding he had only verbal instructions from the mayor, sent the policeman back to procure the necessary document. "Permission to be banished" certainly seems to be the highest effort of the genius of red tape!

The cheerless journey was then pursued, till at nine o'clock on a piercingly cold night the curé reported himself at a *mairie*, the official chief of which proved to be an old schoolfellow. No recollection of days when they had studied and played together, however, softened the sternness of the man in power towards the proscribed priest; and a room in the Thor, an old half-ruined gate tower, sometimes used as a prison, was the only hospitality extended to the curé. Next morning he resumed his progress on foot, a fresh "guardian angel," in the form of a herculean gendarme, furnished with rifle and ammunition, taking the place of the policeman, who had returned with the carriage. The new escort, in spite of casque and carbine, shaggy beard and beetling brows, was "gentle-natured;" and when the country people on the road greeted the priest with the pious ejaculation, "Praised be Jesus Christ!" the gendarme soon learnt to join in the response—"For ever and ever!" At nightfall the frontier was crossed, and the gendarme, offering his hand with rough kindliness, left his sometime prisoner to pursue his way alone.

"A keen wind drifted the snow into my face," says the curé; "the bare trees swung their branches over my way, like so many skeletons mockingly greeting me, until I began to feel myself a veritable Schinderhannes, haunting those lonely places in the mist and darkness." Taking a sudden resolution, the curé retraced his steps, re-entered the district of Treves, and returned to the house of a brother curé, a hospitable old man, personally a stranger to the *proscrit* until he sheltered him on his outward way. There the "Victim" was received with equal surprise and kindness—fed, warmed, housed for the night, and supplied with the (paper) "sinews of war." Thus heartened, he next morning "entered the jaws of the lion"—*i.e.*, took train for Treves itself, the capital of the district he was forbidden to enter. Exchanging his cassock for "a fashionable little coat, a round hat, and a travelling bag," he describes himself as "strutting fearlessly in the streets by the side of the *sergents de ville*,"

ruminating what trade or profession he should adopt. He decided on that of "commercial traveller in wines," and completed his disguise by growing a beard and thick black moustache. Thus transformed the curé revisited the parish he was supposed to have quitted "for ever;" visited his house to collect the articles he thought most necessary; and took refuge with "a good and brave Catholic," who made it known in the parish that the curé had returned, and would celebrate mass next morning. Before the curé entered the crowded building, one of his churchwardens, unknown to him, made a collection for his benefit, and put a well-filled purse in his hands when service was over. He then heard confessions, administered Holy Communion, baptised two children, and visited the sick. By eight o'clock the police were on the alert, knocking at the door of the house in which the priest was sheltered. But he was safely hidden "over the well," between the windlass and the roof, and by nightfall he made his escape to the house of a neighbouring curé. Thence he found his way to the chief town of the canton, and amused himself by spending the evening at the Hotel de la Poste, in order, in his capacity of commercial traveller, to mingle with the advanced political society of the place, and exchange opinions on the *Kulturkampf*. The mayor, tax-gatherer, notary and prefect were sufficient to form a *concensus* of liberal opinion against which the *soi-disant* commercial traveller, speaking from a wide experience gained in traversing the length and breadth of the land, defended the cause of the proscribed priests, ably and temperately from his peculiar point of view; describing his own proceedings at K—— as though he had been merely a looker-on, but with so much sympathy that the doctor's suspicions were aroused, and he muttered something (very near the truth) about a "Jesuit in disguise." "You are signally mistaken, sir," replied the priest, smiling. "I am a traveller in wines, a Liberal, and a friend of the Empire. I have no secret at the inn; my business is to dispose of good wine."

We have seldom encountered a piece of more gratuitous deception than this. It served no purpose whatever. The curé was perfectly aware beforehand of his companions' opinions, and could not have flattered himself for a moment that a few chance remarks would subvert them. The extremest charity cannot attribute his seeking this

interview to anything but a spirit of bravado—the same spirit which inspired his farewell words on leaving the hotel: "Since the matter touches you so closely," he said, "you have only to see that the church is guarded next Sunday morning from five to six o'clock. There is no doubt whatever that the curé will be somewhere about the place at that time."

A few days afterwards the curé accepted an invitation from a friend also nominally "exiled" to a village divided by the Moselle from the frontier of Luxembourg. He arrived on the feast of the patron saint, and assisted by a third priest, "supposed to be in prison," celebrated High Mass at nine o'clock.

"The Catholics, it need not be said, had taken precautions against surprise. A boat was in readiness to transport us to the Luxembourg frontier, all other boats being removed to a distance and firmly moored. Sentinels were posted in all directions, to give warning if a red or green collar came in sight. . . Scarcely was mass over (and we had said it rapidly), scarcely was the blessed Sacrament replaced in the tabernacle, when a young man rushed breathlessly into the church, exclaiming, 'They come!' The people, who were rejoicing to have their curé once more amongst them, became alarmed and excited. We quickly laid aside our sacerdotal vestments, exhorted the congregation to keep quiet, and hastened away towards the Moselle. We were hardly out of the churchyard before we saw, two hundred paces off, a couple of gendarmes dashing after us at full speed. 'Halt!' roared our pursuers, endeavouring to accelerate their frantic gallop; as may readily be supposed, we did not slacken our pace, and not being encumbered by cassocks or cloaks, we were quickly on board the boat and far from shore. It was fortunate that we were, for one of the gendarmes was only twenty paces off, and the other had already one foot in the river. We shouted to them our heartfelt pity for having put themselves into such a violent heat on our account, and begged them to wipe their flushed brows and take a little repose. By this time we were safe on the soil of Luxembourg, which has not yet become acquainted with the *Kulturkampf* and its racing gendarmes. The parishioners stood waving their hats and handkerchiefs on the opposite bank."

The curé's next adventure occurred on his way to visit some relations. Scarcely had he stepped on board the river steamer when he recognised among his fellow-passengers one of the gendarmes who had assisted in his first expulsion from Treves. Not trusting to his beard and

secular dress, the curé appealed to the captain—a fellow-student, like the mayor before mentioned—for some additional safeguard against identification. The captain arrayed his old comrade in a sailor's red jacket and a cap adorned with a steel anchor, a costume which, though the seams of the jacket cracked ominously, effectually disguised him during the journey. Returning to his own parish by midnight on the following Saturday, the curé went immediately to the church, heard confessions and said mass with darkened windows and shaded lights. After mass followed Holy Communion and Benediction, and by four o'clock the curé had left his parish far behind him. "I afterwards learnt," he says, "that the prefect, acting on the advice I had obligingly given him" when joining, in the character of a commercial traveller, the symposium at the Hotel de la Poste, "had the church guarded from five o'clock, and the police remained vainly shivering at their posts through the coldest hours of the morning."

This passage, like that describing the mass performed at the village on the Moselle, suggests an obvious reflection. What can be the worth to the parishioners of a religious service scrambled through while "dodging" the authorities; convened in disguise; celebrated in defiance of the law; protected by falsehood, and terminating in a race with the police? What sort of devotional feeling can animate priests or people while the former "chaff" the police and the latter cheer the runaways? Those eyes must indeed be blinded by prejudice which cannot see what scandal such a course of illegality brings on the sacred cause of religion—what a powerful weapon it places in the hands of the infidel and the scoffer.

This game at hide-and-seek, no matter how cleverly played, could not go on for ever The curé's churchwarden made arrangements for his performing mass by night in four neighbouring villages, where his parishioners were to meet him. "All precautions have been taken," wrote the official. "Brave and trusty young men will be placed as sentinels; the signal is a short sharp whistle; the cry of the cuckoo will indicate that everything is in order." For three Sundays these safeguards availed; on the fourth, as the curé was traversing the fields at midnight, about three hundred paces from the end of his journey, he heard a sharp whistle. Another, close at hand, answered. "I

saw no one, and hesitated. This signal warned me that the police were abroad. At the same moment I heard the sound of horse's hoofs. It was bright moonlight. Soon I saw the pointed helmet of a mounted gendarme, and heard a rough voice ask, 'Who is whistling there?'" Resistance would have been useless; and the curé, taken for the second time before the mayor of N——, was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and exile from Germany. The sentence seems to have overwhelmed him, though it had been long foreseen and repeatedly invited. He complains bitterly, also, of hardships to which he was exposed in prison—"the *régime* of a house of correction,"—adding, with curious dulness to the effect of his own narrative, that "the deprivation of personal liberty would suffice to hinder the 'illegal' exercise of public functions." Of course it would—for the time. But the gist of his story is that nothing short of banishment will prevent proscribed priests from resuming those functions directly their term of imprisonment expires. Being warned that if he did not leave the country within forty-eight hours after his release from prison the public force would conduct him beyond the frontier—"I simply declared," says the curé, "that my conscience as a Catholic priest would not allow me to go away of my own accord, and quietly awaited the result." A very touching and impressive description of his aged mother's farewell visit, and of the secret celebration of midnight mass in his church on Christmas Eve, 1874, is then given. Since that time, it would appear, the "exile" has been wandering about the country and the frontier of the country from which he is nominally banished; fulfilling the prohibited offices of his vocation whenever and wherever he can do so without detection. He throws a great deal of pathos and solemnity into his descriptions of these services, but the effect left on the mind of his readers—at all events of his Protestant readers—is not precisely what he would desire. A story is told of a pious and conscientious clown, who deplored to a friend the pantomimic necessity he was under of playing tricks on the stage policeman. "The little boys see it, sir," said the clown, "and they thinks it rare fun; and perhaps they goes away and tries to imitate it, and when they're taken before the magistrate he tells them they're a disgrace to their families. But what am I to do? *It's what I was brought up to.*"

No doubt Catholic priests are "brought up" to consider

themselves perfectly justified in breaking and evading what they consider profane ordinances. But does it never occur to them that they are setting a bad example, and that some at least among their congregations may not always discriminate between sacred and secular laws; so that prisons made familiar to priests "for conscience' sake" may be very unconscientiously entered by some of their parishioners? The political wisdom of the Government in enforcing such severe regulations, however far the conduct of the Catholic clergy may have provoked them, is another question. It is certain that neither persecution on the one hand, nor martyrdom on the other, answers in these days. Nor must it be forgotten that the German Constitution recognises Religion as a department of the State with its Minister, like Commerce, Marine, or War; and that as the Catholic Church is recognised and State-subsidised, under the control of that Minister, who is responsible to the German Parliament for its legal administration, no hardship can be pleaded by men who accept their stipends from that department on the plain and unequivocal understanding that they shall perform the functions of their several offices in accordance with the law of the land. Whether it would not have been the better, as it would certainly have been the simpler, policy merely to stop the stipends of the "nonjuring" bishops and priests—giving them notice of ejectment on a certain date in the event of their not conforming to the law, and preferring properly qualified men to fill the vacant sees and cures (as was the policy of the Government of William and Mary in England*)—is not for us to decide. To our mind, of course, all State interference in religious matters is a mistake, and doubtless Germany, as she progresses in political knowledge, will come to the same conviction. But so long as clergy *are* State-paid it cannot be denied that the State has the right to enforce obedience to its laws, when those laws are not doctrinal but administrative. "That creed will always com-

* We should be careful to distinguish the difference in principle between the case of our "Victim" and that of the Archbishop of Posen. The former, having been illegally ordained, his orders were invalid *ab initio;* and in performing priestly functions he was, in the eye of the law, an interloper: whereas the latter, legally in possession of his see, was, for non-compliance with the new regulations, sentenced to deprivation of that which he was perhaps justified in regarding as a freehold under the Prussian Constitution of 1850.

mand most followers," it has been observed, "which can show most martyrs—real or assumed." We doubt the truth of the observation. Any excess, whether of authority or of zeal, is sure to be followed by a proportionate reaction; and this inevitable law is now working in Germany. Of course our "Victim" will not recognise this law any more readily than those of Dr. Falk. Doubtless he regards the reactionary spirit which has gradually characterised German home policy, and certain rumoured concessions to be made by the Imperial Government, as the special interposition of Providence in favour of the Catholic Church, and the manifestation of the Divine blessing on those "faithful" priests who were faithful even unto martyrdom. But as if to negative such an assumption, it has been rumoured also that Leo XIII.—who is of a more conciliatory disposition than his predecessor the Infallible Pio Nono—is not unwilling to meet the Emperor's concessions half-way.

The "Victim's" story, therefore, besides its intrinsic interest and the vigorous style in which it is written (admirably reproduced by the translator), may soon possess additional value as representing a phase of conflict and disturbance temporary and extinct. Adventitious importance has been given to the book by the Berlin Government; suppressed in Prussian Germany, it has reappeared in Brussels, Paris, and London, to be read with greater avidity. This fact in itself warrants the inference that error has not been on one side only; and therefore, while we would warn Prince Bismarck that he is warring against the spirit of the nineteenth century with a fourteenth century weapon borrowed from the armoury of the Vatican—an *Index Expurgatorius*—we must remind the "Victim," and all those who agree with him, that defiance of authority is contrary to the teaching of the Founder of Christianity. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," saith St. Paul. "For there is no power but of God. Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil. . . . Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath but for *conscience' sake*."

ART. IV.—1. *Map of the South African Republic (Transvaal).* By F. JEPPE, F.R.G.S. S. W. Silver and Co., 66 and 67, Cornhill, London.

2. *South Africa, Past and Future.* By JOHN NOBLE, Clerk of the House of Assembly of the Cape Colony. London: Longmans and Co. Cape Town, South Africa: J. C. Juta.

3. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa.* By DAVID LIVINGSTONE, LL.D., D.C.L. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.

THE entire territory claimed by the late South African Republic, and enclosed by the green shading of Mr. Jeppe's map, extends from 20° 15′ to 28° 22′ south latitude, and from 25° 10′ to 32° 10′ east longitude. The extreme length from the south-west, near the diamond fields, to the north-east, is 560 miles; but as the southern side extends to mere points both on the east and west, if reduced to a parallelogram it would present a figure of about 300 miles by 350, which would give 105,000 square miles of surface. There has been no thorough survey of the country, so that we can only approximate to the true measurement, and the above is as near as we can come to it at present. The elevation varies from 3,000 feet at the outflow of the Blood River to over 7,000 feet in the hills of the Verzamelberg near Wakerstroom, 6,000 feet in the Lydenburg district, and 5,000 feet in the Magalisberg. Large portions of this territory have never been occupied by the Boers, nor did their Government exercise any authority in it; but as it was claimed as a part of the Transvaal, it is included within its limits by Mr. Jeppe, who for many years was a responsible officer of the Republican Government.

A little more than one half of the Transvaal pours its waters by the Buffalo, Pongola, Crocodile and Limpopo Rivers into the Indian Ocean; and the remainder by the Vaal and Orange Rivers into the Atlantic. The central water-shed is midway between Heidelburg and Pretoria, and in a valley to the east of the road is the most

southerly source of the Limpopo. In nearly the same latitude to the west rise sundry other of its tributaries, every valley and elevated plain furnishing its quota in this well-watered country. Still further to the west rises the Marico, which keeps a course nearly parallel to the border, until augmented by numerous other streams it joins the Limpopo, on the north-west shoulder of the border. To the north-east of the central water-shed are the sources of the Olifant's River, which, like the others, has a feeder in every valley. Its main branches run northward, and finally becoming one just to the north of Sekukuni's mountain, it takes a turn to the east, and enters the Limpopo about forty miles from the sea. The sources of the Olifant's River, with the exception of the most westerly, are in a range of country whose average height is nearly 6,000 feet; but the original summit is now only represented by long ridges and tops of isolated hills, from whose sides valleys and gorges have been scooped to the depth of from 1,000 to 2,000 feet by igneous and aqueous action of great violence and long continuance. The scenery of this part of the Transvaal is everywhere grand, now with an element of beauty, and then of ruggedness. Now and again, as the traveller passes on his way, he comes to an elevated ridge, from which, in the clear atmosphere, he has a distinct view of fifty miles of country, in which is scarcely a straight line, but a succession of mountains, apparently thrown together in utter confusion, of all shapes, and in sizes varying from one to twenty miles of top, everywhere covered with grass or bush, except where a perpendicular side has left no foothold for more than the long tresses of grey moss, or white patches of lichen, which present a contrast to the deep green of the foliage, or the lighter green of the grass. Occasionally he comes to the edge of a deep gorge, in the bottom of which runs a rapid stream, whose water has carried so much tannin from the bogs at its source as to paint black all the iron-stones of its bed and give the colour of ink to the water as beheld from above, except where it is broken into snow-white foam as it tumbles in a cascade or rushes along a rapid. And as he inspects the whole, he will see here a gentle slope covered with light-coloured grass and spotted over with solitary or clumped mimosa, and just opposite a perpendicular wall 400 feet deep, straight and clean as though cut with a saw. On the right a tall bluff

rises 800 feet from the water, with its crest not more than a sixth of a mile from the line of the stream, on whose face not a yard of smoothness appears: all is rugged and irregular, while here and there gnarled and stunted thorns in every degree of distortion complete the picture of savageness. On the left he may see a succession of semi-detached hills on either side, descending by a series of irregular terraces to the stream. And if he is not troubled with the question—How shall I scramble to the bottom and get out on the other side? he will find in the scene before him enough to fill his mind for hours, as he endeavours to answer the questions, How came so large a stream out of that hill, when on two other sides, and only two or at the most three miles distant, other rivers of equal volume are pouring forth? By what means has this deep river bed been cut, now, out of solid lava or trap, and then, only at short distance and superior elevation, out of finely laminated shale? And still further, How have those bold hills been scooped and rounded till every angle has been rubbed off? Volcanic action may have done some of the work, and aqueous abrasion something else. But how is it that the rounding of abrasion is at the top, where in the present order of things the water cannot have been, and the deep cleft at the bottom? And how comes the strange mixture of sand-stone, trap, shale, quartz, and lava in such close proximity, and in such apparent confusion? When all the questions are disposed of and he has reached the opposite edge, he may come on a fine open valley, well watered, very fertile, and already the home of wealthy Boers, whose skilful toil has made a paradise on the border of a howling wilderness.

All through this mountainous district to the north-east, the open broad valleys have a good soil and a salubrious equable climate, free from the extremes of heat and cold which prevail severally at different parts of the year in other districts. Wheat of specially fine quality is grown in as heavy a crop as Kent and Essex yield with superior culture; and its excellence is seen in the fact that a sack of wheat grown among these mountains obtained a gold medal at the first Paris Exhibition. Here also cattle thrive, the few sheep they have do well; and there is no reason why on the shoulders and tops of the mountains they should not find a suitable pasturage in the summer, and in the valleys in the winter. Fruit and all European

vegetables grow quickly and attain great perfection, so that this picturesque country is capable of sustaining a large population. The narrow valleys, which in many cases are only widened gullies, have no bottom for cultivation; and their sides—covered with fragments of broken-up trap, which at one time lay in thick beds over the entire surface of the country—only furnish scanty subsistence to the goats and cattle of the Kafirs.

This district of the Transvaal is especially rich in metals. On the south-western edge a cobalt mine has been wrought for the last eight years; while copper, lead, and gold have been found in small quantities. Through the whole rich iron ore abounds; mountains of it frequently occurring, some of which are so powerfully magnetic as to disturb the motion of a watch and render the theodolite useless for miles around. In other cases, hematite lies in horizontal slabs on the surface, or is turned up in dykes approaching perpendicular; in either case, from its weight and sharp ring, it must contain a large percentage of metal. Here also are the Lydenburg gold fields, in the valleys of the Blyde and Sabie Rivers, the former a tributary of the Olifant's, and the latter of the Crocodile.

Pilgrims' Rest, the best known of these fields, is a deep cleft in the mountain at a right angle to the Blyde River at its western end, about four miles in length, an average depth of 1,000 feet, with a breadth varying from three-quarters of a mile to a mile and a half, and rising up to a height of 2,000 feet from the river, at the top end. This excavation has apparently been made by volcanic eruption followed by long-continued and intense aqueous trituration and scouring. The proof of the first is seen in the great depth of lava which yet covers the tops of the sides; in the thick coating of calcined quartz, which is found all over the sides, below the present soil; in the molten condition of the gold found; and in the discoloration of masses of decomposed granite, by the passage of smoke containing large quantities of unconsumed carbon. The violent stream force which at a remote period prevailed is seen in the rounding of masses of lava, of from one to twenty feet square, with which the bottom is covered—in some cases at a depth of thirty feet from the present surface—and in the deposit of the gold, at the upper edges of the obstructions in this the original bed of the stream. Over the ridge, at the top of Pilgrims' Rest, is *Mac-Mac*,

where only partial and feeble volcanic action has occurred, and where the gold found is bright and angular, as though it had just fallen from its quartz matrix. Twenty miles further on, in the same direction, is *Spitz Kop*, which, as its name signifies, is an isolated mountain, around whose foot good deposits of gold have been found.

The quantity of gold which has been obtained from these fields is not known, as there has been no attempt at registry; but in the early part of 1874 the Gold Commissioner—a digger of twenty-five years' experience in California, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere—told the writer that at that time more gold had been taken out of Pilgrims' Rest than out of any "creek" in New Zealand. And several others, who had been in nearly all the open fields of the world, assured him that there were no richer diggings in any part of the world at the present time; and that the only thing which prevented them summoning their friends was the limited area in which, as yet, they could work. Before they could complete their arrangements for examining the country around, the war with Sekukuni occurred, and the collapse of the Boer Government; since which time there has not been sufficient security for the working of the part already occupied, much less for extension to undeveloped fields. Gold has been found in quantities sufficient for profitable working, all over the valley of the Blyde, to a distance of eight miles square: in about half that space at Mac-Mac, and somewhat less at Spitz Kop. More than one hundred miles to the north-west, at *Marabasstaad*, a reef of great richness was discovered in 1872 by Mr. Button, but it proved to be only a fragment, like those found in the neighbourhood of Pilgrims' Rest. Alluvial gold was found there, and the persuasion is general that it will yet prove productive. West-west by south, two hundred miles distant, another field has been worked at *Bluebank*, situated on the edge of Magalisberg; and in each case the intervening country presents indications of great promise to experienced prospectors. To the south it has been found as far as the Komati, a branch of the Crocodile. Thus, we have an extent of country 200 miles square, which is certainly gold-bearing, with a range further north supposed to be richer than any yet explored. Now that the settlement of the Sekukuni rebellion is near, we may hope for the development of the gold fields to an extent

which will fully reveal their richness, which those who know them best believe to be immense.

In no part of the world can gold digging be pursued under more favourable circumstances. The climate is most pleasant and healthful, the country around is sufficiently fertile to supply abundant food, and the number of natives great enough to furnish the required labour. Whether they will be ready to leave their kraals for work, when no longer stimulated by the hope of buying a gun, remains yet to be seen; but after the impoverishment of a long war, the probability is they will be glad to secure food which will be scarce, and cattle which will nearly all have perished during four years' hostilities. All who wish well to the Transvaal, wish this industry full scope, especially because by introducing population it will open a market to a part of the country which has great agricultural capabilities, but which is so distant from an available port, that it is likely to be but sparsely peopled for many years to come, unless it obtained such a start as a large number of diggers would give.

It will be seen by the map that the Lydenburg gold fields are the nearest occupied part of the Transvaal to Delagoa Bay, to which port the late President of the South African Republic projected a railway, and to which the British Government is in some sort committed, as they have formally accepted the claims and responsibilities of their predecessors. But we judge that the railway will not be made during the life of the next generation. Delagoa Bay is the best harbour on the east coast, both in extent of deep water and ease of entrance; but it is surrounded by undrainable swamps, whose poisonous vapours enwrap it in a belt of death. Any European visiting it only for a few days, except for two months in the depth of winter, almost certainly gets fever, from which not more than one in six recover. Then the moment you escape from the domain of fever, you come within the range of the *Tsetse-fly*, which would prevent the use of animals, either horses or oxen, in the construction of the railway. And as the two occupy all the country below the mountain boundary, they render it unfit for European occupation, and so give a band of desolation which would furnish no work for the railway when made. The other plan, which proposes to bring a railway from Durban to Pretoria, would have no difficulty of climate to contend

with, but a salubrious fertile country from beginning to end, each part prepared with its quota of transport, and through one-third of the way coal would be found on its borders. This also would have the additional advantage of being all through British territory, and therefore not open to the danger of Custom House squabbles with the Portuguese, which the route from Delagoa Bay would involve.

Coal has been found in the Transvaal, from the line of junction with Natal, through the Utrecht and Wakerstroom districts, up the eastern border to the immediate vicinity of the iron mountains of Lydenburg, and below Potchefstroom, on the Vaal River. This has been found without search, only as it is exposed in the face of a cliff, or at the bottom of a water-course. And as in many cases it is found in the same place in successive seams, through from 500 to 1,000 feet of sandstone, the fair inference is, that one-half of the country is a rich coal field. The quality of the coal varies as much as in England and Wales, but nearly all produces a good welding heat, and is suitable for domestic fuel.

Lead is abundant on the western side, in the Marico district, from whence nearly all which is now used in this part of Africa is supplied.

As yet, the Transvaal has only furnished gold, cobalt, hides, and a little wool for export. But a large portion of the southern and eastern sides is well suited for sheep. And when the practice of feeding off the grass has taken the place of burning it, a suitable supply of winter food will be found; and this, as every other farming operation, will return a profit in excess of increased labour. The farms are 6,000 acres in extent, and as yet have been merely sheep or cattle runs, on which no labour is expended, beyond the small enclosure needed for the wheat, mealies, and vegetables of the family. With this large acreage, the farmer often finds his stock without food in the winter, because some one miles away has set fire to the grass, and thus made the country a desert, to the extent of an English county. In such case, he has to inspan his waggon, and go off with family and cattle to some more favoured region. The present results of farming, in such conditions, furnish no criterion of the capabilities of the country for the breeding and feeding of cattle, or for the growing of grain. But the configuration

and water supply of the country, especially the middle and southern portion, show it to be capable of feeding large herds, and growing an almost unlimited quantity of wheat and other grain, and so of sustaining a large population. Nearly the whole of the Transvaal in former times was overrun by innumerable herds of large game. Eland, Blessbock, Wildebeest (or Gnu), Springbock and Quagga were so numerous, that for days you might ride with thousands always in view. In some parts, this was the case within the last twelve years. But in that time, the thousands have been reduced to tens, and soon the stately rhythmatic march of the Blessbock, the roguish gambols of the Wildebeest, and the fantastic leaping and nervous flight of the Springbock, will no more give animation to the scene. No one can have witnessed the free and abundant life of these undulating plains, without rejoicing that he crossed them before their native denizens were shot down or scared away. In the former times, the joy of the sportsman must have been great; but we question if it surpassed that of the more peaceful spectator, who found varied, high, and constant delight in watching the idiosyncrasies of such exuberant life, which, while generically one, broke forth in every variety of specific form.

The great want of the Transvaal is timber forests. The largest is at the Pongola, on the south-eastern border; next in extent to this is one at the Komati, and several very small ones near to the gold fields. The quality of the timber grown in the Transvaal is greatly inferior to the same kinds grown in the Cape Colony. This, however, need not be a difficulty in time to come, as all kinds of trees grow with great luxuriance in all parts of the country. The Blue Gum in twenty years gives a trunk which squares from 12 in. to 16 in. 20 feet from the ground, and furnishes another 20 feet of less dimensions above. The timber of this tree is the colour of satin-wood, and in grain and strength equal to Spanish mahogany. Some other of the gums have the colour as well as the grain of mahogany, and all furnish a timber of first-class quality for buildings, implements, and furniture. There is also a species of poplar, which has been grown for many years in the Cape Colony, which is invaluable to the new settler, and which is already to be found on some farms. A piece of moist land is ploughed up, and small plants are inserted at twenty yards apart; these immediately grow,

and from every joint of their roots send up a new plant, which second generation we have seen produce rods of eight feet in twelve weeks. The new shoots start on an independent existence and also send forth prolific roots, so that in five years there is a forest, from an acre of which can be cut straight rafters and beams forty feet long, with laths sufficient for the farm buildings of a large homestead. And the thinning will only enable the roots, now fully ramified, to force on new growth with greater rapidity. Thus, while the settler will find it expensive to erect his first temporary buildings, it will be his own fault if he does not find sufficient timber from his own land for those permanent erections which will bear proportion to the extent of his farm.

At the commencement of this century, the Transvaal was occupied by various tribes of the Bechuana nation, who were located through the central, northern, and western portions, but were never numerous in the mountains and plains of the south-eastern part among the sources of the Vaal River. They seem to have avoided the open bleak plains; but no sooner does the traveller of to-day pass from the rolling plain to the broken hill country, than he finds in the sheltered valleys the remains of towns, some of which must have contained thousands of people. In the north-east these ruins so frequently occur, that the population must have been much more dense than in any of the countries now occupied by the aborigines. Somewhere about 1825 the southern half of the country was overrun by Moselekatsi, who had been sent on an expedition by Tshaka, the Zulu king, and having appropriated a part of the plunder, he was afraid to return when he learned that Tshaka was acquainted with his delinquency. He therefore cast off his allegiance and commenced an independent rule of his own. But as this would not have been safe anywhere near the Zulu border, he traversed the whole of the Transvaal from east to west, carrying—after true Zulu fashion—desolation in his track; and finally settled outside the south-west border, a little to the north of Kurnman, at that time the station of the Rev. R. Moffat. Thus it was that, with the exception of the mountains in the north, the country was denuded of natives, and consequently open for occupation at the time the Boers arrived.

The character of the Boer immigration is a complex

problem which cannot be summarily disposed of, not only because of the original difficulties, but also because the various forces which were its cause have not yet expended their strength, but are now in all their complication as vigorous as at the beginning. The most prominent peculiarity of the Boers is their religion, which was earnest and pervading, but disfigured by the reprobation of all black and coloured races, which, if not the cause of their opposition to them, at any rate gave a respectable and *quasi* conscientious support to it, which secured its permanence. But, before we pass a severe sentence on them for this—the worst side of their character—it must be remembered that the only fair rule of judgment is the opinion and practice of the Evangelical Church at the end of the seventeenth century. Not that same opinion and practice in our own country after two centuries of successful conflict with the powers of darkness, in which every victory has rescued some important common right, and widened the base of our liberty on an individual inviolability. While we have been nursed in the lap of liberty, and for many generations have had the quickening power of the Gospel ameliorating our character, refining our thought, and purifying our nature by a godly benevolence which leads to all good works, for which our circumstances have given occasion, they have been the objects of a narrow and oppressive despotism, which has violated all their rights, driven them over the face of the country in isolated units, and so prevented the solace and elevation which a free and full discussion and mutual conduct of the common affairs of life produces, and thus condemned them, at best, to perpetual stagnation.

The Cape Boers or Farmers, although speaking the Dutch language, and commonly called Dutch, are, nevertheless, principally Frenchmen, descendants of Huguenots, who first took refuge in Holland, and then, at the direction of the Dutch East India Company, were sent out to the Cape of Good Hope, in response to a request of Van der Stell, at that time commander of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, who wished some persons to be sent to cultivate the soil, and thus by their labour increase the value of the settlement to the Company. 1688 was the time of their departure from Europe, and about one hundred and sixty the number of the emigrants, who were located at two places near Cape Town, where their minister every Sunday

alternately officiated. They were supplied with seed, and, where necessary, with implements as well as provisions till their own crops furnished them; but for all this they had to pay the Company in corn and wine as soon as their lands produced these and other things their owners required. They also soon found that they were entirely in the hands of the Company, at whose stores alone they were permitted to sell their produce, and only at prices fixed by the Company's officers; the money also was paper, of no value but at "the stores," and there it ultimately fell to less than one-third of its nominal value. "In their ecclesiastical affairs, likewise, they found they were not at perfect liberty. The appointment of elders and deacons, the disposal of the poor fund, the erection or repair of church buildings—all things, in fact, were subject to the sanction and intervention of the Government. When the French community intimated their desire to have a separate vestry at Drakenstein, they were sternly admonished to remember their oath of allegiance and conform strictly thereto; to be careful for the future not to trouble the commander and council with impertinent requests, and to be satisfied with the vestry at Stellenbosch."* Mildest humanity could not endure such restraint without remonstrance, and especially men who from their childhood had fought for civil and religious liberty. But their complaints, respectfully presented, were ascribed to "national fickleness of disposition," and they were told that they had been fed by the hand of God in the wilderness, and, like the children of Israel under similar circumstances, they were already longing for the "onion pots of Egypt." Ultimately their complaints against the peculations of the commander and his friends brought redress of these special grievances, but no relaxation of the fundamental policy of the Company, "which was declared to be the enrichment of itself and not of its colonists." In 1701, the minister who accompanied the emigrants to the Cape was superseded by another, sent by "the Chamber of Seventeen," at the request of the commander of the Cape, who, as the despatch which accompanied him states, was "One who, according to your proposal and wish, understands both Dutch and French—not for the purpose of preaching in the latter tongue, but merely to be able to visit, admonish, and comfort those

* Noble, p. 11.

old colonists who do not know Dutch, so that by this means French should in time entirely die out, and nothing but Dutch should be taught to the young to read and write." In 1709 French was formally forbidden in all communications with the Government, and in 1724 the lessons were read in church in the French language for the last time. Thus, both in religion and commerce, they were held in the iron grasp of the Company, who claimed to rule them body and soul.

As there was no possibility of escape from this despotism while immediately under its eye, they began to move off to the east and the north; and, in spite of all attempts at suppression, they had spread themselves before the end of the century nearly to the Great Fish River on the east and the Orange River on the north. The only employment possible for them in these circumstances was cattle farming, which necessitated the occupation of a large tract of country, and thus separated each household from its neighbours. And, as the children of the several families commenced on their own account, they were compelled to move still further forward, in constant progression, under circumstances which imposed no restraint to the extension of their assumed estate, which often had magnificent proportions; but, remembering their opportunities, we can only wonder that, like Warren Hastings, their moderation restrained them from taking more. Their isolation fostered a spirit of independence which made each household self-sustaining, so that they had few needs which they did not themselves supply. Such a mode of existence, however, tended to a diminution rather than an increase of the luxuries of life, and so put an effectual bar on any advance of civilisation, especially as all knowledge of the outer world was cut off, and the only literature remaining to them was the Dutch Bible and Psalter, which were found in every house. The use of these two books was the means by which they were preserved from utter barbarism. True to the traditions of their race, none of these farmers considered he had attained his majority till he had been formally recognised as a member of the church by confirmation. But by their ecclesiastical law, no one could be so recognised until he had passed an examination in the history and doctrines of the Bible. Thus every man felt it to be as much his duty to teach his children to read as to feed and clothe them, and by this means an interest

was given to the Bible as the occasion of the first independent act of their opening life, which was continually increased as, year after year, they met the old friends of the family at their sacramental services. These services were the centre and the cement of their national and church life. They occurred quarterly, but were visited by the more distant members only once in the year, at those times which were most convenient for the work of their farms, from sixty to a hundred miles distant. The first meetings were on Friday, when candidates for confirmation had their final examination, meetings of elders and deacons were held, a sermon preached, or a prayer meeting conducted for an hour. Saturday morning was devoted to other meetings of elders and deacons, the afternoon to a service in which the successful candidates were individually and formally acknowledged as members, and an address suited to their new position and responsibilites was delivered to them before the congregation by the pastor. The evening was employed in prayer meetings and friendly intercourse at each other's tents and waggons. The Sunday began with a prayer meeting, then a sermon and the Lord's Supper; towards evening another sermon, and the day ended with another prayer meeting in the church, and psalm-singing in the tents. During the festival the children were baptised and the marriages solemnised, so that on the Monday they were prepared to start for their homes in the wilderness, from which they would not depart till the course of the year brought again the religious and fraternal reunion. Thus, their ecclesiastical organisation and their religious life united them; and although on their farms they had no neighbour within twenty miles, made them one people.

Those who removed northward did not find much obstruction till they came in contact with the Bushmen, who killed their Hottentot herds and stole their cattle, which led to pursuit and slaughter of the Bushmen. Those whose migrations led them eastwards also found their path open till they came near the Kafir border; but then they met a stream of black emigrants, moving in an opposite direction to themselves, and gradually extending beyond their proper boundaries, who sent out bodies of plunderers to disencumber the country and take a tentative hold of it. The depredations which the Kafirs committed were of a more serious character than those of

the Bushmen, and required more systematic and united resistance. But as they were far from the seat of Government, and there were no troops to help them if near, they elected an officer from the most competent of themselves, called a veld-cornet, of semi-magisterial and military character, whose duty it was, in case of irruption, to summon the inhabitants of the district and lead them against the depredators, recover if possible the cattle stolen, and punish the aggressors. But as these bands were composed partly of the men whose property had been plundered and whose houses had been burned, it would be to give them superhuman virtue to suppose they never stepped beyond the line of strict justice nor transgressed the obligations of international law. And starting as they did with the maxim, that all the descendants of Ham were Divinely doomed to servitude, we can see that a more unfavourable school for improved judgment could not have been found than that in which they were now placed. As this disturbed condition of the border had become chronic twenty years before the end of the last century, it will be seen that a generation of borderers had been trained in the practice of holding their possessions by their own strong arm against an ever-encroaching enemy, and with no regard to the Government under which they nominally lived, before the English took final possession of the country.

English authority was established at the Cape in 1806, and for several years was productive of harmony among all classes who came under its influence. But when the rule was extended to the outlying districts, it was found that the views of the Commissioners who were appointed to settle the borders, and establish a real authority among the people, were so contrary to the opinions and habits of the farmers, that, from the first, continual friction occurred in working the new Government. Nor was the blame always on the side of the farmers, but in many cases it arose from the inability of men who had spent their whole life in civilised communities to apprehend the real conditions of a semi-barbarous State, and legislate and act accordingly. Some of the more violent of the Boers appeared in arms against the Government, but the rebellion was suppressed by the troops and loyal burghers; forts were erected on the border, and Graham's Town was made a central military depot for the Kafir border. This

gave a feeling of security to the colonists, and a prosperous occupation of the country continued till the end of 1834, when 20,000 Kafirs, under Macomo and Tyali, suddenly, unexpectedly, and without provocation, burst on the colony, killing the people who were living in security on their farms, burning their houses, and carrying off their cattle and property. Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith led the military and burgher forces into Kafirland, dispersed the enemy, and compelled them to sue for peace; when as a punishment for the past, and as a means of security for the future, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, at that time governor, removed the defeated natives over the Kei River, and a portion of the intervening country was given to the Fingoes, who were remnants of certain Zulu tribes who had fled from Natal to escape extermination by Tshaka.

This Kafir invasion had cost the colonists a heavy price in men and property; but although they nearly all had to begin *de novo*, yet they set themselves cheerfully to the repair of their dilapidated fortunes, because they saw in the removal of the Kafirs from their border greater hope of safety and peace in the future. But when intelligence came of the reversal of Sir B. D'Urban's settlement by Lord Glenelg, at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that Macomo and Tyali were to be brought back into their old positions of mischief and danger, and that this order was accompanied by a despatch which threw all the blame on the colonists and exonerated the Kafirs, while it left no hope of more just judgment in the future, and entirely destroyed the sense of security, a universal cry of disappointment and vexation went forth from the English residents, who saw that they had been decoyed into the wilderness by a Government which had promised them protection, and as soon as their industry had produced wealth enough to be a temptation to their neighbours, had thrown the blame of their robbery on themselves, and made them undo the only probable work of protection for the future. Sir B. D'Urban expostulated with the Secretary, but this led to his own dismissal, and so certain was he that his own settlement was necessary, that he did not return to England until the impossibility of the altered plan was demonstrated, and after another protracted Kafir war had taken place, that settlement was re-established.

But while the English colonists submitted to the arrangements of the Colonial Office, and employed all constitutional means of amelioration, in the hope that in the political changes of home another Minister of juster views might arise, their Dutch neighbours regarded it as a proof that they should never be able to secure equitable treatment from a Government carried on by men who did not know, and who would not learn their condition; and, therefore, they determined to leave the country, and find a new home where they could protect and govern themselves. They had already been greatly annoyed and plundered by the Kafirs on the northern border, and were unable to obtain redress, because they were not permitted to practise the old plan of pursuit and rescue, and the Government had no effectual means of help, so that continuance in their present state was almost impossible. And just before the outbreak of the war the slaves had been emancipated, which they looked on as an act of injustice on the part of a Government which had only a few years before sanctioned their introduction, and had partly derived its revenue from their importation. But they were especially aggrieved by the way in which the compensation was paid; not in cash, but in bills payable in London. Their knowledge of commerce extended but little further than a simple process of buying and selling; they consequently became the dupes of nefarious English traders, who first persuaded them that the paper was worthless, and then, as an act of charity, bought it, in some cases at eighteenpence in the pound. These causes, all concurring, produced a general feeling of disgust, which induced many of the most respectable and wealthy men, not on the border simply, but all over the colony, to renounce for ever the British rule. The number of the emigrants is unknown, but by an average of the estimates we get over 7,000, who sold their farms for what they could get, and with the money thus obtained took their flocks and herds over the Orange River, to seek their fortunes in an unknown land. Under various leaders a large portion of them left in 1835, and in the following year, Pieter Retief, who had been field-commandant of the Winterberg district, "after an irritating correspondence with the lieutenant-governor, which produced no relief to his fellow-countrymen, openly joined the general trek."

On the accession of Retief, he was accepted by all as

their leader and chief. On reaching the border, "he published a manifesto, declaring the motives of the emigrants for taking so important a step, and announcing the relations in which they desired to stand towards the colony, and the native tribes with whom they might come in contact." This document, signed by Retief, "by authority of the farmers," was as follows:

"We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and that it will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future. We propose in the course of our journey, and on arriving at the country in which we shall permanently reside, to make known to the native tribes our intentions and our desire to live at peace and in friendly intercourse with them. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the first principles of liberty, but whilst we will take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant."*

There was nothing in Retief's conduct contrary to this declaration. If he had been spared to complete the organisation of the new State, it may be that some of the spots which stain its escutcheon would have been absent.

The main body of the emigrants, after crossing the Orange River, moved northward towards Natal, in a line nearly parallel with the Drakensberg, till they found a pass down the mountain, near the present town of Harrismith. Along their path they had no collision with the natives, and the friendliness of their relations is seen from the fact, that Retief was able to return and obtain from Sykonyella the cattle he had taken from Dingaan without fighting. Those who went towards the west were attacked by Moselekatsi, near the Vaal River, as they were scattered in small parties over the country. Two of these small parties were slain, and the whole army of the Matebeli assailed the main body, who had only just time to make a laagar of their wagons to receive the assault, which they repelled, but had all their cattle driven off. Soon afterwards they assembled their friends, and attacked the principle kraal of Moselekatsi, defeated the Matabeli, retook their cattle, and burned the kraal; after which they were permitted to dwell in peace. Moselekatsi, finding

* Noble, pp. 70—79.

they were dangerous neighbours, therefore moved north beyond the Transvaal border, and thus left the Boers in peace. The division which crossed the Vaal to the west remained in that part of the country, and laid out and began to build the first town of the Transvaal, which they called Clerksdorp, but which, from its unfavourable position, has never passed beyond a commencement. In the meantime their brethren, who had gone to Natal, had suffered severely from the treacherous cruelty of Dingaan, the Zulu king; but they defeated him, drove him from the country, and put his brother Panda in his place, and then proceeded to inspect and occupy the country. Before this was finished, however, the British Government took Natal, after severe fighting with the Boers, and once more brought them under its rule. Intermittent attempts at conciliation were made, but new offences in the settlement of the natives, with the remembrance of past injustice, as they regarded it, prevented the growth of confidence, and so after a few years of sullen submission the greater part of the Boers left Natal. One large band recrossed the Drakensberg at the point of their descent, and remained there until after the battle of Boom Plaats, when, with Pretorius, they crossed the Vaal, and settled in the central portion of the country. Another party had left Natal before the entrance of the English, under Hendrick Potgeiter, who commenced the building of Potchefstroom. A third, and final host, crossed the Drakensberg at the extreme north of Natal, one portion settling in the mountains, and another moving on to the north. These in their progress met the Swazi king, who at the head of his army was returning from a successful foray on Sekwatu, and from him bought the whole of the north-eastern part of the Transvaal for 150 head of cattle, one-half only to be paid then, and on the authority of the bargain they proceeded to occupy it. To this land the Swazies had no right. They had merely made a raid into it and taken what cattle they could find; while Sekwatu had taken refuge in the mountains, which his son and successor, Sekukuni, now occupies. These men, however, were honourable in their dealings with the natives, and the intercourse with Sekwatu and Sekukuni was friendly, till the commencement of the late war, which was occasioned by the action of a stranger.

Potgeiter, on his occupation of Potchefstroom, proclaimed

certain principles of government, and established veld-cornets in the district of which he was principal magistrate, or landrost. After the accession of Pretorius and his friends, the above regulations were enlarged, on the basis of the Batavian Government at the Cape, and published as the Grond-Vet, or Constitution, under which the whole Boer population was ultimately united in one body. The Grond-Vet provides for the election of a house of representatives, under the title of the *Volksraad*, with whom all legislation rests: for the appointment of a President and Executive Council; for the division of the country into magistracies, each having subordinate wards under the immediate inspection of the veld-cornet; for the maintenance of the Dutch Reformed Church; and gives *Voet*, *Van der Linden*, and *Grotius* as the legal authorities by which all civil and criminal cases are to be determined. This simple agreement was amply sufficient for the government of the original settlers, as the majority of them were industrious and law-abiding people. But as such an exodus as this from the Cape Colony would be sure to attract all the restless spirits which were discontented with established order, because it was established, and as their contests with the Zulus and the English in Natal would not fail to increase their turbulence and inflame their enmity against all government, so there were many ready from the first to assert their independent will in the teeth of all authorised decision. The absence of all coercive power in the president and the landrost rendered their decisions powerless, when contrary to the caprice of a determined party. Thus when Pretorius, the first president, learned that the people of the Verzamelberg had violated their compact with the Zulus, and the convention into which he had entered with the British Government, by becoming permanent residents below the Drakensberg, he sent them both verbal and written instructions to return, that the complications which he saw likely to arise out of this irregularity might be prevented. They, however, did not think his communication worth a reply, but continued to occupy the country as an independent republic of their own. From the beginning of their occupation of the Transvaal, if a landrost had a charge to investigate, in which a member of a large or well-supported family was concerned, the only way in which he could hope to do this fairly was by summoning the respectable men of the

district to assemble in sufficient numbers, well armed, to prevent him being coerced. In this he sometimes failed, when by stopping the process, or giving an acquittal, he permitted the delinquent to escape. When this did not occur, a nocturnal party would break open the gaol and carry off the prisoner; so that by defeat or defiance of justice the most dangerous criminals escaped, and only the friendless suffered. The whole country was easy of access from Natal, the Free State, and the Cape Colony; and such a paradise for the lawless was eagerly sought, until it became the Alsatia of South Africa. Deserters, fraudulent bankrupts, thieves and suspected murderers, made it their refuge. Many of these, being men of better education than the simple-minded and peaceable farmers, obtained employment as tutors in their families, and others positions of trust in the Government, with such results as may easily be conceived. Their Supreme Court consisted of three ordinary landrosts, and seven of the farmers of the district, of co-ordinate authority as to law and fact. No member of the court had received a legal training; they were therefore unable to unravel the complexity in which unscrupulous advocates enwrapped every plain case. We were present at one of these courts, at which one of the parties to a case of disputed title to a farm, according to his own acknowledgment, expended two cases of gin in persuading the court to a favourable judgment. In such a state of things, it was impossible to obtain justice but by the use of corrupt and unjust means; thus the courts themselves became the sources of oppression and wrong. One of the best acts of the late President Burgers was the engagement of Mr. Coetze, a competent English barrister, as the one judge of the Supreme Court. But it is questionable if he would have been able to bring his court into order, and to enforce his judgments, with the entire absence of authority in the Government. His advent synchronized with the annexation, so that he had substantial authority at his back from the beginning; but the total reformation which he has effected reflects the highest credit on his judicial character, while it has given him the respect of all classes of the community, which he is not likely to lose.

When in 1852 the English Government gave up the country "North of the Vaal River" to the Boers no other boundary was fixed, so that they were at liberty to extend

their borders as they pleased. Those of our readers who remember Livingstone's Missionary Travels will recall the case of Sechele, on whom an attack was made for no other reason than his refusal to stop English hunters and traders from passing through his country. A letter of Sechele to the Rev. R. Moffat gives a short and full account of the attack and its consequences. Page 118:

"Friend of my heart's love, and of all the confidence of my heart, I am Sechele. I am undone by the Boers, who attacked me, though I had no guilt with them. They demanded that I should be in their kingdom, and I refused; they demanded that I should prevent the English and Grequas from passing northwards. I replied, these are my friends, and I can prevent no one of them. They came on Saturday, and I besought them not to fight on Sunday, and they assented. They began on Monday morning at twilight, and fired with all their might, and burned the town with fire and scattered us. They killed sixty of my people, and captured women, and children, and men. And the mother of Balerling (a former wife of Sechele) they also took prisoner. They took all the cattle and all the goods of the Backwains; and the house of Livingstone they plundered, taking away all his goods. The number of waggons they had was eighty-five, and a cannon; and after they had stolen my own waggon and that of Macabe, then the number was eighty-eight. All the goods of the hunters were burned in the town; and of the Boers were killed twenty-eight. Yes, my beloved friend, now my wife goes to see the children, and Kobus Hae will convey her to you.

"I am, SECHELE,

"The son of Mochoasele."

Livingstone describes the purpose of these forays, and the mode in which they were conducted, as follows:

"During eight years no winter passed without one or two tribes of the east country being plundered of their cattle and children by the Boers. The plan pursued is the following:—One or two friendly tribes are forced to accompany a party of mounted Boers, and these expeditions can be got up only in the winter, when horses may be used without danger of being lost by disease. When they reach the tribe to be attacked, the friendly natives are ranged in front, to form, as they say, 'a shield;' the Boers then coolly fire over their heads till the devoted people flee and leave cattle, wives, and children to the captors. This was done nine times during my residence in the interior, and in no case was a drop of Boer's blood shed."

Forays of the above kind were made independently by the

Boers living on the Western side of the Transvaal, and in later times they were assisted by some of their less respectable brethren from the east; but the men of the Wakerstroom and Lydenburg districts did not originate any such expeditions. They, however, continued to be very frequent till about ten years since, when an imposing and partially successful one was undertaken against the tribes in the Zoutpansberg district. This last kidnapping expedition having been conducted in the manner of a war, to which the burghers were summoned by the President, and in which they were led by the Commandant-General, involved heavy expenses, which the revenue was unable to meet. Instead of imposing new taxes to meet the enlarged expenditure, they issued notes of one, five, and ten pounds nominal value, but without any other guarantee of encashment than the President's promise to pay. These notes were received at par by the Government in all payments of taxes, and by all the officials for salary; but everywhere else they speedily fell until the holders were glad to sell them at three shillings in the pound. Finding the country on the verge of ruin, a few of the merchants got themselves elected to the Volksraad, where they introduced and passed a Bill for the recall of the notes then in circulation, by the issue of a new set, for the redemption of which an adequate number of farms were transferred to trustees which were periodically to be sold, and the notes received in payment cancelled. By this means they would gradually have been withdrawn from circulation without any shock to commerce; and during the twelve months this scheme was in operation they rose from 3s. to 12s. 6d., and in a short time they would have been at par—the upward tendency being accelerated by the gathering of many thousands at the Diamond Fields, who had in a great measure to be fed by the Transvaal, whose area of cultivation was thus enlarged, and its wealth increased. This natural process of recovery, however, was stopped by Mr. Burgers, who, on accepting the office of President, arranged with a Cape Bank for the immediate redemption of the notes, which occasioned great loss and confusion in many uncompleted transactions which had been commenced on the previous basis, and saddled the country with a debt of £90,000, the interest of which they had no means of paying; so that from the first they had to borrow from other banks to pay the interest of the

redemption money. The farms which were released by the withdrawal of the notes were the security on which Mr. Burgers attempted to raise his railway loan in Holland. Only a small portion of the £100,000 was subscribed, but the whole of the land was given *en bloc* to the Dutch agents, and thus removed from the possibility of use or occupation by the Government. The sums actually paid were expended in the purchase of rails and other railway material, which have since been rusting at Delagoa Bay. This second financial scheme of the late President resulted in another imposition of debt for which there was and could be no equivalent. Under the previous financial difficulties the Landrosts and other officers of Government were paid, although in depreciated paper, but now they had in many cases no payment at all, and as a consequence those who could find other employment left, so that the whole administrative system was fast falling to pieces.

It was at this time of financial embarrassment, when there was less than nothing in the exchequer, that Mr. Burgers commenced the unnecessary war with Sekukuni. We say unnecessary, because every step which led up to it was taken by the Transvaal Government in violation of long-established custom and right, when there was nothing calling for precipitancy, but everything showing to the apprehension of a man of ordinary prudence the necessity of delay, which even of a few years would have greatly increased their chances of success. Six years further working of the gold and the diamond fields would have doubled their available wealth, greatly increased the resident population, given them opportunity of reforming and consolidating the Government and recovering the sympathy of their neighbours, which had been greatly diminished by recent irregularities. But, blinded by vain glory, prudence was thrown to the winds, and all the available men were called out on commando. "The Grand Army"—as it was officially described—of 2,000 men, under the nominal command of its ex-clerical President, came to the foot of Sekukuni's mountain, and without any attempt to take it disbanded itself, leaving the way open to a leisurely plunder of the whole country. Before this they had disgusted their Swazie allies, 3,000 of whom had been brought to assist in the attack on Johannes, a brother of Sekukuni. These they left to do all the fighting, while they lay down at a distance out of

rifle range, and then wanted to appropriate the soil. The Swazies, already disgusted at their cowardice, were enraged at their cupidity, and immediately departed, vowing that when they came again it should not be as their allies, but as their enemies. Thus, in less than three months from the summons of the commando, they were without a military force; and on all sides, but where they joined Natal and the Free State, had hostile natives ready to pay back the injuries they had received from them through more than a generation. On the South-eastern border the Zulus were only held back by the Natal Government, whose power of restraint was nearly exhausted. And what made this case especially terrible to the Boers was, that all their foes were well armed. The case which Sechele reports was the first in which they had found any guns in the hands of natives, but now every tribe had sent its young men to the Diamond Fields, that by wages there earned they might buy guns and ammunition. And the Boers knew that the purchase had been made with the special purpose of repelling their inroads, and if occasion offered in retaliating attack.

Immediately on the dispersion of "the Grand Army," a special session of the Volksraad was held, at which, after sundry sharp passages of crimination and recrimination, in which every one tried to fix the blame of failure on some one else, a new constitution was proposed and passed, and heavy taxes levied, which many could not pay, and many would not. There was also a general persuasion that as the Government were unable to protect them, or to do any other of the duties of a Government, there was no longer use or obligation to pay them taxes. The new levies never would have been collected, although the President had issued a proclamation branding all who refused payment as traitors, and threatening all officers who failed to enforce payment with dismissal and other severe punishment. The proclamation was a wail of despair, and carried on the face of it a conviction of its impotence. In this crisis, all eyes were turned to the British Government for deliverance, so that when Sir T. Shepstone entered the Transvaal he was everywhere met by people who implored him to take them under British protection. And these were not Englishmen, but old and wealthy Boers who saw that there was no other way by which their property and their lives could be secured. It is likely that many who were of

this opinion then, would have been better pleased if England would have driven the enemy from their borders, paid their debts, and committed them to their own devices, that again, at the expense of the neighbouring colonies, they might have defied all sound principles of finance and outraged all the requirements of international law, and thus have given occasion for a similar act of benevolence twenty years afterwards. But all who were in the country at the time, know that nearly every one was glad to accept the deliverance with the annexation; although there were some who were without a stake in the country, and without a character to acquire one, who used their utmost efforts to stir up resistance.

The present attitude of the Boers is not surprising to those who know their character and circumstances. They have at their head a few honest enthusiasts, who, in spite of facts—with which they are as well acquainted as their limited knowledge of the world will permit—believe that they are able to govern the country. Next to these are some of the insubordinate men who have never submitted to any law but their own will; who were seditious under their own Government, clamorous against Sekukuni, and the first to run away when they saw his abode. These were most anxious to prevent annexation, because they knew it would put an end to their lawlessness, and circulated the most extravagant falsehoods to deter the quiet and orderly from soliciting British protection. These are the men who have used the intimidation of which many complained to Sir Bartle Frere; and it requires some knowledge of Boer character to be able to credit the audacity of the lying on the one side, and the imbecility of the credulity of the other. M. W. Pretorius, formerly president, who is one of the most respectable of their leaders, in a speech to the assembled Boers at Wonder Fontein, said, "The English Government have condemned us for making war with the natives and taking their children as slaves. But they have done the same from the Diamond Fields, and have sold the captives for £4 and £5 per head." He also declared to Sir B. Frere, in the presence of Colonel Lanyon and others, that Sir T. Shepstone had threatened the Executive Council of the late Government, that, unless they accepted annexation, he would send the Zulus through the country; and on Colonel Lanyon questioning the accuracy of the statement, he gave

the date of the meeting, and declared that the threat was recorded in the minutes of the said sitting of the council. Now he was in a position to know that both these statements were false, and to any one who is acquainted with the circumstances it is very difficult to conceive that, when he uttered the statements, he did not know them to be untrue, and that their falsehood would be detected. They served their purpose for the time, and that seems to be all many of the Boers care for. But if we take the most lenient view and suppose that he was imposed upon by such palpable falsehoods, it is plain he entirely lacks the qualities of legislator or ruler. And yet he is one of their best men, and has been President of the Free State as well as of the Transvaal. The course pursued by the leaders of both classes is the same as on former occasions. Mr. Noble relates that at the "rebellion of Slaghter's Neck," the insurgents "sought to bring in the Kafirs to extirpate the 'tyrants,' promising them the Zuerveld and the cattle of those colonists who would not join them against the Government." (page 33.) And again, when Andres Pretorius stirred up the Boers of the Orange Sovereignty (now the Free State) to rebellion, in his manifesto he declared that "the Government was extending its rule that it might make them soldiers for its own purposes." At that time also the people were informed that Moshesh and Panda were prepared to join them in driving the English out of the country.*

Of actual fighting there is little danger; the men who are loudest in their boast have not the courage to fight, and the more sober mass, who if actually aroused to resistance would be a formidable foe, will stop short of ruin. But it is necessary in some way to put an end to the present agitation, which stops the industry of the country, sets the people at variance with each other, and, among a people of such limited experience and less political knowledge, is in danger of producing chronic disquietude. The reason for the opposition in the most violent is not because the government is English, but because it is any government at all, and particularly that the English will be much more thorough than any of home growth.

The general prevalence of disquietude tending to opposition to the British Government, now shown among the

* Pp. 130, 131.

Border Tribes west and north of the Transvaal, is the result of the annexation, which has prevented the payment of old scores which, through many years, have been accumulating against the Boers, and which these newly-armed tribes suppose themselves able to exact. This, however, will subside when Sekukuni is reduced to submission and the Boers have settled into quietness. We shall then hear no more threats from the tribes which have hitherto sought our protection, and are only temporarily shaken in their confidence by our reverses in Zululand and the seditious conduct of the Boers.

NOTE.—Since the above was written we have received information of the appointment of an Executive Council consisting of five official members and three nominees. This arrangement is only temporary, "pending the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure, as to the best means to make provision for the administration of this territory in such a way as Her Majesty's representative may be able to obtain the advice and assistance of a Council of competent persons." This is the first step which since the annexation has been taken towards reconstruction. The old officers have hitherto administered the old laws, and a sleepy monotony has been the only distinguishing mark of our rule. There have been several reasons for this inaction. First, the finances were in such a state of confusion as to require many weeks of careful scrutiny, for the completion of which one of the permanent staff from Downing Street was sent out; and his report cannot be more than digested by the present time. Secondly, the People's Committee have kept up such a perpetual agitation on the question of their rehabilitation, that the majority of the Boers have been unable to consider anything else. Now, however, there is the prospect of soon attaining an orderly government, and an industrious people. The present appointment must not be understood as superseding, but as preparing the way for the promise made by Sir Bartle Frere that the people of the Transvaal shall have as much control of their affairs as their condition permits.

We also learn that in the ultimatum which Sir Garnet Wolseley has sent to Sekukuni, he recognises the right of the tribe to the country they occupy, and only stipulates for the surrender of the mountains, which are the natural but almost impregnable strongholds of the land. We are glad of this, because since the annexation our action has been equivocal, and as we showed (page 372) the Boers had no right to the country, so we, who simply came into their place, have not superior title. When the war between Sekukuni and the Boers commenced, we were requested to furnish a true statement of its immediate and remote causes. This statement was forwarded by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal to Lord Carnarvon, and we are glad to find that it has led to such an examination of the case as to cause the issue of the instructions which in the above manner Sir Garnet is carrying out.

ART. V.—1. *Essays on Natural History, chiefly Ornithology.* By CHARLES WATERTON, Esq., author of "Wanderings in South America;" with an Autobiography of the Author, and a View of Walton Hall. Second Edition. Longmans. 1838.

2. *Essays and Letters.* By CHARLES WATERTON, Esq. Edited by N. Moore, M.D. Warne and Co. 1867.

3. *Wanderings in South America, the North West of the United States, the Antilles, in the Years* 1812, 1816, 1820 *and* 1824; *with Original Instructions for the Perfect Preservation of Birds, and for Objects of Natural History.* By CHARLES WATERTON, Esq. Third Edition. London: Fellowes, Ludgate Street. 1836.

4. *Wanderings in South America, &c., &c.* New Edition. Edited, with Biographical Introduction and Explanatory Index, by the REV. J. G. WOOD. With One Hundred Illustrations. Macmillan. 1879.

5. *The Naturalist on the Amazons; a Record of Adventures, Habits of Animals, Sketches from Brazilian and Indian Life, and Aspects of Nature under the Equator, during Eleven Years of Travel.* By HENRY WALTER BATES. Two Vols. Murray. 1863.

6. *Personal Narrative of Travels in the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, during the Years* 1799—1804. By ALEXANDER DE HUMBOLDT and AIME BOMPLAND. Translated by Helen Maria Williams. Vol. V. Longmans. 1827.

7. *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, &c., &c.; performed in the Year* 1595. By SIR WALTER RALEIGH, Knight, Captain of Her Majesty's Guard, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and Lieutenant-General of the County of Cornwall. Printed at London: by Robert Robinson. 1596.

"ON the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of that variety as were

sufficient to fill ten volumes of herbals . . . we saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange, tawny, purple, green, watchet, and of all other sorts, both simple and mixed; as it was unto us a great good passing of the time to behold them, besides the relief we found killing some store of them with our fowling pieces."

So wrote Raleigh in his discovery of Guiana, and every succeeding visitor writes in the same way of this land of great rivers, swamps, and forest highlands. Waterton, though he was so uncompromising a Romanist that he had probably never read a line of the heretic Raleigh's book, uses much the same sort of language in describing the matchless beauty of the birds of Guiana. We are glad that Waterton's book has been reprinted. It could scarcely have been neglected in a decade which has seen a reprint of White's *Selborne*, and in which books like Bates' *Amazons* and Wallace's *Tropical Nature* have won so much popularity. This love of nature abroad as well as at home is a healthy sign. Great towns are growing greater; city life is especially the life of the age; and yet the instincts of Englishmen, at any rate, revolt against such a life as that which our mediæval forefathers lived, penned within walls. Books like *The Amateur Poacher* are written to meet a demand; the veriest "city man" studies them with intense enjoyment. Hundreds, too, look further afield, and, if they cannot themselves make Switzerland their play place, and the world their touring ground, delight to read of those who have done so.

We should augur ill for England were books like Waterton's to pass out of mind; were their author to be forgotten, or looked on merely as an eccentric Yorkshire squire, of old family; instead of being reverenced as a pioneer of science, and valued as a genial and honest travelling companion.

Mr. Wood, who has republished the *Wanderings*, had the great advantage of personally knowing their author, as well as of consulting the family records, which, he tells us, its present head is preparing for publication.

Our first business will be to make our readers somewhat acquainted with one whom it must have been a rare privilege to know in the flesh. Charles Waterton never lets us forget that he belongs to an old Roman Catholic stock. His family, he says, was famous in history—though he will not claim any higher ancestry than Adam

and Eve, "from whom I most firmly believe we are all descended, notwithstanding what certain self-sufficient philosophers have advanced to the contrary. The difference in colour and feature, between polar and equatorial man, may be traced to this, viz., that the first has had too little and the second too much sun." The Watertons, then, came several centuries ago from the Isle of Axeholme, and settled at Walton, near Wakefield. Sir R. Waterton was governor of Pontefract Castle, and had charge of Richard II. Several others have left their record in history. There were Watertons at Cressy, at Agincourt, at Marston Moor. "Up to the reign of Henry VIII., things had gone on swimmingly for us . . . but *during the sway of that ferocious brute*, there was a sad reverse of fortune." The change of religion is characteristically described:

"The king fell scandalously in love with a buxom lass, and he wished to make her his lawful wife, notwithstanding that his most virtuous queen was still alive. Having applied to the head of the Church for a divorce, his request was not complied with: although Martin Luther, the apostate friar and creed-reformer, had allowed the Margrave of Hesse to have two wives at one and the same time. Upon this refusal our royal goat became exceedingly mischievous. Having caused himself to be made head of the Church, he suppressed all the monasteries, and squandered their revenues among gamesters, harlots, mountebanks, and apostates. The poor, by his villanies, were reduced to great misery, and they took to evil ways in order to keep body and soul together. During this merciless reign 72,000 of them were hanged for thieving."

This is certainly uncompromising; and so is the way in which Queen Mary, under whom Thomas Waterton was High Sheriff of York—"the last public commission held by our family"—is qualified as "good," on the strength of a quotation from "the Protestant Camden." The persecutions under the penal laws are described in a half-comic vein; and the writer's conclusion is that, in spite of pains and penalties: "My ancestors acted wisely. I myself (as I have already told the public in a printed letter) would rather run the risk of going to hell with St. Edmund the Confessor, Venerable Bede, and St. Thomas of Canterbury, than make a dash at heaven in company with Henry VIII., Queen Bess, and Dutch William."

Waterton's grandfather was sent prisoner to York, during the '45 on account of his well-known attachment

to the Stuarts. He himself declares his loyalty to the new dynasty, "even if any of our old line of kings were still in existence," in the old verses:

> "The illustrious house of Hanover
> And Protestant succession,
> To them I have allegiance sworn,
> While they can keep possession."

Sir R. Peel's oath, he says, "I never will take;" and he calls it "an abominable device for securing to the Church, by law established, the full possession of its loaves and fishes." This is his style throughout; and he never seems to reflect that Protestantism is what gives him that freedom of speech of which he makes such full use. Fancy a Protestant Spaniard talking of Philip II. and Alva, as Waterton does of Henry VIII. and "Dutch William." He is naturally proud of reckoning Sir T. More among his ancestors, and feels much the cruel unfairness which in later times shut the family out from all public service, civil or military, which forced his two uncles, for instance, to settle in Malaga, instead of holding commissions in the army.

At his first school Waterton got nearly drowned by getting afloat in a dough tub; and during the holidays was only saved from walking out of a window, three stories from the ground, by the family chaplain; in his sleep he fancied he was on his way to a wood where he knew of a crow's nest.

He was then sent to Stonyhurst, which Mr. Weld, of Lulworth Castle, had not long before made over to the Jesuits. His testimony is as follows: "In spite of all their sufferings, I found these poor followers of Jesus mild and cheerful, and generous to all around them. During the whole of my stay with them, I never heard one single expression from their lips that was not suited to the ear of a gentleman and a Christian. Their watchfulness over the morals of their pupils was so intense that I am ready to declare, were I on my death bed, I never once had it in my power to open a book in which there was to be found a single paragraph of an immoral tendency." It is not Romanists only who have admired the Jesuit system of education. As regards discipline and morals it is the perfection of that which is imperfectly carried out in French *lycées*, and in many English private schools. Our public school system has its faults; but, unquestionably, it

is more likely to turn out "hard Englishmen" than the other. Waterton, at any rate, did not suffer, except in getting warped notions of history; but then he was thoroughly manly to begin with. At fifty-five he says he felt like thirty, and makes fun of his muscular legs, remarking that, "on taking a view of me from top to toe, you would say that the upper part of Tithonus had been placed upon the lower part of Ajax." At Stonyhurst, too, the fathers were wise enough to let him have pretty much his own way. Some of us may remember how poor Martin, in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, was for a long time in constant collision with the Rugby School authorities, and afterwards was only tolerated as a hopeless eccentric. Waterton fared much better; the Jesuits soon found out his ruling tastes, and "with equanimity and excellent exercise of judgment" so managed him that he could hunt for nests, and study animals, and yet not set an example of lawlessness. He was tacitly appointed rat-catcher, foumart-killer, fox-taker, and cross-bow charger at the time when the young rooks were fledged. He was also organ-blower and foot-ball maker, at the same time that he was not neglecting his studies. He certainly learnt to quote Ovid and Homer, and to write passable Latin verses. That the doctrine of reserve was not unknown at Stonyhurst is shown by a story which he tells with great glee of how he escaped the clutches of a prefect who had caught him out of bounds. He had been birds'-nesting in a neighbouring wood; the prefect, missing him from the play-place, dodged him for more than half an hour up and down hedgerows and through a yew and holly labyrinth. At last he made a rush for the out-buildings, and luckily met old Joe Bowren the brewer bringing straw to a pigsty. Waterton was a great pet with Joe; so the lad at once said, "I've just saved myself, Joe; cover me up with litter." In a minute in bounced the prefect. "Have you seen Charles Waterton?" gasped he. Joe replied, in a tone of voice which would have deceived anybody: "Sir, I've not spoken a word to Charles Waterton these three days to the best of my knowledge."

Of the kindness of the fathers he speaks in the highest terms. Father Clifford, first cousin of Lord Clifford, made him promise "to abstain from all wine and spirituous liquors." "The only way," he said, "of saving you when

you journey into far distant countries." He kept the pledge; nay after his return, while still a boy, from a sojourn in Spain, he found beer unpleasant and therefore gave it up also.

After leaving college, he lived at home long enough to get a perfect seat on horseback by hunting with Lord Darlington's hounds. His father next sent him to his uncles at Malaga.

Here the red-legged partridges, the gold-finches, "much more common than sparrows in England," the big vultures, and the quails, bee-eaters, and flamingoes delighted him. At Gibraltar his visit fortunately coincided with a change of wind, at which time the apes are on the move; so he counted from fifty to sixty of them: "And an ape or two might be seen with a young one on its back. Æneas in his day reversed the thing, and carried an old animal, not a young one: *cessi et sublato montem genitore petivi.*" At Algesiras he was strengthened in his hatred of the penal laws. The *Hannibal*, seventy-four gun ship, ran aground and was forced to strike her colours. Colonel Lyon, an Irish Roman Catholic in the Spanish service, told him how he watched the whole thing from Fort St. Roque, and how when the British flag was lowered he threw down his telescope and burst into tears. Colonel Lyon was of that gallant stuff of which the Irish brigade in the French service had been made, men whose brave deeds forced from George II. the exclamation: "Curse the laws which deprive me of such soldiers." Soon after, the black-vomit made its appearance at Malaga. The simplest precautions were neglected: "I myself," says Waterton, "in an alley near my uncle's house, saw a mattress of most suspicious appearance hung out to dry." Before long the lad was seized with vomiting and fever, and his life was despaired of. Thanks to his wonderful constitution he recovered; one of his uncles, however, soon died. The burial is described in our author's usual unadorned way: "He was beloved by all who knew him. Many a Spanish tear flowed when it was known that he had ceased to be. We got him a kind of coffin made, in which he was conveyed at midnight to the outskirts of the town, there to be put into one of the pits which the galley slaves had dug during the day for the reception of the dead. But they could not spare room for the coffin; so the body was taken out of it and thrown upon the heap

which already occupied the pit. A Spanish marquis lay just below him.

> "Dives ne prisco natus ab Inacho,
> Nil interest an pauper et infirmâ,
> De gente."

The pestilence grew more and more destructive. Fifty thousand are said to have left the city at the outset, and of those who remained 36,000 perished. The alarm was heightened by several shocks of an earthquake which made the inhabitants tremble lest the disaster of Lisbon should be repeated at Malaga. The fear of being swallowed up alive decided Waterton to fly. Unable to persuade his remaining uncle to go, he got on board a Swedish fruit brig, which was waiting to sail for London. "Owing to an intrigue at Court, for the interest of certain powerful people, the port of Malaga was kept closed long after the city had been declared free from the disorder." The "powerful people" were so far right that the plague returned the spring after, killing, among many others, Waterton's remaining uncle. Meanwhile the Swedish brig ran the gauntlet of the Spanish war ships and brought him to London with such a bad attack on the lungs, owing to the cold of the Channel and the insufficiency of his light Spanish dress, that he was brought to the brink of the grave and had to be sent to a warmer climate. Demerara was fixed on because the family had estates out there, while Europe was closed owing to the war. These estates he managed between 1804 and 1812, coming home at intervals in accordance with the advice of Sir Joseph Banks, who told him that he might stay in the tropics with comparative impunity for three years or so, but would die worn out unless he left the tropical swamps and came home at intervals. In 1807 he got his commission as lieutenant in the second regiment of Demerara militia: "As no declaration was required from me against transubstantiation, nor any promise that I would support the nine-and-thirty articles, nor any inuendos thrown out touching 'the Devil, the Pope and the Pretender,' I was free in conscience to accept this commission, the first that any one of the name had received since Queen Mary's days. During that long interval not a Waterton could be found vicious enough to regain his lost birthright at the incalculable sacrifice of conscience. It had been the object of

those in power to tempt us to deviate into their new road, which they said would lead us to heaven, but we were quite satisfied with the old beaten path; so that the threats and allurements and the cruel enactments of our would-be seducers were of no avail, saving that we were brought down from our once high estate, and rendered very small—and are yet very small—in the eyes of our fellow-subjects. But every dog has his day . . ." We quote this because, despite the lightness of the style, it is far more telling against the tyranny of the old church and king days, than many a piece of bitter invective. Waterton's patriotism is always lively; but he shows over and over again in what a false position our Roman Catholic fellow subjects were at that time placed.

As the only person in Demerara who knew anything of Spanish he was in much request for official work, and, among other excursions, was sent to Angostura, the capital of the Orinoco, with despatches from Admiral Collingwood. He gives a laughable picture of a Homeric dinner at the Spanish Governor's, which shows that abstemious as they may be at home, the Spanish of that day were no ascetics in their colonies. Waterton counted no less than forty dishes, "and while good breeding whispered: 'try a little of most of them,' temperance replied: 'do so at your peril; and for your overstrained courtesy you shall have yellow fever before midnight.' At the head of the table sat the governor, Don Felipe de Yuciarte, a tall, corpulent man, who, before he had finished his soup, began visibly to liquefy, for he was unfitly attired in a tight-fitting full uniform of gold and blue, the weight of which alone in that climate and at such a repast was enough to have melted him down. At last he said to me in Spanish, 'Don Carlos, this is more than man can bear. *No puedo sufrir tanto.* Pray pull off your coat, and tell your companions to do the same; and I'll show them the example.' Saying this he stripped to the waistcoat, we doing the same; and next day at dinner we found his Excellency clad in a uniform of blue Salempore, slightly edged with gold lace."

Our author dilates on the plenty and cheapness of food of all kinds under the Spaniards, ending with the comment: "Canning's new republics may have tended to enrich a few needy adventurers from Europe, but to the natives in general they have proved a mighty curse."

A good deal is told of Waterton's relations with succes-

sive governors of Demerara, especially with honest, wrong-headed General Carmichael, surnamed "old Hercules" because of his violent efforts to cleanse the Augean stable of official corruption, efforts that the frankness with which he exposed his intended plans after dinner rendered almost futile.

During one of his visits to England Lord Bathurst wanted to send him to explore Madagascar, but his ague was still so bad that after accepting he resigned his commission, which was that of quasi-ambassador to Monomotapa. He afterwards bitterly regretted not going: "I ought to have gone and let the tertian ague take its chance. My commission was a star of the first magnitude. It appeared after a long night of political darkness; and I can fancy it beckoned me, saying 'Come, serve your country; come and restore your name to the national calendar, from which it has so long and so unjustly been withdrawn.' But I did not go; and the star went down below the horizon, to reappear no more." The advantages to the traveller in distant colonies of a government commission were even greater then than now. "With it his way is clear, and his story already told; everybody acknowledges his consequence and is eager to show him attention." Of the occasional treatment of non-official travellers, Waterton had a striking instance in Antigua. He had lately returned in very bad health from the United States, and wore a common Yankee straw hat with green ribbon. The harbour master with whom he had business, eyed him contemptuously, and, though there were plenty of chairs in the room, kept him standing above half an hour. His excuse when told by the mail captain that he was an English gentleman travelling for the sake of natural history was: "I'm afraid I was very rude, but I took him for a d—d Yankee."

Waterton's constitution must have been of the strongest; or, rather, shall we say that constitutions in that day were wholly different from what they are now? The amount of bleeding and calomel and jalap that he submitted to on principle was incredible. Believing inflammation to be the root and origin of almost all diseases, he was as thoroughgoing a blood-letter as Dr. Sangrado, or the doctors who killed Cavour. To take away two-and-twenty ounces of blood was his favourite remedy: "Since my twenty-fourth year have I been blooded above a hundred

and ten times, in eighty of which I have performed the operation on myself with my own hand."

In 1807 an expedition was formed to explore the Congo, and Waterton would have accompanied it as a volunteer but that Sir Joseph Banks, disappointed at the weak power of the steamer assigned for the expedition, strongly dissuaded him from going. He therefore contented himself with showing the party his secret (of which more anon) for preparing specimens, and with urging on them the necessity of temperance and the danger of sleeping in their wet clothes.

In the winter of 1817-18 he was in Rome with his old friend and schoolfellow, Captain Jones, and he relates with boyish glee how, "as their nerves were in excellent trim," they mounted to the top of St. Peter's, ascended the cross, and then climbed thirteen feet higher, to the point of the conductor, and left their gloves on it.* At the Castle of St. Angelo they contrived to get on the head of the guardian angel, where they stood on one leg. In returning with Capt. Jones over Mont Cenis, he cut his thigh so badly with the carriage window-pane that for a long time after he got to London he was in the surgeon's hands. His perfect presence of mind was wonderfully shown in the record of how he behaved when the accident happened. "It was ten o'clock at night. I put my thumb firmly on the wound, till the captain had brought one of the lamps to bear on it. On seeing the blood flow in a continued stream, and not by jerks, I knew the artery was safe. Having succeeded in getting out the two bits of glass with my finger and thumb, I bound up the wound with my cravat. Then, cutting off my coat pocket, I gave it to the Captain, and directed him to get it filled with poultice in a house where we saw a light at a distance."

In 1820 his old affection of the lungs was brought on by taking a hot bath in bleak weather. He recovered, in spite of being bled eight times, and put for six weeks on a diet of white bread and tea. In 1829 he married, but was soon left a widower. His Transatlantic wanderings, by the way, ended in 1825; and to the volume in which they are detailed he prefixed a strange, semi-human portrait

* Paul VII. ordered the gloves to be removed, as it was supposed they would spoil the conductor. But no one in Rome had nerve enough to make the ascent. Waterton had to go up again and bring them down. As to this second journey he is discreetly silent.

which he called "a nondescript." "This frontispiece," he says, "I purposely involved in mystery, on account of the illiberality which I experienced from the Treasury. I had spent many years in Guiana in trying to improve the very defective process universally followed in preparing specimens for museums. The reader will see by the letter signed Lushington, that I was sentenced to pay pretty handsomely for my exertions." The letter referred to says that only those specimens which Mr. Waterton intends to give to public institutions can be admitted duty free, the rest must pay an *ad valorem* duty of 20 per cent. This petty meanness, contrasting so sadly with the conduct of other Governments in similar cases, and all the more astonishing at a time when there was so much lavish carelessness in many directions, so annoyed our collector that he would not make public his plan of preparing specimens on scientific principles. He therefore put the nondescript at the head of his book to rouse the attention of those interested in museums: "not considering myself pledged to tell its story, I leave it to the reader to say what it is and what it is not."

Some of his hairbreadth escapes, and episodes like his well-known ride on a cayman, won him the reputation of a second Baron Munchausen. This he shared with many older travellers. Bruce, for instance, was long disbelieved when he told of the raw-flesh-eating Abyssinians; but later researches have justified him in that and other assertions which the sceptical Germans held up to ridicule. This suspicion of unveracity annoyed Waterton even more than the high-handed proceedings of the Treasury officials. He invites all who are staggered at any passage in his book to meet him, promising a full and satisfactory explanation. "If they decline to do so," he says, "I will learn wisdom for the time to come; and I promise you that I will not throw my jewels to the sty a second time." Much of his work, he reminds us, was written "in the depth of the forest, without the help of books or the aid of any naturalist;" written, too, by a man who had no peculiar gift for literature, and who, "had our religion not interfered with our politics," would have spent his youth in the service of his country. England in this way lost a brave soldier or an useful diplomatist, but she gained what is much rarer, one of those ardent lovers of nature who is not only himself consumed with zeal for his favourite pur-

suit, but has the gift of kindling the same flame in others. Such men always must be rare; the love of nature, happily, is strong in most Englishmen, but it is seldom so strong as to make them what Waterton was—a missionary for the cause, one who could not rest unless he was stirring up some one else to carry on his work. Herein shows itself the fiery temper of the man, the Norse blood which his ancestors brought with them from the most Danish part of England. Others, like dear old White of Selbourne, and Jesse of Windsor, and Couch of Polperro, have observed well and carefully, and have written lovingly, suggestively, of natural history; but, except perhaps Mr. Smiles' Scotch Naturalist, no one not a professed scientist has been so eagerly devoted to the work as was Waterton. In it he found a solace under the social stigma which so rankled in one who felt his own powers, and like Aristotle's magnanimous man valued himself at his full worth. If he could not add honour to the old name as a public man, he would do so in that capacity for which his school training specially fitted him. With infinite pains he worked out an improved method of stuffing animals, and, despite his temporary wrath when the custom house laid its hand on his treasures, he was determined the public should have the full advantage of his method. If he would not tell them about it in his *Wanderings*, he took care to do so at full length in the *Essays*. Every page of his writings shows not only his own deep love of the subject, but his anxiety to make others love it. That is why he writes; not to win fame as an author,—he makes no pretence to fine writing or elaborate composition, and for that very reason his books are an admirable example of the every-day language of cultivated people of fifty years ago,—but to rouse others to enthusiasm, to set some at least on work in the field which he naturally felt he had by no means exhausted.

Hence Bates *On the Amazons* forms a very good pendant to the *Wanderings*. Mr. Bates was led by the same love of seeing for himself the wonders of the tropical forest which prompted Waterton to risk fever and ague, and to bear all kinds of discomforts. The one was wholly an amateur, the other professional in so far as it was only as collector for various museums that he was able to go at all. Still there was the same spirit in both; and the

differences in style and line of thought between the two books mark the difference between this and the last generation. We are more serious in manner; but it is doubtful whether we are really more thorough than our fathers were.

The autobiography winds up with an appeal for toleration, and a half-bitter half-humorous protest against insulting the feelings of a loyal and well-behaved section of the community by keeping Guy Fawkes' day.

"I never could comprehend (he says) how a Government which professes to be the most tolerant of all Governments in things pertaining to religion, should have visited millions of its subjects with the severest penalties for two long centuries and a half, merely because they refused to abandon the creed of their ancestors. Neither can I comprehend how a Government can have the consummate assurance to enforce payment to the Church by law established, when it is a well-known fact in history (see the Act of Parliament, 1 & 2 Mary, cap. 8) that the very founders of this Church did confess, in full and open Parliament, that they had declined from the unity of Christ's Church, and had a long while wandered and strayed abroad; and that they acknowledged their errors and declared themselves very sorry and repentant of the schisms and disobedience by them committed in this realm against the See Apostolic."

This reasoning must stand for what it is worth; but even those who feel most strongly that the despicable time-serving of Queen Mary's Parliament counts for nothing in the case, may well rejoice that the fifth of November services are at last expunged from the service book of the Established Church. The Romanists have to thank their fellows in the rest of Europe for what cruelties and indignities they suffered in this country. Philip II. and Popes Gregory XIII. and Paul IV., far more truly than any English legislators, were the enactors of the penal laws, for their line of conduct made it almost impossible for England, as she then was, to keep from persecuting in the other direction. Things have happily changed; and there can be no reason for keeping open a wound under cover of a religious celebration. Waterton's verses on Cecil's Holiday—as he calls November fifth, much as the Bank Holidays are fathered on St. Lubbock—are worth quoting, not for the sake of the Latinity; we wish we had space for them all:

"Pro his oro qui elegerunt
Falsam fidem, et fregerunt,
Quam Majores docuerunt.

Et qui fracto Dei altare,
Aussi loco ejus dare,
Mensam quæ non potest stare.

Qui et oves occidebant,
Atque collo suspendebant,
Duces gregis qui manebant."

* * * * *

We append his own translation, or rather paraphrase:

"I pray for those who now have got
A creed infected with the rot,
And wickedly have set at nought
That which our ancestors had taught.

I pray for those who, having thrust
Our holy altars in the dust,
Defiled the places where they stood
With crazy tables formed of wood.

I pray for those who, having slain
Our flocks, that grazed the peaceful plain,
Did force their pastoral defenders
Into Jack Ketch's hemp suspenders."

* * * * *

"I love a good hater," said Dr. Johnson; and Waterton, though he is not a bit of a hater, but full of geniality and the wish to be friends with all his countrymen, was uncompromising enough to have pleased the great lexicographer. Further in his ode he couples Luther and Latimer with Joanna Southcote, and yet, with his usual mixture of fun and satire, he begs "their reverences to observe that my mode of dealing with our adversaries differs very widely from that adopted by their old friend Guy Fawkes." His one consolation, amid his political isolation and social disabilities, is that the Romanists have had no hand in keeping up the burden of taxation under which, he thinks, poor Britannia is being crushed into her grave.*

* I should like (he says) to see King Arthur's face could he reappear and see our national debt and civil list. Methinks his long-lost Majesty would groan in spirit when he learned that the first is a present from Dutch William, and the second a donation to the country by the cormorant-

Of the *Essays*, most are devoted to setting right, with much acumen and immense special knowledge, mistakes as to the habits of commoner birds and beasts—correcting, *i.e.*, popular errors. For instance, he maintains, in opposition to Wilson and Humboldt and others, that the *Vultur aura* of Guiana is not gregarious, alleging that for a long series of years he had given the closest attention to its habits, that Wilson never was in Guiana, and that "as for Humboldt, I cannot think of submitting to his testimony in matters of ornithology for one single moment. The avocations of this traveller were of too multiplied a nature to enable him to be a correct practical ornithologist." Another moot point was "Do vultures and turkey buzzards find out their prey by scent or by sight?" The American ornithologists, one of whom is quoted from *Jameson's Journal*, said "by sight; they have little or no sense of smell," and they instanced various experiments—the setting up, for instance, of a thoroughly dry deerskin stuffed with hay, to which the vultures came just as eagerly as to a rotting carcase. The way in which Waterton picks this experiment to pieces is a choice bit of special pleading. Again, in order to strengthen his case, the American says that when the vultures saw him, even at a great distance they would fly away frightened; whereas he has often approached within a few feet of them, when hidden from view by a tree. We cannot resist quoting the ludicrous way in which Waterton disposes of this difficulty:

"Here the author wishes to prove to us, through the medium of his own immediate person, that the vulture is but poorly off for nose; but he has left the matter short on two essential points. First, he has told us nothing of the absolute state of his own person at the actual time he approached the vulture; and secondly, he is silent as to the precise position of his own person with regard to the wind. This neglect renders his experiment unsatisfactory. If, on his drawing near the birds, no particular effluvium or strong smell proceeded from his person, it is not to be expected they could smell him. *De nihilo nihilum, in nihilum nil posse reverti.* If again, he had a smell about him, and he happened to be to the leeward as he approached the vultures, their olfactory nerves

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traitors who drove away our last Catholic king because he had proclaimed universal liberty of conscience, and had begun to question their right to the stolen property.

could not possibly have been roused to action by it, although he had been Gorgonius himself (Horace's *Gorgonius hircum*)."

This is a delicious sample of his critical manner. Equally amusing are his general observations. Kingfishers, for instance, have been said to fly close to the water in order to attract the fish by the brightness of their plumage. This, he argues, is an idle surmise, for fishes cannot see an object directly above them, and, if they could, there would be nothing brilliant for them to look at in the kingfisher, for all his splendid feathers are upon his upper parts. He was able to watch these beautiful creatures, because, like so many other birds, they were denizens of Walton Park. In the root of a grand oak overhanging his brook, a pair had built time out of mind. He is thus able to pronounce that, unlike the young of another metallic-lustred bird,—the starling, which has its first coat pale and dull,—the young kingfisher puts on in the nest those rainbow hues which make it exceptional among European birds. Then, as now, king-fishers needed protection: "I am sorry to add that our kingfisher is becoming scarcer every year in this part of Yorkshire. Proprietors of museums offer a tempting price for it; and on the canals not a waterman steers his boat but who has his gun ready to procure the kingfisher." Even his lament over the extinction which he thought speedily awaited this bird is mingled with a defiant contempt for the modern-ornithologists "who were ignorant of its true nature when they rashly removed it from among land-birds, and classed it amongst strangers whose formation differs so widely from its own."

Of owls, brown and tawny, Waterton has a good deal to say. The former was a special pet of his; he says all he can in its favour, but confesses himself hopeless where the prejudice is so deep-rooted and of such long standing. After quoting poets, Latin and English, who have given it a bad character, he gives us the only verses he can remember which express any pity for it. "Our nursery maid used to sing it to the tune of 'Cease, rude Boreas, blust'ring railer.'" It began thus:

> "Once I was a monarch's daughter,
> And sat on a lady's knee,
> But am now a nightly rover,
> Banish'd to the ivy tree.

Crying hoo, hoo, hoo, hoo, hoo, hoo,
Hoo hoo, hoo, my feet are cold.
Pity me, for here you see me
Persecuted, poor, and old."

We must leave Mr. Henderson to discuss in a new edition of his Northern folklore, what myth is embedded in these lines. Shakespeare had another version in his mind when he made Hamlet say, "The owl was a baker's daughter."

Waterton built an owl's nest in the old gateway of Walton, close by the lake, as soon as in 1813 heset his hand "to abolish the code of penal laws which the knavery of the gamekeeper and the lamentable ignorance of the other servants had put in force against 'vermin,'" and he enforced his new legislation by threatening to strangle the keeper if ever the owls, which soon began to build there, were molested. When he wrote he had four broods in hand, and reckoned on having nine the year after; many a boy knows that he is right, and Buffon and Bewick are wrong in saying that the snoring which often startles those who go near a barn owl's nest, is not the noise made by the bird in its sleep, but the cry of the young for food. The value of this owl as a mouser may be judged of from the fact that "in sixteen months the pair in the gateway would deposit above a bushel of pellets, each fur pellet containing the skeletons of from four to seven mice. Owls sometimes catch fish, at least the owls of Walton Hall did so; but they never eat pigeon's eggs; the offenders in this case are the rats; that the owl is not in fault is proved by the friendly terms on which he lives with the inhabitants of the dovecote. The tawny owl hoots, the barn owl shrieks, says the author; and though Sir W. Jardine says he shot one in the act of hooting, "stiff authority" he confesses, yet he inclines to believe that this was a barn owl of remarkable gifts, "like Leibnitz's dog who could distinctly pronounce thirty words, and Goldsmith's raven who whistled the 'Shamrock' with great distinctness, truth and humour." It would be well for our fast disappearing *ferœ naturâ* if there were more Watertons in the land. Our people, high and low alike, need to be taught the lesson of the Ancient Mariner:

"He prayeth best who loveth
All things both great and small."

We can fancy the tall Yorkshireman, with his "mountain legs," striding out in the twilight to enjoy (as he says he does so heartily) "the sight of the villagers loitering on a fine summer's evening under the sycamore trees, to have a peep at the barn owl as it leaves the ivy-mantled tower." The tawny or hooting owl he had a still harder battle to protect; neighbours used to complain that his owls hooted lamentably near their bedroom windows. It was sometimes flushed, he found, by sportsmen out woodcock shooting; while the increasing rarity of hollow trees —landowners hastening to cut down and sell every tree that is not "making money"—deprives it of resting-places; but, for his park, he believes the tawny owl would have been extinct in that part of Yorkshire. Even at Walton it had a struggle for existence. "For years they had built in a hollow sycamore close to the house, but were driven away by a colony of jackdaws which I had encouraged by hanging up boxes for them in the next tree."

One of the liveliest essays is that on the brown or Hanoverian rat, which, it is well known, came from the Volga during the thirteenth century, and gradually extirpated the original black rat of Europe, reaching England (the story goes) in the very ship which brought over as our king the Elector George I. This change in the succession is described in language which reminds us of *Coningsby* and *Sibyl*. "It was when our aristocracy, in defence of its ill-gotten goods, took upon itself to dispose of hereditary monarchy in a way which, if attempted nowadays, would cause a considerable rise in the price of hemp, there arrived a ship freighted with a super-excellent German cargo, a sovereign remedy for all manner of national grievances." We know not if the old English rat is wholly extinct. In Waterton's days it was so scarce that he never saw but one specimen, "which Mr. Arthur Strickland invited me over to Nostell Priory to look at. It had been sent in a cage from Bristol." Of the extent to which Walton Hall in 1813 was infested with rats, and how he extirpated them with the help of a marjay or Guiana tiger-cat, which creature, pronounced untameable, he had trained to follow him like a dog, he gives an amusing account. Stopping the holes, binding the bottoms of the doors with hoop-iron, and clearing out rubbish corners are methods which may be universally followed, but we warn any one whose water supply comes from a

draw-well against following Waterton's plan of laying poison. The poisoned rat rushes off to quench its thirst, dies in the well, and pollutes the drinking water. The present writer has unfortunately suffered in this way. Neither does our experience bear out Waterton as to the efficacy of tarring a rat in order to drive his fellows away. Our author says, he in this way freed the wainscot of his study from the rats, which used to make reading impossible by their nightly clatter. We, on the other hand, tarred a rat and let him go, but, next night, the invaders came just as before. Again he denies their cannibal propensities; whereas we have several times found in a trap the head and shoulders of a rat, the rest of which had evidently been eaten by his comrades. So that, though 'dog does not eat dog' may be a sound proverb, it cannot be said that 'rat does not eat rat.' The Hanoverian was the only creature to which a quiet undisturbed life in Walton Park was not permitted. His essay on the Rook he wrote, he tells us, on one of the wildest nights he ever remembered, such a night as, foreigners say, tempts Englishmen to suicide. "For my part I bear an insufferable repugnance to such anodynes as twisted hemp; and were a host of blue devils, conjured up by November's fogs, just now to assail me, I would prefer combating them with the weapons of ornithology, rather than run any risk of disturbing the economy of my jugular vein."

After enlarging on the toothsomeness of broiled rook, Waterton defends the bird against the charge of plundering the farmer. It's old name *frugilegus* was more truly characteristic than *prædatorius* by which it is now known; in a hard winter, or during harvest, it may steal a little, but this is nothing in comparison with the good it does all the rest of the year by destroying insects. A better founded charge against it is that which our author brings —that the top branches of elms in which there are a number of rook's nests, always begin to decay. His remarks on the rook end with a characteristic puzzle: "Jackdaws, rooks, and starlings are all capital friends; but, while the jackdaws both in flight and in searching for food mix promiscuously with the rooks, the starlings always keep to their own flock. This circumstance has long engaged my attention, but I am no further advanced in it than I was on the first day on which I set out. It is

one of the many secrets in the habits of birds, which will perhaps be for ever concealed from us." Most of us have read the account in Audubon's *Biography of Birds* of the marvellous flight of pigeons, comparable to a vast cloud of locusts in extent and duration. "These pigeons," says Audubon, "arriving by thousands, alighted everywhere one above another, and solid masses as large as hogsheads were formed on the branches all around." Solid masses! remarks our quizzical author, "our European pigeons, in a similar situation, would have been all smothered in less than three minutes." Again, Audubon says that many trees two feet in diameter were broken off at no great distance from the ground by the weight of the pigeons, as if the forest had been swept with a tornado. Now a tornado, retorts Waterton, will break the trunks of such trees, for its force acts horizontally against the upright stem; but how is it possible that a multitude of pigeons, alighting upon a tree could cause its upright bole, two feet in diameter, to break off at no great distance from the ground? Equally incredible is shown to be the French-American's account of the great gathering of wolves, polecats, cougars, and all kinds of beasts to share in the spoil, although there was such a stunning noise of men with torches, pots full of sulphur, &c., that he was only aware of the firing by seeing the shooters reloading. And thus discredit is thrown on the whole matter of this miraculous flight of pigeons, which, nevertheless, was true despite Audubon's gasconading descriptions.

Waterton is just as severe on Audubon's mawkish account of the ringdove. Audubon talks of "the love-sick bird listening with delight to her mate's assurances of devoted affection, still coy and undetermined, and seeming fearful of the truth of her lover, and, virgin-like, resolved to put his sincerity to the test." His critic remarks, "the soot-black crow is just as chaste, affectionate and constant as the snow-white dove itself. All wild birds which go in pairs are invariably attached to each other by Nature's strongest ties, and they can experience no feelings of mistrust or suspicion of unfaithfulness; otherwise we should witness scenes of ornithological assault and battery in every hedge and wood during the whole time of incubation." Waterton says, that till in this "valley free" he had offered this bird an undisturbed asylum, he had but a faint idea of its habits; gentle though it is, it will never breed

within the walls of a dovecot; our tame pigeons are descendants not of it, but of the rock-dove.

In almost every essay our author manages to have a hit at the American ornithologists. It is just as if, debarred by his interpretation of the Catholic disabilities from attacking the enemy sword in hand, he was determined to take full revenge with his pen. If the poor foreigner ventures to remark on the oil-glands in the sea-eagle, and on the whole plumage being as it were oiled over, the remorseless critic is down upon him with a swoop like that of the sea-eagle itself, tears his description to tatters, pulls out all the misapplied words, and leaves it a bare and unsightly skeleton.

The essay on preserving egg-shells, and Mr. Wood's additional remarks, ought to be read by all boys; and it is to be hoped that all who read will not only follow the minute directions about washing the insides with corrosive sublimate, but will take to heart the warning "not to turn this little process into affliction to the poor birds. One egg out of each nest (with a few exceptions) will not be missed by the owner; but to take them all away would be hard indeed. You know Niobe's story; Apollo slew her every child."

Waterton's zeal for investigation is amusingly shown in what he tells about the vampire. He had evidence that it sucks not only animals but human creatures. The young son of a Mr. Walcott, his host on the river Demerara, showed him his still bleeding forehead; Mr. Walcott's fowls were nightly sucked to death; a donkey that he had brought with him from Barbadoes was being killed by inches—"looked like misery steeped in vinegar." Our traveller therefore put himself in the way of being sucked, "not caring for the loss of ten or twelve ounces of blood; but the vampire seemed to take a personal dislike to me; the provoking brute would never give my claret one solitary trial, though he would tap the more favoured Indian's toe in a hammock within a few yards of mine." For eleven months he slept in the loft of a deserted woodcutter's house in the forest; the vampire came in and out, and even hovered over his hammock, but always declined to make the wished-for bite.

In preserving specimens his universal remedy was corrosive sublimate, in paste when it could be so applied, dissolved in alcohol (the strength being tested by dipping in

it a black feather, on which the mixture should leave no white particles) for application to insects and such "small deer." "No process," says Waterton, "can preserve the colours which have their source from within, such as the bright bands on the dragon-fly; these fade when the substances from which they draw their source become dry; the only way is to clear out the moist internal parts, and fill the nearly transparent shell with colours similar to those displayed by the living creature." Our author did this with the Cayenne grasshopper and the blue bill of the toucan. "Arsenical soap," he says, "is dangerous to the operator and useless if you wish to restore the true form of the animal. Corrosive sublimate on the skins, and a sponge kept constantly full of spirit of turpentine in the cases, will be a complete protection against all insect pests."

It is in the essay on Museums that Waterton develops the improved method of stuffing specimens, which, in a rage, he had threatened to withhold. His process is well worth the careful study of all intending taxidermists. With him stuffing a bird was as much a work of art as carving a statue; and the scorn which he pours on the miserable apologies for specimens which used to disfigure our museums was only too well merited. "Directors," he says, "are very careful to have a beautiful building, while they give no heed at all to the sort of specimens with which it is to be filled—as if one should build a grand library to receive the sweepings of the bookstalls." Who that knew the British Museum thirty years ago does not recognise the truth of the following: "Curiosity led me into a very spacious museum. As I passed through an antechamber I observed a huge mass of outstretched skin which once had evidently been an elephant. I turned round to gaze at this *monstrum horrendum informe*, when a person came up and asked me what I thought of their elephant. 'If,' said I, 'you will give me two cowskins with that of a calf in addition to them, I will engage to make you a better elephant.'" This remark, he says, nearly got him into trouble. The trustees noticed it at their meeting, and some one proposed (and nearly carried the proposal) that a written reprimand should be sent to him. Things are much improved now; but still the myriads of specimens at the British Museum are many of them stuffed in the unintelligent way which roused Water-

ton's ire; and, were they ever so lifelike, their excellence would be lost owing to the way in which they are huddled together.

The chief cause of failure in stuffing is haste: the process is necessarily a slow one, and hurrying it on must destroy all symmetry, must, for instance, shrink up the monkey's once pouting lips to parchment, and make its ears seem like withered leaves. After the skin is taken off, the nose, lips, and soles of the feet have to be pared down from within, and the inner skin of the ears must be separated from the outer till you come to the extreme edges. Unless this is done your specimen will be a mere deformity. If the process takes time the result is worth attaining; "who would fill his gallery with Dutch dolls when he has it in his power to place there statues of the first workmanship?" His moral to museum directors is: "Pay your preservers better, and insist on better work from them."

But we must not linger much longer over these fascinating essays. They include Captain Wodehouse's wonderful adventure with a lion, and plenty more attacks on poor Audubon, whose combat between an eagle and a vulture is shown to be a myth because "birds cannot fly backwards," and whose statement that the ruby-throated humming-bird can fly when a week old is characterised as of a piece with the notion that the same bird glues together with its saliva the bits of lichen which form its nest. "How about the first shower of rain? is the ἔνστασις of the unsparing opponent.

On pheasant-preserving there are some remarks which the lapse of forty years has not made out of date. Waterton feels that the better plan would be, instead of classing this bird among *feræ naturâ*, to put it on the same footing as the barn-door fowl, making it the property of the person in whose field or wood it is found. Pheasant-preserving then as now "exposed the preservers to the animadversions of an angry press;" and, since the pheasant cannot exist in England unless it is preserved, our author looks forward to the day when "it will be considered an indispensable act of prudence for the country gentleman to offer up his last hecatomb of pheasants at the shrine of public opinion." Still, though he feels "there must be something radically wrong in the Game Laws,—how or when these laws are to be amended is an affair of the

legislature, the ornithologist can only point out the grievance they inflict on society, and hope there will soon be a change in them for the better,"—he has no sympathy with poachers. He notes that all the desperate affrays are due to pheasants (just as Gilbert White found the red deer of the New Forest the chief demoralisers of his district). When men go after hares or partridges they generally go alone. It is curious that the same distinction is well brought out in the latest book on the subject, that admirable description of country life called *The Amateur Poacher*. To baffle the marauder our author recommends "six or seven dozen of wooden pheasants nailed on the branches of trees; these cause unutterable vexation and loss of ammunition to the nocturnal plunderers," and if you plant spruce instead of larch you can set the poachers at defiance, for it is all but impossible to get a shot at a pheasant in a thick spruce.

Another evil result of the Game Laws is, in Waterton's opinion, the extermination of many of the rarer birds of prey "by our merciless gamekeepers. Ignorant of the real habits of birds, and ever bent on slaughter, these men exercise their baneful calling with a severity almost past belief. No sooner have they received from Government their shooting license than out they go with the gun, and under one pretext or other they kill almost every bird that comes in their way." In this way the kite, the buzzard, and the raven had all been exterminated from the neighbourhood of Walton since Waterton's father's time. He fears the heron will be treated in the same way, and wishes to see it protected so that it may take to some extent the place which the stork holds abroad.

Always controversial, our author falls foul of Rev. F. O. Morris as to the oil-glands of birds, denying absolutely that they ever oil their feathers.

The exordium of the essay on trees is a beautiful instance of that restrained and subdued power which is such a contrast to the gush of writers like Kingsley. "The bloom, the fruit, the health and vigour of a tree are interwoven with the economy of birds. Do you wish to have a view of seven or eight different kinds of colibri collected at one tree? wait in patience till the month of July, when a vast profusion of red flowers on the *bois immortel* invites these lively creatures to a choice repast." In Guiana every bird that you want to see may be found by watching at its

accustomed tree. In his own grounds he could do much the same thing with almost every British bird; they were an open aviary in which the habits of creatures could be studied in a way impossible when they were kept in captivity: "this knowledge of the habits of birds, which at once lets you into their little secrets, is only to be obtained by a constant attention to the notes and habits of the feathered tribes in the open air." Nor did Waterton think ordinary out-door observation enough; in his view an ornithologist must be ready to climb trees, a feat for which (he says) nature had specially fitted him: "I respectfully beg leave to inform our grave doctors of zoology that I have been gifted with vast powers of leg and toe; I can spread all my five toes; and when I am barefoot in the forest I can make use of them in picking up sundry small articles from the ground. Having an uncommon liking for high situations, I often mount the top of a lofty tree, there to enjoy the surrounding scenery, nor can I be persuaded that I risk life and limb in gaining the elevated situation." This is a delightful sketch of the man as he was in his English home, listening to the cries of the birds and thinking of Guiana;—but the *Essays* must not keep us longer from the *Wanderings*, the record, *i.e.*, of a journey undertaken in April, 1812, through the wilds of Demerara with the twofold object of collecting a quantity of the strongest Wourali poison and of reaching the Portuguese frontier.

Here his style is more grandiose than in the *Essays*, but still by no means florid. His picture of a tropical forest should be compared with those of Kingsley in *At Last*: "Here you may see a sloping extent of noble trees, whose foliage displays a charming variety of every shade, from the lightest to the darkest green and purple. The tops of some of are crowned with bloom of the loveliest hue; while the boughs of others bend with a profusion of seeds and fruits. Those whose heads have been bared by time or blasted by the thunderstorm strike the eye as a mournful sound does the ear in music; and seem to beckon to the sentimental traveller to stop a moment or two and see that the forests which surround him like men and kingdoms have their periods of misfortune and decay." This moralising belongs to the time. Châteaubriand moralises in the same style, but in much more sonorous phrases. We like him better where he is purely descriptive. Take this, for instance:

"A vine called bushrope by the woodcutters, on account of its use in hauling out the heaviest timber, has a singular appearance in these forests. Sometimes you see it nearly as thick as a man's body twisted like a corkscrew round the tallest trees, and rearing its head high above their tops. At other times, three or four of them, like strands in a cable, join tree and tree and branch and branch together; others, descending from on high, take root as soon as their extremity touches the ground, and appear like the shrouds and stays supporting the mainmast of a line-of-battle ship, while others, sending out parallel, oblique, horizontal, and perpendicular shoots in all directions, put you in mind of what travellers call a matted forest. Oftentimes a tree, above a hundred feet high, uprooted by the whirlwind, is stopped in its fall by these amazing cables of nature; and hence it is that you account for the phenomenon of seeing trees not only vegetating but sending forth vigorous shoots, though far from the perpendicular, and their trunks inclined to every degree from the meridian to the horizon."

This is an excellent specimen of unembellished description—thin, perhaps, according to our modern notions, but firm and clear; not aiming at too much, but representing perfectly what it does aim at.

At the outset Waterton had to travel by water; to penetrate the woods in the low-lying districts is impossible, at least for a European. The high grounds further up stream were pretty free from underwood; and, with a cutlass to sever the small bushropes, he found it easy to make his way. The rarity of four-footed animals astonished him. These forests, however, are the native home of the armadillo, the ant-bear, and the sloth, of which last creature Waterton gives a long description, putting in a plea against killing a beast which has never hurt one living creature, and whose piteous moans are said to make the tiger relent and to turn him out of the way.

Among snakes the deadliest and at the same time the most beautifully-coloured is the counacouchi, called bushmaster, because man and beast fly before him. He is very large for a venemous snake, sometimes measuring fourteen feet.

If our author luxuriates in descriptions of the Guiana fauna, and of the various sounds which echo through the forest, except during the dead silence of noon, he does it to incite others to follow in his track: "It may appear a difficult task at a distance; but look close at it, and it is nothing at all; provided thou hast a quiet mind little more

is necessary, and the genius which presides over these wilds will kindly help thee through the rest. She will allow thee to slay the fawn and to cut down the mountain-cabbage for thy support, and to select from every part of her domain whatever may be necessary for the work thou art about; but, having killed a pair of doves in order to enable thee to give mankind a true and proper description of them, thou must not destroy a third through wantonness or to show what a good marksman thou art."

From the falls of the Demerara Waterton crossed to the Essequibo, travelling under trees so matted above that the sun never once shone on his head; his canoe was carried round by a longer route. The magnificence of the trees—green-heart, purple-heart, wallaba, &c., "straight pillars, sixty or seventy feet high, without a knot or branch"—surpasses even that of the forests which he had already seen. "Hills, valleys, and lowlands are linked together by a chain of forest. Ascend the highest mountain, climb the loftiest tree, as far as the eye can extend, whichever way it directs itself, all is luxuriant and unbroken forest." Here, again, he appeals to the reader "to dedicate a few months to the good of the public, and to do what I, an accidental traveller, was totally unfit for;" and then he points out how his successor might recommend that stone from the rock Saba should be brought down to face the breakwaters at Stabroëk; that the rapids might be made navigable by getting out the masses of stone from the river bed; that the high lands, being very healthy, might be largely colonised, and the Indians easily won over as helpers in agricultural work.

He was now among the Macoushi Indians, who make the wourali poison and use the blowpipe to shoot game.

Here is a tempting description of a savannah:

"The finest park that England boasts falls far short of this delightful scene; there are about 2,000 acres of grass, with here and there a clump of trees, and a few bushes and single trees scattered up and down by the hand of Nature. The ground is neither hilly nor level, but diversified with moderate rises and falls, so gently running into one another that the eye cannot distinguish where they begin nor where they end, while the distant black rocks have the appearance of a herd at rest. To the northward the forest forms a circle, as though it had been done by art; to the eastward it hangs in festoons, and to the south and west it rushes in abruptly, disclosing a new scene

behind it at every step as you advance along. This beautiful park of Nature is quite surrounded by lofty hills, all arrayed in superbest garb of trees, some in the form of pyramids, others like sugar-loaves towering one above the other, some rounded off, and others as though they had lost their apex. . . . There are no sandflies, nor *bête-rouge*, nor mosquitos in this pretty spot. At night the fireflies vie in numbers and brightness with the stars in the firmament above; the air is pure, and the north-east breeze blows a refreshing gale throughout the day."

What has now become of this earthly paradise? Is it turned into a coffee ground, or does it pasture cattle whose hides are sent to Europe as their carcases will be when the freezing process is a little more perfected?

The next few days' march was a contrast to this lovely spot. Bare hills had to be crossed "made chiefly of stones set edgewise," three creeks to be forded, and a river swam in which were plenty of alligators twenty feet long. By-and-by the weather changed; and rain in torrents, with no sun to dry the hammocks, threw Waterton into a fever. The commandant of the Portuguese Fort St. Joachim received him most affectionately. "My orders," said he, "forbidding the admission of strangers were never meant to be put in force against a sick English gentleman."

Here he got plenty of the wourali poison, the making and use of which he describes at much length, noticing that, besides the wourali vine, the powdered fangs of two kinds of deadly snakes, the big black and the small red ant, and other ingredients seemingly useless, are put into the mixture; and that to its virulence there appears to be no antidote.

Waterton's next journey began in 1816 at the dirty town of Pernambuco. Here he pauses in his narrative to regret the destruction by Pombal of the Jesuits. "Go to Brazil," he says, "and see with thine own eyes the effect of Pombal's short-sighted policy. There vice reigns triumphant and learning is at its lowest ebb. . . . When you visit the places where those learned fathers once flourished and see with your own eyes the evils their dissolution has caused; when you hear the inhabitants telling you how good, how clever, how charitable they were, what will you think of our poet-laureate for calling them, in his *History of Brazil* 'missioners whose zeal the most fanatical was directed by the coolest policy.' . . . Ah, Mr. Laureate that

quidlibet audendi of yours may now and then gild the poet at the same time that it makes the historian cut a sorry figure. Could Father Nobrega rise from the tomb he would thus address you: 'Ungrateful Englishman, you have drawn a great part of your information from the writings of the Society of Jesus, and in return you attempt to stain its character by telling your countrymen that "we taught the idolatry we believed."'" And then he goes on to pick Southey's remarks to pieces, showing that he makes the same men self-denying, good and useful, and yet teachers of idolatry. Altogether, the passage is a warning against importing controversy into history, and furnishes one more comment on the text that "the wrath of man," and above all his polemical virulence, "worketh out the righteousness of God."

Our author stayed long enough in Brazil to collect a good many birds; to have a very narrow escape from a rattlesnake whose head, wagging in the long grass, he had mistaken for a grasshopper, and was just going to seize it for his cabinet; and to receive a good deal of kindness from the well-known family of Kearney. He was in Cayenne not long after Victor Hugues, the governor, had surrendered to the Portuguese; the town had of course lost its wonted cheerfulness, but the spice plantation of La Gabrielle—*a jardin d'acclimatation*—full of tropical fruit trees, clove gardens, &c., delighted him. Its director, the botanist Martin, had attached to it a nursery in which East Indian and other plants were reared for distribution to the colonists.

Just as, for Olinda and the rest of Brazil, Bates should be read along with Waterton; so Palgrave is an admirable companion to his sketches of town life in the Guianas. We have not space to compare their present condition, as Palgrave gives it, with that in which Waterton found them. Demerara in his time was exceptionally prosperous; even the slaves were happy. Slavery, he owns, can never be defended; but the Demerara planter "cheers his negroes in labour, comforts them in sickness, is kind to them in old age, and never forgets that they are his fellow-creatures." By-and-by, at Barbadoes, he reverts to this subject. "Abolition," he says, "is a question full of benevolence and fine feelings, difficulties, and danger. It requires consummate prudence and a vast fund of true information to draw just conclusions on this important subject." The hasty

abolitionist may incur the fate of Phaëton, and "as philanthropy is the very life and soul of this momentous question, perhaps it would be as well at present for the nation to turn its thoughts to poor ill-fated Ireland."

The beauty of the Guiana birds is proverbial—the humming-birds hovering in crowds over the red blossoms of the *bois immortel*, the toucan, the snow-white campanero, whose bell-note is the only sound which breaks the silence of the tropical noon, and scores of brilliant creatures, like patches of animated rainbow, of which it would be useless merely to record the names. With his usual thoughtful tenderness for live creatures, he puts in a plea for the home woodpeckers, while telling us that the woods of Guiana contain fourteen species: "they never wound healthy trees, they live on the insects which are destroying timber, and their boring is really useful to man as showing him what trees ought to be cut down." How much cruelty these popular errors have to answer for; the goatsucker has been falsely accused from time immemorial of milking the flocks, and the hedgehog is still believed, even where Board schools are at work, to suck the cows.*

Perhaps of all the sights in Guiana the grandest must be a flight of thousands of ara parrots. They fly low enough to give a full view of their flaming scarlet bodies, their red, yellow, blue and green wings, and the long glories of their blue and scarlet tails. It is with a view of tempting others to follow his example that our author revels in the description of all these lovely creatures. With the same view he is careful to explain that there is far less danger to health from tropical travel than from London dissipation. The heat is tempered by the perpetual verdure and the refreshing north-east breeze. The traveller needs little; Waterton's costume was of the simplest—a straw hat, shirt, and drawers. On principle he went barefoot in the forest; though he found by sad experience that in a canoe it was necessary to have the feet and ankles covered. Besides prudence and resolution,† tact and courtesy must be the traveller's constant

* The Indians and negroes both hold the goatsucker sacred: the former believe it is a departed ancestor, the latter look on it as sent by Jumbo for the punishment of hard-hearted masters.

† Here is one out of many instances of his own presence of mind. Once a snake sprang at him, seized with his teeth his Russia sheeting trousers, and coiled his tail round his left arm. "Thus accoutred (he says) I made

companions. He notes that, "as a man generally travels for his own ends and not for the purpose of benefiting those whom he is about to visit, *it rather becomes him to court than to expect to be courted;* let him therefore always render himself pleasant to the natives, and they are sure to repay his little acts of courtesy with ample interest and with a fund of serviceable information." Armed in this way (and it would be well indeed if all travellers were similarly armed) Waterton got on fairly well without tinmeats and all the luxuries now become indispensable. He could eat red monkey, despite its unpleasant resemblance to a young child; he even tried roasted wasp grubs (an Indian delicacy), but could not stomach them. He constantly tells us that he not only collected specimens but learnt much about the habits of the creatures that he collected. Where are the scientific notes that he doubtless drew up as supplementary to his more popular account of his journeys? Could not Mr. Wood learn something about them?

On his third journey he cured himself of a violent fever, which came on through neglecting to take medicine when he had felt for two or three days "in a kind of twilight state of health." Calomel and jalap, and bleeding and castor oil drove out the fever, bringing on copious perspiration, and then bark rebuilt the shattered frame. Such was the medical system of those days. On this journey too he found that the sloth is not really an unhappy creature; its unhappiness is solely due to its being placed on the ground, whereas its home is among trees, which it never leaves of its own choice, travelling from tree to tree in windy days when the boughs get interlaced and afford it a succession of bridges. "The sloth is as much at a loss to make his way on smooth ground as a man would be to walk a mile in stilts upon a line of feather beds." Waterton had the satisfaction of saving one of these interesting creatures on the banks of the Essequibo. His Indians were going to kill it; but he held a long stick for it to hook on, and then conveyed it to a tall tree, up which it swarmed with wonderful rapidity.

my way out of the swamp, while the serpent kept his hold of my arm and trousers with the tenacity of a bulldog." As for snakes attacking unprovoked, he will not believe it, but thinks the tales about racer snakes and others must have been inserted in *Jameson's Journal* and elsewhere by some anxious old grandmother in the backwoods, to deter her grandchildren from straying into the wilds.

We must remember, as we read the wanderings, that many things which every well-taught child now knows were quite new when the book was published. The account of the ant-bear, for instance, was (if we mistake not) first given by Waterton; those were days in which prehensile (he writes *prensile*) was a new-coined word which he doubts the propriety of using. Some of his facts still seem like travellers' tales; we can swallow the story of the snake with the deer's horns hanging out of its mouth, there to hang until the head was sufficiently digested for them to drop off; but it is almost incredible that a boa, however ravenous, should swallow a tortoise, shell and all. By making a labarri snake bite itself (he holding its neck with the utmost coolness, so near the jaw that it could not turn and bite him), Waterton thought he proved that snakes are proof against their own venom. Whether this, if it is the fact, may be (as he seems to fancy) of use in framing antidotes, we will not pretend to say.

Of the Indians he does not say so much as we might expect; he saw nothing among them which told him they had lived there for a century, though they may have been there before the Redemption. The only civilised custom which they adopt is rum-drinking, in lieu of their native cassava-spirit. He narrates a maroon hunt, in which Indians were employed to help the whites, and strongly protests against their being stigmatised as idle. All men are so unless they have a motive for exertion; the man who, having made his fortune, gets up at nine, has a servant to help him dress, takes no exercise beyond a drive, and after a luxurious dinner, seasoned with often unmeaning talk, lolls in the drawing room till it is time to retire to the downy bed through which a warming pan has just been passed, has surely no right to accuse the Indian of laziness. His strong sense of justice would have sufficed to make him stand up for the native against the vulgar English notion that every other race was created for the special purpose of working hard for John Bull's profit; but he had another reason for saying a good word for these children of nature—his wife had Indian blood in her veins.* Charles Edmonstone, one of the Edmonstones of Broich, is often mentioned by Waterton as a kind and

* He was not blind to the natives' faults; he amusingly describes how one "who might have thriven in one of our large towns came Yorkshire over him," by bringing him an india-rubber ball which, instead of being solid, was stuffed inside with chewed leaves.

true friend. This Charles married Helen, daughter of another Scot, William Reid, and Minda, the child of an Arrowak chief. Anne Mary was one of the children of Charles and Helen. Waterton met her a mere child in Demerara, and determined she should be his wife. At their marriage in 1829, she was seventeen and he forty-eight. She died a few days after the birth of the son Edmund through whom this ancient family is kept up. There is not a word in the *Essays* or *Wanderings* to inform the reader who it was who had made our author "the happiest of men" (as he phrases it). The above is from Mr. Wood's supplementary biography.

There are plenty more adventures with snakes. Once Waterton allowed a small boa to coil round his body, as the readiest way of carrying it home. He says that the pressure was severe, but no mischief followed. Of the celebrated ride on the cayman, we need say nothing; almost every boy has read about it; but every one ought to read it in the plain, straight forward narrative of the writer. He brings the whole scene vividly before us, attributing his own firm seat on the creature's back to his practice with Lord Darlington's hounds. It is a pity that the naturalist Swainson, who had received some of his earliest instructions from Waterton, should in Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia* have fallen foul of his instructor, and, amongst other things, have said that to bestride a cayman was no such great feat, for on land the creature is almost powerless.

We pass over much that is very interesting, not only to the natural historian but also to the general reader, and dwell for a moment on the already mentioned custom-house difficulty at the end of the third journey. The Liverpool custom-house officials were not to blame; they had passed his cases before and knew that the idea of his bringing over anything contraband was absurd. The things had all been passed when in walked another officer who had been sent from London to play Argus over the smuggling which was going on merrily in the port. This man overthrew all the arrangements, and by-and-by "had the folly" (says Waterton) "to take me aside, and after assuring me he had a great regard for the arts and sciences, to lament that conscience obliged him to do what he had done, and to regret that he had not been fifty miles from Liverpool at the time. Had he looked in my face as he said this, he would have seen no marks of credulity

there." Even some eggs brought over, covered with gum arabic, and packed in charcoal, were kept in the depot instead of being put under a hen. This ungenerous treatment, he says, "paralysed his plans;" though it only made him defer publishing that method of stuffing specimens in which Mr. Wood says he gave him personal instruction.

His fourth journey was to the United States, which the publication of Wilson's ornithology prompted him to visit. He was a little astonished at the civilisation which he found everywhere, and soon gave up the idea of "coming across bugs, bears, brutes, and buffaloes." What struck him most was the number of elegant and polished ladies going about unchaperoned: "this incontestably proves the safety and convenience ensured to them, and that the most distant attempt at rudeness would by common consent be immediately put down."

At Buffalo he sprained his foot, and could not dance, though sorely tempted by a lovely young lady from Albany. In the hotel album he wrote:

> "He sprained his foot and hurt his toe
> On the rough road to Buffalo;
> It quite distresses him to stagger a-
> Long the sharp rocks of famed Niagara,"

to convince sympathising friends that he was not suffering from the gout. In his usual spirit of adventure he hobbled down the winding staircase of the Falls, and used the mighty cataract as a *douche*. American ladies he is never tired of extolling; he thinks our dressmakers might with advantage cross the Atlantic for fashions, instead of going to Paris. The custom of calling their towns by famous old names pleases him. Troy and Utica are suggestive; Dewsbury and Staplehurst are not. The only thing he does not like in America is the smoking. It is a Dutch habit (reason enough for his hating it). "In Dutch William's time the English gentleman could not do without his pipe. Now these times have luckily gone by, and the custom of smoking among genteel Englishmen has nearly died away with them. It is a foul custom." Waterton lived long enough to see the "foul custom" becoming even more prevalent than it was at the end of the seventeenth century. His account of the war of Independence is in the humorous style in which he usually treated

history. "It is but some forty years ago our western brother had a dispute with his nurse about a cup of tea. She wanted to force the boy to drink it according to her own receipt. He said he did not like it, and that it absolutely made him ill. After a good deal of sparring she took up the birch rod and began to whip him with uncommon severity. He turned upon her in self-defence, showed her to the outside of the nursery door, and never more allowed her to meddle with his affairs."

And now we take our leave of a book which few, we think, will take up who do not read it right through. The books we have coupled with it all bear on the same subject. Humboldt has less about Guiana than about the Cordilleras and the countries bordering on the Spanish Main. Bates felt equally with Waterton the exceeding charm of tropical travel; most of us know the wonderfully touching passage in which, speaking of the loveliness of the nights at the Equator, he fancies that our home in another world will be in such a climate; much of his journeying, too, was through country like that through which Waterton wandered. He, too, had his adventures. The frontispiece depicts him amid a flock of toucans;* he describes spiders big enough to eat birds; he found the ant-bear, which Waterton styles so incapable of defence, almost a match for a big dog; the Indians of the Amazon are in his account the counterparts of the Guianese. "When Pará became a bustling place the Indian families retired from it, as they always do from noise and excitement." We have not been able to refresh ourselves in one of the delights of our boyhood—Mdlle. Merian's account of Surinam and all its animal wonders. We wonder there is no reference to her in Waterton's book; Mr. Wood would have added to the interest of his volume had he reproduced some parts of her work. In Raleigh's "discovery" we have the link which connects Guiana with the remoter part, as Palgrave joins it on to the present. Waterton tells us what it was in the days of our fathers and grandfathers.

Raleigh found there the same profusion and beauty of animal and vegetable life which strikes every visitor to

* On the apparent uselessness of the toucan, which has such a huge bill, and barks like a dog, Waterton remarks that the toucan might ask the *cui bono?* of saunterers up and down Bond-street, or even of some of the young gentlemen who get into Parliament and recruit the ranks of the silent members.

those shores. After detailing his cruise among the West India Islands, the cruelty of Barreo,* and his own dealings with caciques (who would look for caciques now in a West Indian island?), he tells how they went with the flood up the great river Orinoco, "and the further we went on (our victual decreasing, and the air breeding great faintness) we grew weaker and weaker when we had most need of strength and ability."

Readers of Waterton cannot fail, we think, to turn to Raleigh, if only to smile at the hopes of the city of El Dorado in a land which, to all appearance, has never been peopled by any but wholly uncivilised tribes.

It merely remains to give the closing scene of Waterton's life. He never, despite his keeping aloof from society, passed wholly out of men's recollection. There was always the feeling that somewhere in Yorkshire lived a man who had turned his park into a birds' and beasts' home, where wild creatures lived their lives without molestation, paying for protection by allowing their protector to study their ways. At last, in 1865, came the obituary notice in the *Illustrated News*—the descendant not of Sir T. Mere only, but of Leofric and Godiva, the twenty-seventh Lord of Walton, who traced his descent from Queen Matilda, from St. Margaret of Scotland, St. Louis, St. Anne of Russia, and several other royal saints, had gone to rest. The veteran naturalist, who had set ague and fever at defiance, and had recovered from half a dozen serious accidents, a fall of twenty feet out of a tree being the last of them, stumbled over a bramble, and falling on a log gave his side a fatal injury. He was too much hurt to be taken up to his own bedchamber at the top of the house, and expired on a sofa in his sister-in-law's room.

Thus, at the ripe age of eighty-three, "the squire" (as he was always called in the neighbourhood) was taken from the trees he so loved—his "twelve apostles," his "seven deadly sins," his "eight beatitudes," and the tall tree to the top of which he would climb almost to the last, Horace in hand (the same Horace that had been his companion in the Guiana forest), to sit, and study, and enjoy the prospect. He was as tender of trees as he was of birds and beasts; always arresting decay by excluding the wet,

* One cacique the Spaniards led about chained like a dog till he ransomed himself with a hundred plates of gold and divers chains of spleen-stones.

and building up the stumps into tempting homes for starlings and cole-tits. Holly and yew were his special favourites; he had a plan for making holly grow quickly by careful planting in very rich soil. A holly hedge he put in wherever he could instead of quickset. Yew hedges kept out the north wind, the only foe he dreaded. In the shelter of one he used to stand at sundown, and watch the flocks of birds coming into the secure retreat which, at the cost of £10,000, he had provided for them. It cost quite that sum to build a wall eight feet high in most places, sixteen feet high along the canal for extra protection against the bargees, round his 259 acres. Waterton was poor; the penal laws had impoverished the family, and his own kindness of heart laid him open to much fraud: tenants would leave their rent in long arrear, and would then make off without paying anything, having moreover exhausted the land to the very uttermost. It was a maxim with him never to go in debt; and, small as were his personal expenses (his fare was of the simplest, he always lay on the bare boards, wrapped in a blanket with a log for his pillow), such a sum could not be raised at once. The wall was therefore built by degrees, the work being stayed for a year the moment the allotted sum was spent. Birds of all kinds soon flocked in; Mr. Wood saw forty herons' nests; herons were specially welcome, because they kept down the water-rats. How the birds knew that the wall would protect them, and that the men who were inside it were friends and not foes, is a puzzle. We talk of instinct; here is a case of reasoning, if not of reason.

"Time, the great annihilator of all human inventions save taxation and the National Debt" (as he used to say), will lay its hand on the birds' sanctuary of Walton Park, as it had already done on the old hall. Of this there is nothing left but the gateway and tower. Waterton's father pulled down the place which had stood a siege conducted by Cromwell in person, destroyed its oak-panelled hall, ninety feet long, and built in its stead an ugly stone box with holes, wholly out of keeping with the artificial island (crannoge it would be called in Ireland or the Highlands) on which it stands, and with all the associations of the place. The starling-tower, built so as to keep out rats and cats; the pigeon-house, which set at defiance the plundering caterers for shooting matches; the poisoned rat-baits so contrived that poultry could not get at them—all these will

be forgotten. The "picnic corner," where "the Squire" set up swings and admitted excursionists to see his paradise, has been shut up since some wanton visitors abused the kindness shown to them by burning down a good part of the yew hedge. For all we know, the protection so many years afforded to animals of all kinds may have ceased. But not so the memory of one "who never wasted an hour nor a shilling," who, starting in life as Martin did in *Tom Brown*, but finding at Stonyhurst more genial treatment than the Rugby system allowed, developed into one of the most estimable of men and the most enthusiastic of naturalists. No doubt he was eccentric; as Mr. Wood says, "it was eccentric to give bountifully, and never allow his name to appear in a subscription list; it was eccentric never to give dinner parties, preferring to keep an always open house for his friends. It was eccentric to be ever child-like, but never childish. . . . The world would be much better than it is if such eccentricity were more common." One strange bit of eccentricity was his setting out to walk barefoot from a village in the Campagna into Rome. People said he did it to imitate the old pilgrims; he asserted that it was only because he had got the habit in Guiana and found walking barefoot far the more comfortable. A Scot who accompanied him came off scatheless, but Waterton found the Italian roads so different from the forest paths that he was laid up for two months. Another eccentricity was his always going to rest at 8 p.m. and rising at 3 a.m.; another was his abhorrence of scientific names, as if even Ptilonorhyncus was worse than Coulacanara and many other of his Indian names.

Mr. Wood tells us that it was with the view of explaining these names that he undertook his new edition. He has done so in a very full explanatory index, in which lovers of natural history will find, to their delight, not only descriptions of all the creatures mentioned by Waterton, but also portraits of a good many of them. Though Mr. Wood has not studied the birds *in situ*, he has watched at the Zoological Gardens; and has found, among other things, that the flamingo there scratches its head with its claw almost as readily as a linnet can. The *Notes* are not confined to living creatures; Mr. Wood tells us all about coffee, and its romantic introduction into the West Indies: a Frenchman, Deschieux, brought two ships from Holland to Martinique, and when water fell short and all on board were allowanced,

he gave half his share to his plant. He does not mention the antiseptic property of cassava juice (*cassareep*), which enables the Indian on a canoe voyage to take with him a supply of meat for several days. One of his facts is very noteworthy, that the peccaries sometimes, by keeping well together, manage to kill a jaguar who is watching for stragglers, before he has time to escape them.

One closing word about "the Squire's" funeral. It must have been a strange sight, the coffin on a floating bier; the bishop and priests (fourteen in all) preceding it in a barge, chanting the office for the dead; the mourners following in barges all draped in black; the burial in the park close by a pair of favourite oak trees. A characteristic end to such a singular career.

We have no space to deal with Waterton's essay on preserving birds, or with Mr. Wood's supplement on taxidermy in general. Waterton's specimens were hollow, the skin depending wholly on itself for support, and being as light and elastic as thin horn. He was not satisfied with preparing creatures as they are; he delighted in joining together portions of different animals, after the fashion of the Chinese mermaid; and one of his groups represented John Bull, a tortoise with the head of a man, weighed down with 800 millions of national debt, and beset with lizards which bats' wings and abnormal spines and horns had transformed into devils. The nondescript already alluded to was the head of a howler-monkey, from which Waterton removed every particle of bone and pared the skin down so thin that he was able to alter the facial angle and give it an aquiline nose. In fact, says Sydney Smith (in his lively review of the *Wanderings*),* it is a Master in Chancery, or (as we rather fancy) one of the Lords of the Treasury. His process enabled him to do everything with a skin, says the enthusiastic author of *Homes Without Hands*, except prevent it from turning black: that discovery is reserved for some future Waterton.

* Sydney Smith's genial pleasantry is a contrast to the storm of harsh derision with which the *Wanderings* were received. The witty canon says: "Waterton seems in early life to have been seized with an unconquerable aversion to Piccadilly, and to that train of meteorological questions and answers which forms the great staple of polite conversation. The sun exhausted him by day, the mosquitoes bit him by night, but on he went, happy that he had left his species far away, and was at last in the midst of his blessed baboons." The best thing in the review is the comparison of a sloth, which passes its whole life in suspense, to a young clergyman distantly related to a bishop.

ART. VI.—1. *Penal Servitude Acts: Commission Report.* 1879.

2. *Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons.* 1879.

3. *Report of the Commissioners of Prisons.* 1879.

4. *Convict Life.* By A TICKET-OF-LEAVE MAN. London: 1879.

5. *Reports of the Howard Association,* 5, Bishopsgate Street, London.

FEW persons are aware of the extent and variety of the literature on the subject of prisons and prisoners. Ever since the time of John Howard increasing attention has been paid to this theme, and within the present century innumerable books and pamphlets have been devoted to it, not only in England and America, but in almost every Continental country. Some of the most sagacious statesmen, the ablest administrators, and the most zealous philanthropists and social reformers, at home and abroad, have addressed themselves to the working out of the problems, how best to deal with criminals so as adequately to punish them and yet secure their reformation, while deterring others from crime; and how to prevent the growth of the criminal class. The just medium is being attained between the two extremes of a harshness that approaches injustice to the criminal, and of undue considerateness that amounts to a wrong against society.

England has witnessed many notable reforms in her gaol system, but perfection is not yet reached, and the public mind needs to be kept informed, so that further improvements may be effected. It is even desirable to learn the impressions and opinions formed by some who have been themselves incarcerated; although, of course, these must be received with caution and reservation. Several such works have appeared during recent years; but perhaps one of the most interesting and valuable is the fourth in the list at the head of the present Article.

The author states that after living up to middle life as a gentleman, and with an honourable reputation, he was weak enough to allow a terrible domestic affliction to drive

him into dissipation, and the result was the committal of an act for which the law claimed him as a victim. After undergoing upwards of six years' penal servitude he was released upon license, or by what is generally known as a "ticket-of-leave;" the possessor of which has to report himself monthly to the police, and is liable to be apprehended and sent to work out the remainder of the sentence in the event of any infraction of the rules on which the ticket is granted.

Frequent complaints have often been made, and as often denied, that the police use their knowledge to hinder such a man from obtaining work, and that they exercise petty tyranny in administering the rules. It is difficult to determine the point, but care should be taken to see that injustice is not done, even by excess of zeal on the part of blundering constables.

The present system of classification of convicts was adopted in 1864. Under it there are five classes; promotion from a lower to a higher being gained by good conduct and industry, subject to the conditions that at least one year must be passed in each of the first three classes; that no convict can enter the first class unless he can read and write, without special permission by a director; and that the highest or special class is only available after exemplary conduct and within twelve months of discharge. Each class has distinctive marks of dress, and promotion brings increased privileges in letter-writing, visits, Sunday exercise, and the rate of gratuity on discharge.

The daily routine of life appears from the following official time-table. At five a.m. the bell rings for the prisoners to rise, wash, dress, make beds, and clean their cells. At twenty past five the muster is taken, and at twenty to six breakfast is issued to each in his cell. An hour later there is service in the chapel, and at seven the parade takes place for out-door labour, which lasts until eleven, when there is the march back for dinner at half-past. Labour is resumed at one until a quarter to five p.m., when the prisoners are marched back for supper. At five minutes past six there is school, or letter-writing for such as have permission, and at ten minutes to seven all are locked in their respective cells, in which the hammocks are made, and they turn in to bed at a quarter to eight. This daily routine, excepting on Sundays, when there is more church and parading in single file, lasts from February

16th to October 31st. During the shorter months the rising hour is fifteen to thirty minutes later, and out-door work ceases an hour earlier.

The last return gives the following as the number of convicts incarcerated on December 31st, 1878:*

Borstal	418
Brixton	318
Chatham	1,313
Dartmoor	960
Millbank	258
Parkhurst	657
Pentonville	1,005
Portland	1,587
Portsmouth	1,305
Woking	684
Wormwood Scrubs	522
	9,022

The above were the male convicts; the females being at—

Fulham	287
Millbank	195
Woking	721
	1,203

Of these, 239 were received during the year 1878, besides 31 with licenses revoked or recommitted to serve out the remainder of their original sentences. Of male convicts thus admitted there were 1,511 and 111 respectively. The number of reconvictions during twenty years shows a percentage of 18·9 to the whole number of sentences; and during the same period, out of 28,246 licensed on tickets-of-leave, 8·8 per cent. had their licenses revoked. To keep these gaol-birds in order there are required under the existing system 1,558 officers, from governors down to labourers and civil guards. Of the whole, only eighty-one are engaged in the moral treatment of the prisoners, viz.: twenty-five chaplains and fifty-six Scripture-readers and schoolmasters.

It has been frequently objected that prisoners who know

* The only colonial convict establishment now under the control of the Directors is at Freemantle, in Western Australia, where 534 were under detention on December 31st, 1878, but of these 316 were ticket-of-leave holders in private service.

how to ingratiate themselves with the chaplain by simulating an interest in his instructions, and by voluble and noisy professions of piety, are certain to secure favourable reports and to obtain modifications in their discipline. We are not prepared to say how far this is true, although some of the allegations are very specific and positive. Happily, all prison chaplains are not mere officials. Some of the ablest and most earnest prison reformers of recent years have belonged to that class. They have also exhibited much shrewdness in their knowledge of human nature, and were not at all likely to be imposed upon by whining hypocrites. Yet, remembering this, and dealing rather with the system than with individuals, we should like to see far less of the official element in matters relating to the moral and religious instruction of criminals, and much more of wise and loving voluntary effort on the part of Christian teachers, irrespective of sect. As the case now stands, there can be only perfunctory and fitful influence exercised upon individuals, when we consider the number under the charge of each gaol chaplain, who has also to supervise the library and the letters. Be he ever so devoted and laborious, he cannot see the members of his black flock often enough or long enough to obtain that knowledge of each and to exert that beneficent influence which are so desirable. With a proper system of classification, that separates habitual criminals from novices, and that discriminates between kinds and degrees of crime; and with a more effectual carrying out of the plan of having one, or at the most two, in a cell, where the chief part of the time might be spent in suitable work, it would be a salutary provision to appoint in each prison several large-hearted men of high moral character, average intelligence and common sense, whose time should be devoted to visiting every cell, and whom the inmates might learn to trust as friends and guides. If any valid objection existed to making official appointments of this kind, there can be no doubt that efficient volunteers would be forthcoming, from whom a suitable selection might be made. This is a work specially suited to wise and earnest Christian ladies. Miss Antrobus, daughter of the well-known and highly-esteemed Middlesex magistrate, has shown during the last seventeen years what unostentatious but invaluable work can be done in this way, by her periodical visits to the Westminster prisons. Many of the improvements in prison discipline

in modern times have arisen from the exertions of voluntary and non-official visitors, such as John Howard, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Elizabeth Fry, Sarah Martin, Miss Dix, Thomas Wright, and others.

It is a problem of ancient date, the working out of which has greatly exercised prison reformers, how to deal effectually—mingling kindness with rigour—with the confirmed, habitual, and hardened criminal. Unhappily there are too many of such to be found among both sexes; persons who may be said to have been born and cradled in crime, whose earliest lessons were in the art of cheating and robbery, who have graduated in successive schools of villany, who are steeped and saturated in vice, who have never done an honest day's work out of prison, and who never intend to do it unless forced. They are modern Ishmaels of the worst type. Their hand is against every man who can be defrauded of property by cunning or by brutal force. Law, as embodied in the policeman, the magistrate, the judge, and the gaoler, is a natural enemy, to be evaded and cheated when possible, and to be submitted to when escape is out of the question. In the latter alternative, incarceration in prison is inconvenient and annoying, but release is looked forward to as furnishing opportunity for fresh raids upon society. These are often planned within the gaol, and novices in burglary, forgery, and other kinds of fraud are initiated into the profounder mysteries by adepts in crime. The question arises—Why should such confirmed scoundrels be suffered to have their liberty, when it is well known how they will abuse it? They have been many times in prison, their career of infamy is notorious, they do not mean to amend their ways, but they are sure to be found in their old haunts and at their hateful practices immediately on regaining their freedom. The kindest thing for them and for the community would be to detain them for life, and to keep them entirely separate from criminals of a different order, and especially from those who are being punished for a first offence. Here is the delineation by the author of *Convict Life*, after close contact with them for more than six years:

"They approach most thoroughly to the idea of universal and consummate depravity. They think nothing of passing their lives in inflicting misery upon their fellow-creatures, and they do it not only with satisfaction but with a hideous rapture. If they can commit robberies without violence, they only prefer to do so

because they avoid all risk of the 'cat,' which is the only thing they fear, and which, I think, therefore, should be liberally administered; but if the robbery cannot be effected quietly, they do not scruple to use the knife or the bludgeon, buoying themselves up with the hope that they will escape detection, which, three times out of four, they do. Their social habits are as filthy inside the prison as no doubt they are in the rookeries they call their homes. They have a strange disposition to filthiness and dirt in all senses of the words, and the hog is a sweeter animal by far. They have a *penchant* for horrible vices, which, I regret to say, they get opportunities to commit even in what are called 'separate prisons.' I am certain that if the sensuality, the poltroonery, the baseness, the effrontery, the mendacity, and the barbarity which distinguish the every-day life of these professional thieves were depicted in the character of a hero in a criminal romance, it would be set down as a caricature. I am not exaggerating. I solemnly declare that whatsoever things are unjust, whatsoever things are filthy, whatsoever things are hateful and fiendish, if there be any vice and infamy deeper and more horrible than all other vice and infamy, it may be found ingrained in the character of the English professional thief. Compared with him, Gulliver's 'Yahoos' were cultivated gentlemen."

These are the habitual criminals concerning whom the late Mr. M. D. Hill, Q.C., Recorder of Birmingham, urged the principle that they should not receive definite sentences, but sentences of restriction, until they gave proof of reformation being really effected. They, however, form only a minority; and even with these, indignation at the wrong must not deaden us to pity for the wrongdoers. As is remarked in one of the issues of the Howard Association, "Three-fourths, or even four-fifths of the criminals committed to convict prisons are only guilty of comparatively minor offences; often, for example, of a few thefts of small amount. A large proportion of these convicts are more to be pitied than blamed by reason of their miserable antecedents of orphanage, poverty, neglect, and temptation. Hence there is reason to fear that many of the sentences of seven, ten, or twelve years of penal servitude, now passed, are unmerciful, socially unwise, and absolute blunders in reference to civil economy." The plan might be substituted of two or three years' imprisonment in many cases, with careful separation from evil companionship, and with judicious occupation for mind and body under qualified supervision. It is not intended by this to advocate the solitary and silent system, although its effects have

been grosaly exaggerated and caricatured. But separation is indispensable, and this cannot be effected under the present plan of public works; the inutility and costliness of which will speedily appear. The alternative recommended would be far less expensive to the country, as a much smaller staff would be required, and the period of detention would be lessened, while the productive labour of convicts would increase.

There are degrees of guilt which ought not to be overlooked when passing sentence, and in the methods of carrying this into effect. A man may commit an act of fraud in some dire emergency, or under the pressure of sudden and extraordinary temptation. Another may give way to dangerous and wicked violence by reason of cruel provocation, long repeated, and at last driving its victim to the verge of madness. A youth may be led into vice and crime by companions infinitely worse than himself, yet who are crafty enough to escape detection or to elude pursuit, while they leave him in the toils, to upbraid himself during a lifetime for his folly and wickedness. A broken-hearted girl, betrayed and abandoned by man, and, as it seems to her in her utter wretchedness, cast off by God, perpetrates a terrible crime in her hour of agony. In all the above cases the wrongdoers must expect to reap as they have sown, but the administering of human justice should be with discrimination. Is it always so? Why, then, are sentences often so various and diverse, even when the crimes and the surrounding circumstances are so similar? How comes it to pass that different judges take such different views, and pronounce such capricious sentences? Is it true that the same judge will mete out degrees of punishment according to his own state of health or of temper at the time? There ought to be nothing arbitrary or capricious in this matter, and no fiction about the "majesty of the law" should be allowed to place a culprit at the mercy of an irascible, impatient, or bilious judge. Happily, there is no need to impugn, and it would be grosaly impertinent to defend, the uprightness of our judicial bench. The question is not one of purity, or rectitude, or veracity, but it solely relates to the accidents and infirmities to which all men, including judges, are liable. Even among the present distinguished occupants of the bench, several are associated in the popular mind with a sternness approaching to severity, while others are supposed to be in

the habit of taking a lenient view. Both surmises may be incorrect, and why should any judge be exposed to misconception because of the latitude in the passing of sentences which the existing state of the law largely permits? It would be far better to have in one criminal code a more carefully graduated scale of sentences, and then to see that these are inflicted so as not to harden and brutalise, and especially so as not to lead to indiscriminate association within the prison.

In theory, the convicts in our penal establishments are supposed to pass the greater part of their time in silence. Verbal communications are forbidden by rigorous rules, but there are ways and means of evading these. When a prisoner is sentenced to penal servitude, he is first sent to Millbank or Pentonville for a probationary period of nine months' separate confinement; after which he is drafted to Portsmouth, Chatham, Portland, Dartmoor, or elsewhere. The women are sent to Millbank, Fulham, and Woking; the invalids and lunatics to Parkhurst or Woking. For out-door work (*e.g.*, stone-quarrying) the prisoners are divided into gangs of about twenty-five under one warder. Even if he is strict in doing his duty, there are ample opportunities for them to converse in an under-tone while perfunctorily going through their allotted task. But the author of *Convict Life* alleges that many of the warders are open to influence, and that they connive at infractions of the rule of silence, either for a direct bribe from friends outside the prison, or in return for being themselves warned of the approach of a superior officer. Here is a definite statement that ought to be susceptible of instant proof or disproof:

"There is a tacit understanding between all 'second-timers' and old thieves, and the officers who have charge of them. If the officer is caught in any dereliction of duty, he is liable to a fine; these old thieves act as his spies, and take care that he is not caught. In return he allows the thieves to fetch what they call an easy lagging, to do as little work as they please and to talk as much they please—and such talk!"

The nature of the language used and the topics of this furtive conversation can only be hinted at. If what the writer asserts be true, one's blood curdles at the very thought of the horrible communications that pass. Nor are these confined to the out-door gangs. Those working

in the shops devise ample opportunities; and even the so-called "separate system," by which each occupant is alone in a cell for twelve hours or more out of the twenty-four, is made subservient to the forbidden gratification. The cells are ranged in several tiers, with a long gallery to each tier. Each cell is about eight feet deep by four feet wide, the partitions, in many cases, being thin sheets of corrugated iron. If a small hole be bored through near to the ground, the occupant of one cell, by lying down and placing his mouth or ear to the hole, can carry on a subdued conversation with the next inmate, who sits near the door to watch for the footfall of the officer in charge. On his approach a gentle knock suspends the talk until he has passed.

It has been the fashion of late to cry up the Irish convict system, with which the name of Sir Walter Crofton is identified; although the prior labours of Captain Maconochie ought never to be forgotten. He really laid the foundation on which his able successors have reared the superstructure. When the history of prison administration during this century comes to be written, full justice will be done to Maconochie's zealous and judicious labours. So far as the congregated method obtains, and notably at Spike Island,—which the Royal Commission recommend should be discontinued as a prison,—it must be sternly condemned. The main principles with Maconochie were: Impositions of so much work to be done by offenders, instead of detention for a fixed term; the abolition of rations beyond bread and water, prisoners being required to earn their food and clothing by their toil, like honest workers outside; reformation of the criminal the primary aim of punishment; the prisoner's condition to be made one of stern adversity, from which he must work his way by his own exertions; religious and secular instruction used as means of primary importance to reformation.

The Report for 1878 of the Directors of Convict Prisons, though dated July 1879, was not issued until October. It contains the usual voluminous statistics as to the number, ages, crimes, and punishments of the convicts, with the cost of their detention and maintenance, and the supposed value of their work. It gives extracts, all too brief, from the reports of the governors, chaplains, and medical officers of the respective establishments. The scanty information vouchsafed from men specially com-

petent, as a whole, from their experience and position, to give full and trustworthy testimony, is by no means counterbalanced by the interminable pages occupied with microscopical details of measurements of work done in each gaol. Every item is paraded with minute and solemn scrupulosity; even the odd farthings finding their due record. Opening at random at the Chatham Report, we are gravely told that "100 jagged spikes" were repaired at a cost of 7d.; that certain corners of steps were rounded at a cost of 1s. 8d.; that 115 tons of granite were removed and stacked for £3 2s. 3½d.; and so on through thousands of items, all of which are duly chronicled and paraded as if the continuance of the universe depended upon these wearisome items of petty book-keeping. There is strong reason to doubt the practical value and utility of many of the so-called "public works" which have been carried on during the last ten or fifteen years. Figures can be made to prove anything; but in spite of the large nominal value of convict labour as estimated above, the fact remains that the sum of £350,000 a year is drawn from the Exchequer. On the whole question the Royal Commissioners express an opinion that the method of valuing the articles supplied to other Government departments appears to be uncertain and not altogether satisfactory, and they urge that a regular profit and loss account be published, showing the estimated value of the articles produced. As to public works, they adopt the principle enunciated by the Commission of 1863, that the value of the labour ought to be ascertained as nearly as possible, as if it had been performed by contractors, and that it should be charged for accordingly. Doubtless if an independent surveyor were called in to determine the actual market value of the £214,282 worth of the work claimed to have been done by convicts during the year, as against £350,486, the gross expense of all the convict prisons, an enormous discrepancy would be apparent.

We should like to know, and the public have a right to ask, whether the following account truthfully represents the average nature of the out-door work done at Dartmoor. The author of *Convict Life* states that the only thing in which the authorities are systematic is in wasting time. He adds that an hour is wasted regularly every day at Dartmoor in absurd military marchings and countermarchings, and in useless formalities, before the men go to

work. He states that he often saw three or four hundred men kept waiting for fifteen or twenty minutes, because at the last moment it was found that a gang was short of an officer, or that an officer was without his musket, or that a sufficient number of picks, shovels, or barrows had not been provided. He proceeds to say:

"We were all marched, some twenty-four of us, to the other end of a large field, nearly half a mile off, to fetch a sledge with which to remove some stones from a bog-hole. Returning with the sledge we commenced the removal, and dragged the stones to one corner of the field. An hour thus slipped away, and the principal officer came his rounds. The stones had not been placed where he wished, and we were ordered to transfer them to the gate at the entrance to the field. We did that, and then the afternoon was gone. We were resuming our jackets to return to the prison, when the farm-bailiff came along upon his pony. He thought the stones would be in the way where we had last placed them, and directed that to-morrow we should remove them to the next field."

He further says:

"Labour is considered of no value upon 'public works,' and when sales are made of stones dressed by convicts, the amount they have cost the Government in food and clothing for the prisoners, and the wages of the men who watch them, is not taken into consideration at all; if it were, the prices would be so high that no sales could be effected. It is no exaggeration to say that an industrious free stone-mason would do as much work in an hour as a convict at Portland performs in a day. I have seen a hundred men employed for weeks on barrow-runs, destroying a hill and wheeling away the earth, to fill up a valley a quarter of a mile away; the very next summer the engineer officer discovered that a mistake had been made, and that the earth must be carried back again; and this sort of thing has been going on for the last twenty years."

The bulk of the work performed in the shoemaker's shop at Dartmoor consists of boots for the Metropolitan police force; the boots are supplied to the police at 9s. 3d. per pair, and as the material at contract price costs at least 8s. 3d., the prisoner who makes three boots in a week earns exactly 1s. 6d., or about the cost of the bread he eats, with no margin for the meat.

The Directors state that the near approach to completion of public works on which convicts are now engaged renders

it a question of pressing necessity to decide how they shall be employed in the future. As it is thought desirable for the large majority to be occupied in out-door labour (although the necessity or superiority of this may be challenged), it is suggested that some other great public work should be undertaken, such as a harbour of refuge in Filey Bay, or the purchase of a block of ground in a suitable position for farming and cognate operations. Either of these plans would involve the building of a new prison, but it does not appear to be the purpose of the Directors to make this subservient to another project for erecting a prison which shall enable them to carry out the system of classification as recommended by the Royal Commission. The objection as to bringing prison labour into competition with free labour may be dismissed as absurd and illusory. Why should not felons be made to earn their own livelihood, and even to bear the expenses of detention? Is the nation to support them in idle or useless captivity because of the clamour of a few ignorant or selfish persons? The labour of about thirty thousand inmates of convict prisons and gaols cannot affect the large aggregate of free labour, provided that the former is not allowed to undersell the latter, and that a variety of occupations are pursued.

It is natural that the present Directors should admire and defend their system against all comers, and should regard it with a sort of paternal pride, as absolutely perfect. Nor is it surprising that they appear to resent as troublesome and needless any outside inquiries and suggestions. The object seems to be to throw an air of mystery and secrecy around the domain on which they exert a sway that is practically irresponsible. In saying this, nothing personally offensive is intended. The strictures apply only to the system, and to the official attitude and temper induced by it. This is revealed in the very last Report, concerning a matter to which it is here needful to refer.

Early in 1878 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the condition of Convict Prisons and the operation of the Penal Servitude Acts. It consisted of the Earl of Kimberley, Sir Henry Holland, M.P., Mr. J. G. Talbot, M.P., Mr. S. Whitbread, M.P., Dr. Wm. Guy, F.R.S., and Dr. E. H. Greenhow, with Mr. Edmond R. Wodehouse as secretary. The Commission held fifty

sittings, and examined seventy-two witnesses, whose evidence is printed in full, and deserves careful perusal. Among the witnesses were Sir E. F. Du Cane and other past and present directors of convict prisons; Sir E. Y. W. Henderson, also a former director, and now Chief Commissioner of Metropolitan Police; Sir Walter Crofton; the governors of Millbank, Pentonville, Chatham, Portland, Dartmoor, and other convict establishments; the lady-superintendents of Fulham and Woking; various deputy-governors, chaplains, medical officers, and warders. Independent and unofficial witnesses were also examined, including Mr. T. B. L. Baker, of Hardwicke Court; Mr. Wm. Tallack, secretary of the Howard Association; and the secretaries of several Societies for Aiding Discharged Prisoners. Seven ex-convicts also gave evidence; the names of most of them being suppressed, for obvious reasons. Several of them deposed to acts of injustice, and even of brutal violence; although great difficulty was experienced in getting them to fix dates even approximately. Perhaps this is not surprising when we remember that they have no means of taking notes, and that the dreary monotony of a confinement extending over several years is not conducive to a retentive memory. The Commissioners showed great patience and care in endeavouring to get at the precise facts, so as to enable them to test their accuracy; and some of the allegations made as to the treatment endured demand rigorous inquiry, even after making full allowance for the proverbial falsity of convicts, and for the natural resentment and prejudice felt by these witnesses. Their testimony as to the general methods pursued, and their opinions as to certain needed improvements, must be taken *quantum valeat*. We understand that others, including several warders, were prepared to give evidence, but that in the case of the latter the Commissioners had no power to comply with the not unreasonable stipulation that future prospects should not be imperilled thereby.

Space does not allow of even a brief epitome of the evidence adduced, occupying 1,128 pages. An appendix of 102 pages contains voluminous papers handed in by different witnesses, chiefly by Sir E. F. Du Cane, giving copious statistics and copies of rules and regulations. Nearly one hundred pages more are occupied with a carefully-compiled analysis and index; so that reference

is very easy. The Report of the Royal Commission is dated July 14th, 1879. It opens with a recapitulation of the chief provisions of the Penal Servitude Acts, and describes the circumstances in which they were passed. This is of great interest and value as an historical review. The existing system of penal servitude is then succinctly explained, and the different features are pointed out as they exist in the three kingdoms. Twenty pages of the Report are thus occupied, and then the Commissioners proceed to consider the results of the system, and in what respects it appears to them to be capable of improvement. Whilst approving generally of it, they state that they have not overlooked the objections raised; the first and most important of which is that, although sufficiently deterrent, it not only fails to reform offenders, but in the case of the less hardened, and especially of first offenders, it produces a deteriorating effect from the indiscriminate association of all classes of convicts on the public works. This objection is considered to be sustained, on the whole, by the evidence, and the Commissioners recommend an improved system of classification, and especially that a separate class be formed, subject to certain exceptions, of convicts against whom no previous conviction of any kind is known to have been recorded. But they are not prepared to recommend the "vital change" in the present system, which would be involved by complete separation. The other principal recommendations are as follows, the reasons for them being fully stated in the Report:—(2.) That prisoners convicted of treason-felony should be separated from others. (3.) That the class known as weak-minded or imbecile should also be kept distinct, under the charge of officers specially chosen for their intelligence and command of temper. (4.) That the minimum sentence under the Penal Servitude Act of 1864 be altered from seven years to five. (5 and 6.) That needful improvements be made, especially in the metropolis, in the supervision of convicts on ticket-of-leave. (7.) That a superintending medical officer of high standing be appointed for all the establishments. (8.) That arrangements be made for the independent inspection of convict prisons by persons appointed by the Government, but unconnected with the Convict Prison Department, and unpaid. (9.) That the prison at Spike Island be abolished. (10.) That the Scotch and Irish dietaries be revised. (11.) That two members of the Irish Prison Board should take

an active part in the management of its prisons. The only dissentient member is Dr. William A. Guy, who records his reasons for differing from his colleagues on the eighth of the above recommendations. Some others of less moment, though of value in themselves, are made in the Report, such as that judges in passing sentence should declare in open court the amount of remission which the convict may earn by industry and good conduct. Another is that corrugated iron cells should everywhere give place to others of solid construction. A third suggests a remedy for inequality and possible injustice in the working of the system of marks; and a fourth indicates possible modifications in punishments for breaches of prison rules.

The last-named point demands special consideration. While it is absolutely necessary to maintain discipline and order, and the more so with that class who have never been subjected in their days of liberty to self-control or to salutary restraints, one statement in the last Report of the Directors must be regarded as highly unsatisfactory. It appears that no fewer than 16,529 offences were recorded during the year, being for the most part infractions of prison rules; and that in eighty-eight of these cases the punishment of flogging was incurred, in two cases there was confinement in dark cells, and in the rest there were dietary restrictions or loss of marks. One thing to be deprecated and guarded against is the multiplication of petty but vexatious prison rules and regulations, and treating their breach as a flagrant misdemeanour, entailing disproportionate punishment. Confirmed scoundrels, and those who have frequently been incarcerated, have cunning enough to escape detection; while the spirit of a truly penitent criminal, confined for a first offence, is almost sure to be soured or broken by what he regards as tyranny and a wrong. When we read in the last Report of the Directors that so many prisoners were punished with bread and water diet or with solitary confinement for infractions of rules, we cannot avoid the conclusion either that the rules are needlessly stringent and worrying, or that the administrators lack discretion. The author of *Convict Life* gives various instances, one of which may be quoted:

"A man who has been deprived of all knowledge of what has been going on in the world for half a dozen years picks up a piece of an old newspaper a few inches square, which has been blown on to the works at Portland from the neighbouring barracks.

Not being an old gaol-bird, with his eyes and ears everywhere, he is detected in the act of reading it, taken before the governor, and sentenced to three days' bread and water diet in a punishment cell, deprived of a portion of his clothing and all his bedding, reduced to an inferior class for three months, which modifies his diet and deprives him of the privilege of communicating with or being visited by his relatives, and he is fined a number of marks, the effect of which is to keep him a fortnight longer in prison."

The same writer tells how he was detected furtively copying extracts from poetical works lent to him from the library; his writing implements being brown wrapping paper issued for necessary purposes, and a small piece of common plumber's lead which he found. The punishment inflicted for this offence was three days' bread and water; followed by fourteen days' penal class diet; the loss of the privileges of tea, letter-writing, and the use of the library for three months; and a fine of as many marks as added six weeks to his imprisonment. Supposing this statement to be correct—and the entries in the punishment book at Portland can determine this—such a punishment for such an offence must be stigmatised as alike childish and barbarous. Nothing can justify the existence of such pedantic rules, and no governor ought to have it in his power to inflict such injustice. The same remark applies to the case of one prisoner giving to another who was more hungry part of the bread which he did not himself need; or to one exchanging an unsuitable book which he had chanced to get from the library. One ex-convict complained before the Commission of the severity and unreasonableness of the prison punishments in his own case, because he was supposed to be a "malingerer;" that is, a man who could work but would not. The record showed that between June 18th and December 14th, 1873, he was on bread and water diet for no less than seventy-six days; and had a similar punishment for fifty-five days between May 11th and September 16th, 1874. The doctor who sanctioned this admitted in his evidence (8,992)—"It seems to be a very tremendous quantity, and more than I had any idea of when I heard it read over just now." This is by no means an exceptional illustration.

We are not prepared without further inquiry and more definite evidence to accept the somewhat sweeping assertions made by the author of *Convict Life* as to the corruptibility and inefficiency of the warders. That they are

not all immaculate will readily be supposed, and they might possess higher moral qualifications with advantage. The specific allegations made as to bribery, complicity, arbitrariness, and cruelty are, we believe, being investigated by the higher authorities. We need not here reproduce the charges, but content ourselves with saying that if only one-tenth of them prove to be well-founded, the public will indignantly demand a sweeping measure of reform to be applied. Our objection goes much deeper. We regard it as a most serious evil that the persistent tendency at headquarters of late has been to entrust our prison administration almost solely to retired military officers and privates. The result has been the development of a martinet and pipe-clay system that leaves no scope or ability for the exercise of other and far more important qualities. It is easy to understand that, with a military man at the head of the Directors of Convict Prisons—as is the case with the present chief, Sir E. F. Du Cane, and as was the case with his predecessor, Sir E. W. Y. Henderson—there would be a preference for military governors and warders. It is also to be supposed that such men, having been accustomed to rigid rule and discipline on parade and in barracks, would bring to their task certain useful qualities. If these were always combined with the requisite moral qualities, with a just and discriminating knowledge of human nature, and with an earnest and intelligent desire to carry out the reformatory as well as the punitive character of prison discipline, the outcome would be satisfactory. But, unfortunately, in too many cases these higher characteristics are wholly lacking. A governor whose soul is bounded by mere notions of drill, whose time is mainly occupied in supervising endless routine and returns, and whose chief ambition is to keep his prison subjects under strict but outward military discipline, is not the man to effect any permanent good. As to his military subordinates, whatever they once had of individuality and sympathy has long since been drilled out of them, and they are reduced to the condition of mere human machines doing automatic work. There are exceptions, but the rule is as above stated. As to the ranks whence the warders are drawn, let the following extract from the last Report of the Howard Association speak:

"It is especially under Colonel Sir E. F. Du Cane's adminis-

tration that this feature has become so conspicuous. Yet his own Report on Military Prisons (issued in September, 1879) affords a striking caution as to the dangers and disadvantages of giving to military claimants a monopoly of prison rule. He shows that in the past ten years 17,628 men have been discharged from the army as bad characters, whilst the imprisonment of soldiers for various crimes amount annually to the withdrawal from the army of three strong battalions."

The Royal Commissioners say in their Report (p. liii.):

"Considerable difference of opinion prevails as to the relative merits of warders who have been in the naval and military services, and of those who have been taken from civil life. On the whole, we do not think it has been shown that there is any marked superiority in the one class over the other. From all the inquiries which we have made, we are led to the conclusion that the warders are a deserving body of men, and, as a rule, perform their difficult and irksome duties in a satisfactory manner."

Yet they recommend that power be given to search warders suspected of trafficking with the prisoners. Occasionally one is detected and prosecuted, as was the case on November 10, 1879, when one of the Chatham warders was fined £20, or three months' labour, for unlawfully conveying money to convicts.

The new Prison Acts came into force on April 1, 1878. They have already effected important improvements, and are certain to produce yet more if wisely carried out. The concentration of prisoners in a much smaller number of gaols affords an opportunity for largely increasing remunerative prison labour, and thus reducing the cost to the public. If care be taken to guard against the evils of excessive centralisation, and if the sympathy of humane persons outside be not checked and resented, the new system ought to be productive of a large amount of good. Perhaps it was inevitable that in its early working there should be a certain amount of friction, and that visiting justices, who had hitherto held virtually uncontrolled sway over borough and county gaols, should be disposed to complain of the change. But we are pleased to observe of late on the part of the Commissioners a disposition to smooth away difficulties and to enlist the aid of the justices. They may advantageously proceed much further in the same direction.

The Second Report of the Commissioners of Prisons—of whom Sir E. F. Du Cane is also chairman—is dated

July, 1879, and was issued in October. It states that the number of prisons in use has been reduced from 113 to 68, but it does not state what is, nevertheless, the fact, that this process of reduction, having been somewhat sudden and summary, has led temporarily to great expense and much inconvenience from the shifting of prisoners. Their daily average during the year is given at 19,733, and the total expenses at £477,456. More than half the number have to be provided with employment other than that of necessary work within the prisons, and it is suggested that the labour be turned in the direction of manufactures for the various departments of Government. The classifying of prisoners has been commenced, and in some places is completed; but there are numerous details which will present themselves for settlement as the plan comes into operation. The Commissioners hope to be able to surmount any difficulties as they arise, and to secure the advantages which the arrangement offers. With the Report are given various appendices of the number of inmates of the different gaols, of prison offences and punishments, of the length of sentences, of the official staffs, of juvenile offenders, and the ages of all, the expenditure under different heads for each prison, time tables of work, special reports as to hard labour, Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, medical statistics, and specific reports on each local prison. These particulars are mentioned to indicate the character of the Report, but the scope of the present article does not admit or call for more detailed reference. Nor can we enter upon such collateral but important topics as how to cut off the sources of crime; how effectually to deal with juvenile criminals, and with criminal lunatics and half-witted persons; and how to assist those who have fallen but once to retrieve their position. Enough has been said to demonstrate the necessity for yet further improvements in our penal system, and to indicate how these may effectually be carried out. We especially recommend a perusal of the Reports and papers issued by the Howard Association, which, with somewhat restricted means, is rendering unobtrusive but valuable service in the cause of prison reform, and in other pressing social questions.

ART. VII.—*A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures.* By JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D. Vol. IX. of the New Testament. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.

IN the centre and heart of his first Epistle St. John appeals to his readers by an expression which is unique in his writings, and in this form occurs nowhere else: BEHOLD! It is easy to exaggerate its importance, but it is equally easy to diminish it. The word is simple enough; and in the singular number is used for directing attention to all things from the highest conceivable to the least, from the mysteries of heaven and the Lamb of God upon earth to the number of the loaves in the miracle. In this plural form it is very rare. Our Lord used it once, "Come and Behold!" in a connection which the Evangelist could never forget; St. Paul says, "Behold with what great letters I have written to you;" and here St. John turns the thought of all Christians for ever to the great love manifested by the Father in the gift of regeneration. "Behold what manner!" This is the nearest approach to the fervour of apostrophe which his contemplative and tranquil soul allowed itself. He does not abound in those enthusiastic outbursts of devotion which glorify some of the periods of St. Paul and St. Peter when they speak of the "love that surpasseth knowledge," kindling a joy which is "unspeakable and full of glory." From the beginning to the end of the Epistle his amazement and his rapture —for he must have both—are objective rather than subjective in their expression; their objects speak for themselves; and he who describes them, describes them by pointing only to their greatness. But this little word "Behold!" has invited the attention of all Christian hearts from the beginning; and it has also enlisted the deep thought of expositors, who have varied much in their manner of explaining what the Apostle here so simply unfolds. To the whole passage we shall devote a few pages of general reflection rather than of minute comment, especially avoiding the controversial tone.

First, let us mark off our paragraph and define its limits. But we must not be tempted to locate it in the

general scheme of the Epistle, because that would involve the obligation to discuss that scheme itself. Suffice on this subject to say that the one central thought is Fellowship with God and in God: this being exhibited, first, as communion in the kingdom of light, viewed in itself and in its opposite; secondly, as communion in the blessedness of regenerate life in Christ, with its antithesis also; thirdly, as communion in the faith, which is of the operation of the Holy Ghost, this like the others being set against its contrasts. Not that these three are precisely demarcated. The leading ideas of the Epistle occur in every part of it, and can nowhere be hid. Light, life and love, obedience, charity, and the indwelling of the Holy Trinity, pervade the whole. Still, we can discern the point where the light of holiness ceases to be the cardinal thought, and regeneration begins to take its place; we can also note where the terms faith and the Holy Ghost enter. We can observe how the few common ideas revolve and rearrange themselves under these three particular ideas; and venture to think that the entire Epistle is best illustrated by keeping this general principle in view. Now we have to do with the central theme of the three, which begins at the last verse of the second chapter and closes with the twenty-second verse of the third. It introduces a new order of terms; the gift of the Father's love, the design of it in our being called and really being sons, our regeneration in connection with our righteousness and sanctification, the thrice-repeated "as He is," the abiding seed, and the absolute severance from sin as transgression of law. It is obvious on examination that the whole falls into four parts: first, the prerogatives of regeneration, down to verse three; secondly, its incompatibility with sin, to verse ten; specially, with neglect of brotherly love, to verse eighteen; and lastly, its high privilege of confident prayer, to verse twenty-two. Some of these topics recur afterwards, but such instances are to be marked as recurrences of themes that are common to the whole, and do not affect the propriety of this general division. It will be observed by the attentive reader that each of the four subdivisions ends with the note which the next takes up. Hence, though our immediate object is to deal with the first, we shall not be able to keep the second entirely out of consideration.

Regeneration or the life of sonship is here described in

three ways. First, the word "begotten" is introduced; as one familiarly known to the readers of St. John's Gospel, where it is the solitary term for the expression of the mystery of the new birth. It may be said to be St. John's own word: not being used by any other apostle in this form, and with this application, but being the only one which this apostle uses. It is often repeated after this first occasion, and habitually as followed by "of" or "out of;" the only exception being where "He that begetteth" is spoken of. But this exception must be regarded as determining the strict force of a phrase which is not absolutely determinate in itself; being used in such connections as "of water and Spirit," "of flesh," and so forth. Here it must mean the impartation of a Divine spiritual life by the direct act of God. Secondly, this new life is said to be a privilege or dignity conferred: "that we should be called the children of God." As St. John employs this term "called" only in this passage of the Epistle, and his Gospel throws no light upon its precise meaning, we must look into the context for the justification of our comment. Good critical authorities assure us that St. John followed this phrase by "and such WE ARE;" echoed afterwards in "Now ARE WE the children of God." It is our supreme dignity that the gift of the Father's love has secured to us the warrant or title to the denomination of "children of God," the highest distinction that can be conferred in heaven or earth. And that which we are called we really are, as may be inferred from the Hebrew idiom that uses the word "call" to impress at the same time the reality in the thing corresponding to the name. "His name shall be called Jesus." But St. John does not leave it to inference. He adds, instantaneously and abruptly, "and we are;" taking care when he repeats the phrase in the next verse to insert the same emphatic appendage, which stamps the unspeakable dignity of the prerogative, "children OF GOD." We may consider it as fixed that there was in his mind a certain distinction between the relative position of this sonship and its internal reality. The distinction is one that runs through the New Testament, and applies to every aspect of our Christian privilege. St. John may be thought to make it less prominent than some of the other apostles; he may be supposed, indeed, to take pains in this very context to obviate an undue estimate of the distinction. But he does not by any means invalidate it; for it is an element that

belongs to the very essence of the economy of grace. The distinction glimmers, and more than glimmers, in certain passages of his Gospel. In one, where he himself speaks, we read that "to them that received Him He gave power" or warrant and title and authority "to become children;" and then he proceeds, "who were born—of God:" the external prerogative and the internal reality being separated and yet united much in the same way as in our passage. In another, where it is the Saviour who speaks, we have the same twofold aspect exhibited, though in disguise: "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed," with the context down to "If God were your Father!" To return to our own passage, it may be asked why the apostle's words do not run, "that we should be called, and that we should be, children of God;" and it is a sufficient answer that by the abrupt transition he makes the distinction we refer to all the more emphatic on the one hand, while, on the other, he intimates that the two must go together. "That we should be CALLED and we ARE;" here are the external and the internal conjoined. "That we should be called, AND we are," we may read with the comma between them, and the strong emphasis on the "and."

All this derives strong corroboration from the fact that it is in strict accord with the analogy of faith generally, and the harmony of apostolic doctrine in particular. To this point we shall hereafter have occasion to return, in the exposition of our passage. Meanwhile, it may be laid down as a general principle that all the specific blessings of the Christian covenant are exhibited throughout the New Testament under two aspects: one being the real change which they effect in the soul, and the other being the prerogative accompanying the change. Christians are invested with all the privileges of righteousness, in the estimation of God and in their own consciousness, through their union with Christ by faith; but, in virtue of that same union, they are made righteous, and cleansed from all unrighteousness. The former is dilated on in some passages almost exclusively; and indeed the current word "justification" everywhere connotes the idea of imputation; but the latter is never forgotten, for the reckoning of righteousness and the reality of righteousness must finally be one. Christians also are sanctified into a holy relation to God; and in many parts of the New Testament this high prerogative is carried

out into all its results; but the reality of their internal purification from sin is never lost sight of. The same may be said of their relation in union with the Incarnate Son of God as a Father. It cannot for a moment be doubted that this relation also is everywhere viewed as conferring the highest possible dignity: a dignity expressed generally in such phrases as "I will be a Father unto you," "the sons of God in the midst of a crooked generation;" and more particularly defined by St. Paul as "the adoption of sons." But, however variously the prerogatives of this high estate are exhibited, as liberty or filial access or the possession and hope of an inheritance, it needs no proof that all writers agree in the assertion of an interior bestowment of that new life from God which is regeneration. St. John has his own method of maintaining the distinction. He has the Pauline Adoption and the Pauline Renewal, but with a certain peculiarity which must be noted in the original to be perfectly understood. First, and emphatically, he uses the term "children" to express both: the term "Son" he reserves for the Incarnate alone. Then he omits the ideas of liberty and inheritance,—though of this latter we must speak again,—and says all in one sentence, "that we should be called, and we are, the children of God." Here we cannot but be reminded of a still higher analogy. Of Him who is eternally the Son of God, it is said—though not in St. John—"He shall be called the Son of God." Here also the canon of interpretation holds good that "to be called" throws around the "being" a specific shade of meaning. His manifestation in the flesh invests Him as Man, or as Godman, with a new and distinct prerogative, if not for His own sake yet for ours. And as "He is called" and "He is" the Son of God, so also we in Him and through Him are called and we are the children of God: sons also, though St. John, for a reason we need not further dwell upon, declines the employment of that word. Having fixed the sense of these leading terms, we may now go backward and forward in our exposition, making the "gift of love" our starting point.

"Behold, what and what manner of love the Father hath given to us!" The Apostle, having reached for the first time the thought of our being "begotten of Him," pauses before he proceeds as if to disburthen his soul of the sense of amazement at the kind and the measure of the love that was "given to us," "in order that we should be called the

children of God." The Father is not "our Father," as if the name had reference to our filial privilege presently spoken of: it is that Father of whom the Apostle had been speaking in the words immediately preceding, "He that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also." That fellowship with the Father is in the Son who is given to us, not as a demonstration of His love simply, but as His very love itself. The fruit and result of the gift is to be found in the full attainment of all our privileges of sonship here and hereafter, "that we might be called the children of God;" but the gift itself is the essential love of the Father, and not its benefits. We have received Him, "the Son of His love;" and the design of the gift which is ours for ever, is that we should, in union with the Son, be sons of God eternally. It is indeed hard for us to sunder the gift from its design; it was hard to the writer; nor is he careful to dwell upon the distinction. But the distinction is there, almost as marked as in John iii. 16, where we have three particles: "God so loved the world, AS TO give His only-begotten Son, IN ORDER THAT whosoever believeth." It may be added that the "what manner of love" is resumed again and again in the sequel of the Epistle, after this first note of the love of redemption has been struck. Meanwhile, we may convert our passage into the terms of that in the Gospel by a paraphrase. "Behold, that the Father so loved us as to give His Son who is the life, in order that we should have in Him the name and the nature of children of God."

But the insertion of this intermediary link, "the Son who is the life," receives further justification from the preceding context. Though St. John begins a new subject here, his words are still vibrating with the tones of the last section. Then the deep thought was that the Father and the Son are one in the fellowship of the Christian experience; that to have the Son, the Father's gift, is to have the Father, the unction or the Holy Spirit being the common bond. Of the Three Holy Persons it is said that they "abide" in us. But, from the moment when the fellowship of the Father and the Son is mentioned, so entirely and inseparably are they blended, that it is hard to say when the One is spoken of and when the Other. In fact, the pronouns are almost unchangeable; and the revelation of the Father in the Son, and of the Son as that of the Father, are strictly speaking not distinguished.

"And now, little children, abide in Him," must refer to the Son, for His "manifestation" is immediately referred to. And when the Apostle proceeds, "If ye know that He is righteous, know that every one who doeth righteousness is born of Him," it might seem that the Father is in His mind. But in neither case is there any distinction. Of the final manifestation it may be said also, "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father;" and of the Son also, in the unity of the Father, as also of the Spirit, it may be said that the righteous man "is born of Him." When we read "He that begat," the case is different; but "born of or out of" may surely be applied to the Son, as certainly as it is applied to the Flesh, and the Water, and the Spirit. The regenerate receives His life out of the Divine nature as revealed in the Son, "in Whom is life," the everlasting life, that is, which is imparted in the new birth. Though the Son doth not beget, we may be "begotten of Him." Now, let us read the wonderful words which shed their glory over this part of the Epistle, "and this is the promise which He Himself promised, everlasting life." The promise is fulfilled when the filial life of the Son flows into our nature; and of this life which is essential love, and of this essential love which is life, the Apostle says, "Behold, what manner of love the Father has given us!" We are tempted for a moment to forsake strict exposition—which has not thus far been forsaken—and point to the original force of the word, "what manner." "Whence and of what origin the love!" From that eternal and inexhaustible fountain in the everblessed Trinity which has been opened to a sinful world in the gift of the second Person to the human race! But neither this, nor "how great," is the strict meaning of the exclamation, save through the gentle force which devotion must needs put upon all such terms when they bear the weight of such deep thoughts. It simply runs, "What kind of love!" But even that carries with it an exceeding weight of meaning. It is a word which derives its strength from all that precedes, and impresses it again on all that follows.

Specially it explains the clause, which seems to enter with a certain abruptness: "Therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew Him not." As to the question of abruptness, two things may be said. First, it is only an echo of the subject that had ruled the greater part of the previous chapter, where the world of the unregenerate had

been described as without the anointing that teacheth all things. The Apostle is only reverting for a moment to the old theme; as will be perfectly obvious to one who reads on continuously from the former chapter. And, secondly, it is his purpose even here to dwell upon the contrariety between the world and the regenerate; and within a few verses we find him descending to the deepest secret of that contrariety. As his manner is, he not only recalls an old thought but anticipates a new one, when he interposes this striking sentence. But he does not interpose it without specific links of connection; indeed, we have in it both a "therefore" and a "because:" the former attaching it to what precedes, and the latter introducing another additional point. Because our new life is derived from the indwelling Son it is a mystery hid from the world, which has no faculty by which to understand it: they neither comprehend the nature of the life itself which distinguishes us from them, nor do they acknowledge or care for the privileges connected with it. They know not us who enjoy that life; for life only can understand life. Here we observe St. John's habit of speaking in sharp and clear contrasts: he takes no account of any measure of discernment which may be found in certain members of the world not yet truly regenerate; the seeing men as trees walking is not seeing to him; there is the world in one kind of life, and the regenerate in the other, and a gulf of thick darkness between the two. But as our new life consists in a spiritual knowledge of God, he proceeds, "because they have not known and knew not Him." Here again we must remember of how many other sayings this is the keynote: if we do so we shall hardly ask if the "Him" here refers to the Father or to the Son. Above he had said that the children "had known the Father," and that the fathers "had known Him that was from the beginning:" the world knows neither the Father nor the Son. Our Lord testified, "O righteous Father, the world hath not known Thee;" but He also declared that to know God was "to know Jesus Christ, whom He had sent," and that the world "knoweth not" the Spirit who reveals the Father and the Son because it could not "receive Him." The world, therefore, as world, knew not the revelation of God in Christ; it could not partake of the gift of His love, and the result of that gift remained unknown. At the same time, it must not remain unobserved that the "because"

indicates the mystical fellowship between the regenerate and Him who is the source of their regeneration. The members are not known because the Head is not known. We must not here anticipate the hatred of the world. That is not far off; the Apostle will soon introduce it, following thereby the very words of his Master. The Saviour said: "All these things will they do unto you, for My name's sake, because they know not Him that sent Me." He makes the world's hatred, as the active expression of passive want of knowledge, go out equally against Himself and His Father: "he that hateth Me hateth My Father also." And, still more clearly, "But now they have both seen and hated both Me and My Father." In our text, therefore, it is needless to attempt any limitation of "they knew Him not." The world, not receiving through the Spirit the gift of the Father's love in Christ, remains in its ignorance of the regenerate life, an ignorance which will soon be seen to be bound up with hatred.

It is not without a secret feeling of the world's ignorance and want of recognition and hatred that the Apostle begins again with the appeal of affection, "Beloved." He enlarges upon the gift of love under its two aspects, and not really inverting the order: we are "now" the children of God by an interior regeneration; this we know by experience, though what the future prerogatives of the being called children of God will be has not yet been matter of experience to us. To our Head, however, it has been manifested; and we know that, when He who is our Head shall be revealed, we shall be conformed to His likeness; this we know, for we shall see Him as He is, and that implies our being already transformed into His spiritual likeness. And every one who has this hope fixed upon Him and His revelation purifies himself under its influence, even as He is pure: so that the interior sanctification into the present image of the Son may prepare him to behold the external glorification which awaits him at the revelation of Jesus. The three points are therefore plain. We are children now, with the final prerogative unrevealed as yet: we know it not by experience. We know, however, that it will be a likeness of complete conformity, because we know that we are to see Him as He is, and not as we now see Him, spiritually and by faith. Wherefore, and having this hope, we purify ourselves so that our internal character may be found hereafter in harmony with our

external privilege. Let us more carefully examine these three in their order.

First, it must be observed that the sentences here run in the form of plain statement. The Apostle does not mean to say that, though children, we are kept in ignorance of our final prerogatives; but, as it were in exact opposition to this notion, he implies that we are necessarily in ignorance as yet because we are children in the "now" of a present estate of humiliation. There is obviously an undertone of reference to the words immediately preceding. The world knew not the Lord of Glory, and rejected Him in His humbled estate; the world knows not the children of God in their lowly, immature, and afflicted condition, which bears no marks and tokens of the glory to which they are called. We must, however, be careful not to suppose that there is any disparagement of the filial relation. There can be nothing higher than this "sonship" in time or eternity; and the striking contrast between what "we are" and what "we shall be" must therefore be explained by the former being the filial estate as a gift in Christ, and the latter the "manifestation of the sons of God," as St. Paul calls it, at the resurrection. But this manifestation is only the development of what already exists in germ. What we shall be is enfolded in what we are; it has never yet been expanded into its full glory; nor can it be until the Lord Himself shall appear. St. John does not mean that the future estate of the children of God hath not been revealed to knowledge; for in many respects it has been made known, and he will presently himself point out two that include all others. But human experience has not reached the full knowledge either on earth or in Paradise. As the world does not know the children of God, and cannot discern their hidden glory, so they themselves know not its full meaning and endless possibilities. Indeed the "what we shall be" points to an illimitable vista of unknown development of existence, dignity, employment, and happiness, which it has been for ages the unwearied task of Christian contemplation to dwell upon and of Christian hope to prepare for and expect.

The next clause simply declares by the emphatic "we know" that one thing is indubitably certain, on the assurance of the Lord Himself, that "if He shall be manifested we shall be like Him because we shall see Him as He is."

This might mean, and is now very generally supposed to mean that, "if it should be or were manifested we shall be like Him as the effect of seeing Him as He is." From this interpretation we are withheld by a glance at the words of verse twenty-eight in the preceding chapter. It is not simply that the same Greek words there occur "if He should be manifested;" but what is still stronger, the whole tone of the passage is the correlative or counterpart of this one. There it is said that our abiding in Him will give us confidence at His appearing, and save us from shrinking with shame from His presence, or from the vision of His face. These last words are at least irresistibly suggested; and in what strong relief they place the words of our present passage: "We shall see Him as He is." The two clauses might without losing much of their meaning be reduced to a common measure. The former would be: "That, when He is manifested, we may have boldness, and not be ashamed from His presence." The latter would be: "When He is manifested we shall be like Him, for we shall have boldness and not be ashamed before His presence, but see Him as He is." Now, let it be further remembered that the being "like Christ" is really the uppermost thought in the Apostle's mind, though not yet expressed until now. He hinted at it before when he said, "If ye know that He is righteous, know that every one that doeth righteousness is born of Him;" and we shall see that he returns to it again and again. We feel that it is the predominant member of the whole sentence here; or, in other words, that it is not the "seeing Him as He is" that governs and accounts for and explains the "being like Him," but, conversely, that the "being like Him" explains how it ever can come to pass that we "see Him as He is." After all, however, this is to a great extent matter of exegetical instinct: the construction "whenever it is manifested" may be grammatically put on the words, and it seems to be a natural resumption of the expression immediately going before, "it hath not yet been manifested." We hold to our instinct strongly, and may justify it by the following reasons.

It gives me most natural and obvious Scriptural explanation of the assurance that we shall "see Him as He is." The only vision of God that we are permitted to expect in time or eternity is the vision of His glory "in the face of

Jesus Christ." God "dwelleth in light unapproachable, whom no man hath seen, nor can see." There is no vision of God spoken of in the Scriptures, which is inconsistent with this plain and conclusive declaration; for they all refer to that spiritual communion and experimental knowledge of His goodness and His love which is the privilege of "the pure in heart" in this life as in the life to come. When the Saviour was asked by His disciples "Show us the Father," He only said, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father!" with no intimation of any future vision which should be their lot in eternity. He spoke indeed of a time when He would "speak plainly of the Father;" but of no vision reserved that would reach the Eternal Essence apart from Himself. The highest word of Scripture on the subject is that we shall see no longer "in a glass darkly," but "face to face." The very word suggests the Lord at once. But after all the question is a needless one. The Father and the Son are one. The last revelation tells us of that eternal city that "the throne of God and of the Lamb will be in it, and His servants will worship Him, and see His face." Whose face it is not necessary to ask. "The glory of God enlighteneth it; but the central Lamp of it, to which the glory converges and whence it streams, is the Lamb." The universal hope of the saints that they shall have the Beatific Vision and see God, will not be disappointed. And they will see Him "as He is;" surely not, however, in His inaccessible triune essence, but as He is in His Son, the one, only and eternal Revealer of the Godhead.

Hence, this interpretation explains in the most appropriate manner the words "as He is." There is throughout an undertone of allusion to the difference between the humbled estate of the Redeemer and that of His exaltation, as this difference is and will be reflected in the lot of His disciples who "abide in Him." By this expression St. John means all that St. Paul means by the language of mystical fellowship and commmunity of lot; as, for instance, when he says, "Your life is hid with Christ in God; and when He, who is our life, shall appear, we also shall appear with Him in glory;" for "if we suffer with Him we shall reign with Him." The tone of the whole in St. John is: "Abide in Him by spiritual fellowship, that when He shall be revealed in His glory as He now is, ye may see Him without fear and share His glory with Him."

We are now the children of God only in nonage and humiliation; we see our Lord only by faith, and as reflected from a mirror on which is poured only the glory of His transforming holiness. The glory which St. John declares that he and his fellow apostles beheld, was indeed "the glory as of the only begotten," but it was the glory "full of grace and truth." They "beheld His glory" on the Mount of Transfiguration; but by that they were oppressed, and "seeing they saw it not," it was speedily withdrawn. And at that moment when the glory of His grace and truth was most fully displayed, He prayed for His disciples that they might "be with Him where He was," and that they "might behold His glory." Meanwhile, He left them still in the valley of their humiliation, to be refreshed and sustained in it by the hope of sharing the fellowship of His dignity even as they were partakers of the fellowship of His humiliation. The affecting analogy, or resemblance, or identity of lot would be altogether lost if we interpret "as He is" of God as such. We should lose in St. John—from whom, above all others, we should expect it—all trace of the doctrine which the other apostles dwell upon with unspeakable pathos, that we are travelling through the same process as our Head from earth to heaven, from humiliation to glory, from fellowship with His estate of exinanition or "no reputation" to fellowship with this exalted honour. But we do not lose it. As we "are now," and as we "shall be," correspond in us to as "He was" and "as He is."

Once more, this gives a fair explanation of the argument, such as it is, which St. John here uses. It is not his manner to express all the terms of his reasoning, or even to make his conclusion follow strictly from his premisses. We read him to little purpose if we do not mark that there is very much of the meditative inference intermingled with what seems to be purely deductive. What kind of argument, for instance, is that lying in our way here, "Therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew Him not:" how profound and true is a certain middle term here left unexpressed, but how strange the omission on mere logical principles. And, however unsatisfactory its impression here may be in the light of formal logic, the reasoning itself is thus, and it is to the right reader as clear as the light, and as blessed as the glory of God. "We are in Him now by faith, but our lot is obscure, and

we are saved by hope. We are unknown to the world, even as He was in his obscurity. But when He is revealed as He is, we shall be like Him whatever He is; for we shall be capable of seeing Him in His glory, being glorified ourselves unto the same condition." The first emphasis is altogether, or it is mainly, on the being "like Him." This is evident from the marked repetition of "we shall be." The second emphasis is on the "knowing." Until He is revealed we can form no conception of what our state shall be, save only that we shall be conformed to His image in all things. But whence have we that knowledge, and whence is the ground of that expectation? Not from any express revelation directly assuring us of it. We search in vain for any express testimony that we shall be like our Head when He appears. He had indeed said that we shall be "equal to the angels;" but that we should be like Himself He did not in so many words aver. But He did say enough to support such a conclusion drawn from His words—that is, "that we should be with Him and behold His glory." This is the sublime inference that St. John drew; and he uses the same word "we know" which he so often uses for the expression of the inferences of perfect certainty: let the word be traced through the epistle to verify this. His mind does not rest upon the seeing Him; he goes beyond that, even to our being, according to our capacity, images of Him in body and soul. And his irresistible argument—laid down in his own simple and contemplative way—is that if we know that we shall see Him, we know also that we must needs be, what is better even than seeing Him merely as such, in all respects glorified into His image.

Lastly, this interpretation avoids the necessity of introducing the notion of a transforming effect of the vision of God in the future world. It is not said that "we shall become," but that "we shall be" like Him: that is, in harmony with the steadfast current of all teaching concerning the future, that our eternal state will be established at once and for all eternity by His appearance. We are taught that there will be a transforming change wrought on our bodies in the resurrection; but never that it will be the result of seeing our Risen Head. It will be wrought by His power in order that we may behold Him: as in the analogy of the bestowment of sight upon earth, the eye was opened not by seeing the Deliverer but in order to see

Him. The glorious transformation which our whole nature will undergo—fashioning our bodies into the likeness of His glorious body and raising the spirit, now once more informing its ordained organisation, into a perfect resemblance in its purity, strength, and glory to His incarnate spirit,—is the preparation for beholding Him and God in Him for ever: it is not the result or the reward of beholding Him. "We shall see Him as He is;" but in order to do that He must fit us for the vision of Himself by the last act of His redeeming power. He hath prepared the new heavens, of which He will be for ever the Sun and the centre; but as we enter His heavenly kingdom of grace by receiving the gift of regeneration, whereby our eyes are opened to see that kingdom, so also we must enter the consummate glory of His kingdom, and behold Him in it, through having the second and last touch that will make us to see all things clearly. That will be the second regeneration, the consummation of the first; and, like that, the gift of omnipotent grace. In St. Paul's words that will be our "manifestation as the sons of God;" but neither St. Paul, nor St. John, nor our Lord Himself describes this as the effect of seeing Him who is the resurrection and the life. Of course there is a sense in which the Lord will be glorified in His saints, His image being reflected from them eternally into ever-increasing lustre and glory; but the likeness to Him will be perfect at the commencement of this eternal transformation. We shall never be more "like Him" than at the moment when He receives us to Himself. To conclude, the very strength and fulness of the Apostle's wondering words lies in this, that there is only one contrast, between our seeing Him now by faith and our seeing Him hereafter "as He is."

And now the way is prepared for the third point of our discussion. The Apostle does not pass to an exhortation here, simply because his mind is already full of the contrast he is about to draw between the regenerate and the unregenerate with respect to sin. But when he says, "Every one who hath this hope in Him purifieth himself even as He is pure," we feel that he uses the strongest kind of exhortation. The force of the appeal is this: whosoever truly has this hope, resting on Christ, that his whole nature shall be conformed to His image as He is in unrevealed glory, must do his part to conform his spiritual part of that nature to His image of His sinlessness as

that is already revealed. Here then comes in the true application of the transforming influence of vision, the application of which to the vision of His glory is an untrue one. According to St. John, he that sinneth "hath not seen Christ." According to St. Paul, Christians "beholding the glory of the Lord reflected from the glass are changed from glory to glory by the Spirit:" that is, the Holy Ghost makes the habitual contemplation of the image of God in His Son the instrument of His transforming energy. Combining these words with St. John's we may say that we now see the image of Jesus not as He is, but as passing through the medium of a mirror, or rather as reflected from a mirror. Strictly speaking, we cannot combine the two; for the glorified Saviour as He was does not as such shine upon the mirror of His word, that we may receive His reflected beams. As no man could see the face of God and live, so no man could abide the appearance of the glorified Jesus. The manifestation of that glory, modified and attempered, was brighter than the sun and blinded Saul. Its shining afar off made the face of Stephen as that of an angel. When it came nearer to the beloved disciple, before its brightness he fell as one dead. The Jehovah incarnate of the New Testament is unapproachable in His glory "as He is," equally with the Jehovah of the Old Testament. But in the mirror, or from the mirror, we behold the spiritual glory of the Saviour's sinlessness: not the positive glory, so to speak, of His exalted incarnate Person, but the negative glory of His purity as the representative of mankind. Man without sin we behold in Him Whom we expect to meet as God our Judge; and encouraged by the hope of being with Him in His glory, and beholding that glory, we purify ourselves from sin that we may be capable of beholding it. For, to repeat what has already been said again and again in another form, there are two visions, one preparing for the other. First must the spiritual eye see the King in the beauty of His unsullied purity; and, receiving the light of His holiness into the eye, let it make the whole body full of light, leaving no part dark. Then comes the other vision for which that prepares, which is not transforming, but rewarding rather. There is something, however, in each word that claims attention as illustrating this.

First, St. John makes the antithesis between hope in Him and purifying himself very strong, as if he would

draw the distinction between what will be hereafter a free gift of a glory not at present known or possible to be known, and the preparation for its reception that such a gift demands. Everywhere throughout the New Testament, it is the province of hope to encourage believers to suffer or to do with reference to a future and unknown recompense. It is always the link between a present human fidelity and a future bestowment that shall crown it. St. John introduces here his solitary allusion to the grace of hope; and though it stands alone, generally and in the particular construction of the phrase, it is very beautiful in itself, and carries a very important doctrine. We are supposed to "have the hope;" it is not merely hoping but possessing hope in the Son's revelation as a treasure hid in the heart, even as we are said to "have" the Son Himself, and to "have" eternal life. But the antithesis must be marked. We expect the revelation that shall "change the bodies of our humiliation" and exalt faith into right, and give the spiritual eye a "spiritual body," through which to behold the Lord; but all this we expect solely and absolutely from Him. How it will be and to what it will lead we know not; but we are assured that we shall see Him as He is, and therefore be like Him. But the hope that "maketh not ashamed" from His presence hereafter, even now "maketh not ashamed," as St. Paul says, "because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts." St. Paul's "shed abroad" is in St. John "perfected in us;" and, according to his teaching, hope also worketh by love, and "purifieth itself even as He is pure," whose image it evermore beholds: even as He, the same He—marked by a different pronoun—is pure.

The antithesis between the future vision and the present is further brought out by the peculiar word "purify" here alone used. This also, like "hope," occurs nowhere else in St. John's writings, with this meaning, and almost alone in the New Testament. Whether as used of us who copy, or of the pattern we copy from, it is very remarkable. There are three terms which express human holiness and the attainment of it: Sanctify, Cleanse, and Purify. The first is used by our Lord in His last prayer concerning both Himself and His disciples: and a thoughtful consideration will show that He has two meanings of the word in His thoughts. He consecrated His whole being to be an acceptable sacrifice for the world: it was His own most

holy will, His eternal spirit, that made His offering infinitely acceptable to God. There was no other High Priest behind Him to sanctify Him. In virtue of that offering of Himself His people are sanctified to God in two senses: they are eternally sprinkled from the defilement that would prevent the Divine acceptance, and through the truth they are to be inwardly sanctified from all evil. "Be ye holy, for I am holy!" explains the meaning of this word. The holiness of God is His eternal opposition to evil; and the whole economy of grace is a provision whereby sinners repelled by His holiness are brought back to that holiness which repels their sin. His claim to their entire devotion and service is based upon His relation as their God and Creator: it requires no attribute to enforce it, and certainly the attribute of holiness enforces no claim. That attribute must have its own claim of sinlessness honoured in the creature in order that consecration to the fellowship of God the Creator may follow. St. John leaves that word to His Master, and does not use it himself, though the other apostles use it habitually. The term cleanse is used by St. Paul both of the Divine act and of human co-operation. We are cleansed by the sprinkling of blood and by the word; and we "cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit." St. John applies that word in his epistle solely to the Divine fidelity in the application of the blood of Christ to the inmost spirit of the sinner. The third term is used here. It is one which St. Paul does not employ save of a specific kind of impurity from which the soul is to be delivered. It is not used of God, nor elsewhere of Christ; but it is used here to express His necessary, essential freedom from every spot of that defilement which clings to human nature, but from which His human nature was and must be free: "even as He is pure." "Even as He is" points again and again to the character of our Lord as high above evil for ever, and as the standard of human aspiration: not as an example of the methods of attainment, but as the perfect result of our effort without need of the process exhibited in Him. Hence under the inspiration of "hope set on Him"—the apostle's only allusion to hope—we are exhorted, or rather supposed, to "purify" ourselves from every stain. It is only the Divine grace that can accomplish this; but St. John lays stress upon the human discipline: in harmony with the three other apostles in this respect, as a study of their language

will show. Nothing is said here of the perfect attainment of the spotless and immaculate character of our Pattern; but nothing is said to repress the thought. "Purifieth himself" refers to an habitual process, like St. Paul's "cleanse ourselves, perfecting holiness." The whole of Scripture teaches that the transformation must be complete in this life; that the spiritual glorification into the "same image" in us collectively which was also in Him individually must be complete before the universal glorification of our nature takes place at His appearing.

And now, having examined the passage in its specific exhibition of our regenerate estate, we will occupy a few paragraphs in examining the framework, so to speak, in which it is set. We find the glorious reality and the unknown privileges of our Sonship in Christ occupying the middle place; and see that it is flanked on the one side by righteousness and on the other by sanctification. This statement does no violence to the text; it is not imported into it from any desire to harmonise St. John with the rest of the apostles, and especially St. Paul; but it lies before us obviously, and is, indeed, as we have said, the only setting and frame of the whole passage. The righteous man who doeth righteousness, is born of a Divine life; he is and he is to be manifested to be a child of God, and as such he is sanctified.

It is not denied that we have a theory to support: one of vital importance to the integrity of Christian doctrine. It is our foregone conclusion that St. John is in harmony with the entire substance of the faith which had been written before him though not preached before him, by the whole apostolic company in whose name he sends forth this epistle. In one of sundry papers already issued in this Journal, we have endeavoured to show that this document of the Christian religion was the last manifesto of this doctrine: presupposing all that had preceded, and setting upon them the seal of perfection. It declares nothing that was not known "from the beginning;" introduces no one new element of the truth; but nevertheless gives the final form and the impress of consummation to everything. This principle of exposition has been applied to the leading doctrines, and the leading ethical laws of Christianity as here laid down; and it has been seen that each has in these last words of the New Testament revelation a finishing touch which effaces no old definition,

adds really no new one, and yet imparts a distinguishing though hardly defensible feature of novelty. This is pre-eminently true of the Incarnation and of the Atonement, and of the unction of the Spirit which seals both. But we have now to apply it to the main aspects of the Christian privilege resulting from the administration of redemption to individuals. We expect that the last of the apostles will be in harmony with his predecessors on this subject as well as on all others; it would be a most embarrassing and disturbing circumstance if it were not so. But nothing is more common than the opposite assertion. It is confidently affirmed by many that St. John knows nothing of the type of doctrine which is associated with the name of Paul. It is hinted that he wrote, or rather some one wrote in his name, not only to give his own mature views of the Christian system, but to correct also those to which the later convert, St. Paul, had attached too much importance, if indeed he did not devise them himself. They see in the little treatise a polemic, on the one hand, against certain Gnostic errors that had sprung up within the community; and, on the other, against the errors of that great innovator the apostle so-called of the Gentiles. The charge is capable of being made very plausible. It may be said that the author of this epistle, supposing him to be the author of the Gospel, is the representative of a Christianity that has in it two marked characteristics: the exaltation of the Saviour to absolute Divinity, and the reducing all religion to love and obedience on the part of man. It may be pointed out how sedulously the last writer avoids the terminology of redemption, of the imputation of righteousness to faith and of imputation generally, of faith as directed to the cross and of the cross itself, of adoption into the Divine family, of gradual and disciplinary holiness as expressed in crucifixion with Christ, and of sanctification in the sense of the apostle to the Hebrews. As against this, it is important that we should be able to prove that, with all the differences which may be allowed between apostle and apostle so far as mode of presentation goes, there is a real accordance and identity as to the things which pertain to salvation. Now the passage before us furnishes a good opportunity of doing this.

It cannot be denied that throughout the New Testament the personal experience of Christ's saving benefit to man

in the atonement is represented as restored conformity with law, or righteousness; sanctification from the pollution of sin; and between these as underlying both the renewal of the soul in the image of God, or Regeneration. These terms are subject to a great variety of inflections, are placed in very different relations to each other, are interwoven in diversified complications; but there they all are, from the sermon on the mount downwards, visible to the discerning eye in every document of the Christian faith. There is no fourth added to these three as to the evangelical privilege on earth, nor will heaven be more than the confirmation and consummation of them. The question here is as to the way in which these are related to each other, first; and then how far the New Testament writers are consistent in representing each of the three terms to mean an external privilege bestowed as well as an internal grace infused. This second question touches the subject of justification most nearly, but it really includes the two others in its scope. It will require no special pleading, though perhaps a little special exegesis, to show that St. John in this last document is in harmony with the rest of the departed apostolic company.

As to the former point. By unanimous consent the earlier writers of the New Testament make these three estates of Christian privilege combine in one: they are only three aspects of one privilege, or one privilege referred to three several relations in which man may stand towards God. Moreover, it is implied in them all, if not constantly asserted, that they are conferred together and simultaneously. We cannot suppose any one of these writers discussing the question whether a man must be born again before he is forgiven and accepted, or whether he must have righteousness imputed to him before he is sanctified to the divine fellowship. They freely range in these several spheres of thought, and even borrow the terms belonging to one for the purpose of illustrating the other. But, with all this, the careful eye may detect somewhere or other in every leading presentation of the Christian faith these three elements of religion perfectly distinct while inseparably one. Either expressly or by very obvious implication the benefit of the atonement is regarded as setting a sinner right with the claims of law, reconciling him with God as a Father, and cleansing him

as a sacrifice on the altar from all the defilement of sin. It is a great point gained for the vindication of the unity of apostolic teaching that this last document of St. John so explicitly confirms what has just been said. He has the three classes of privilege like the rest, and uses no new terms to express them; we have the same righteousness and cleansing from all sin and being begotten of God which we have had from the beginning. It is true that St. John is flexible in his combination of them; but so are all the other apostles. If he says that "he that doeth righteousness is born of God," that the blood of Christ is applied to "cleanse from all unrighteousness," so St. Peter speaks of those who are born again "purifying themselves through obedience unto brotherly love," and St. Paul of "the law of the Spirit of life making free from the law of sin and death." It may be granted that the last apostle is a little more free than his predecessors; but this may be explained by three reasons: first, he was combating errors that required him to seem at least to press the statement of the opposite truth to extreme; and, secondly, to his mind, as to all who love the truth, as truth is in Jesus, the unity of the faith that rests on the atonement was so elementary a conviction that it was supposed to keep all phraseology sound; and, thirdly, St. John wrote with the intention that his little book should be only a supplement to all the rest of the New Testament, and taking it for granted that his words would be read in the light of their analogy with the well-known body of Christian worship. These points would profitably bear further expansion; but we must forbear.

One illustration of the three as united is furnished by the position in which St. John here places the Sonship which Christians enjoy as the free gift of God's love. It is, so to speak, the living idea of the whole epistle: after he has mentioned the birth from God the Apostle perpetually recurs to it as the common foundation of everything else. The artistic arrangement of the paragraph we are studying seems itself to express one thought: a single sentence about righteousness as evidence that regeneration had taken place; then a long and swelling period concerning the privilege of being the sons of God, as if that were the great wonder of the Christian system; then a single sentence again concerning the possessor of this hope purifying himself. Now St. John scarcely goes beyond his fellow

apostles in the ascendency and pre-eminence he assigns to regeneration. Certainly St. James and St. Peter bear him company: witness the beginning of their several epistles. And it is really not otherwise with St. Paul. He is the only writer who says that "we were predestinated to be conformed to the image of the Son;" and our fellowship of life with the Son only does he connect with the Divine purpose of predestination. Though for polemical purposes he occupies much time in the Roman epistle with the new righteousness of faith, he is only on his way to the heart of his epistle where regeneration and adoption wait for him. And there we cannot help feeling that it is the "Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" that makes the keynote. This occupies the centre as in St. John: on the one hand is the righteousness imputed to faith and given to faith; and on the other, though a long way off, is the sacrificial sanctification or presentation to God of the living soul with its body in the reasonable service of the Christian temple.

LITERARY NOTICES.

I. THEOLOGICAL.

Oxford Sermons, &c.

Oxford Sermons, Preached before the University. By the Rev. E. A. Abbott, D.D. London: Macmillan and Co. 1879.

Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford. By H. P. Liddon, D.D. Second Series. Rivingtons. 1879.

Sermons, Parochial and Occasional. By J. B. Mozley, D.D. Rivingtons. 1879.

Anything more meagre or disappointing in the way of sermons than Dr. Abbott's volume we have not met with for a long time. In sermons preached by a Doctor of Divinity before a University audience one naturally expects to find some divinity, or at least some recognition of its teachings; but of this there is no trace from beginning to end. The results of all the theology of the past are simply ignored. The only recognition of theology we have discovered is in the following sentence:—"It is said that Plato would have excluded from the study of philosophy all those who were ignorant of geometry. If a similar ban had barred from the writing of theological treatises all students or amateurs who were ignorant of the principle of proportion, how greatly would the vast literature of our theology be diminished, and our small store of theological certainties increased!" But Dr. Abbott ignores much more than human systems of theology. The subjects of his sermons as indicated in the titles—The Law of Retribution, Criticism and Worship, The Word not yet made Flesh, The Word made Flesh, Hope for the Living, Hope for the Dead, What Manner of Man is this?—are precisely such as Scripture might be expected to throw light upon. At least, if Revelation says nothing on these questions, what does it say? But there is almost as little reference to the teachings of Scripture as to those of theology. As to accepting the authority of Scripture as final

of this the preacher gives no sign. Wordsworth, Shakespeare, and Bacon are named more frequently than Prophets and Apostles. In the third sermon one would naturally look for an account of the preparations for the coming Christ, but instead we have such a story of the evolution of creation, of man and human society, as Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer would give. Of the fourth sermon, where, under the guidance of Scripture, we might expect to be treading on firm ground, we should find it hard even to define the meaning to our readers. The gist seems to be that the natural relation of parent is the mould in which our idea of God is to be cast, and that Christ gave emphatic sanction to this representation. Beyond this, Dr. Abbott has nothing to say on "The Word made Flesh." In answering the question, What Manner of Man is this? he takes a standpoint which requires him to exclude from view altogether the contents of the Gospel of St. John, *i.e.*, the Gospel which was written, if it was written for any purpose, to answer this very question. If we ask for the reason or necessity compelling the preacher to take this standpoint, no answer is given, except that it is required by the theory which he has assumed. "The Fourth Gospel," he says, "lies out of our province." Dr. Abbott's dominating thought or assumption is the impossibility of miracle. He expressly disclaims all the Gospel miracles, except those of healing, which we presume he would explain by some natural agencies. Even the resurrection of Christ is explained away as spiritual. We had intended to quote the passage on p. 141, in which Dr. Abbott professes to be able to trace the gradual additions of the supernatural element to the narrative; but we will spare our readers the pain and the indignation. Dr. Abbott actually makes the silence of certain books on matters occurring in other books a reason for doubt. We must quote this passage. "The earliest documents of all, certain letters written by one of the followers of Jesus, contain very little reference to His miraculous works; and though St. Paul undoubtedly asserts (or rather in the most natural way assumes) that wonderful workings of healing were commonly performed by the followers of Jesus, he makes no mention of any miraculous birth, nor of any other kind of resurrection, except that which had been manifested to St. Paul himself, that is to say, through the medium of an appearance." If, then, the twenty-seven books of the New Testament had been exact repetitions one of another, would Dr. Abbott have believed? From the way in which he speaks of the instances of Christ *appearing* to the disciples after the resurrection, he evidently supposes that it means He did *not* appear to them. And yet, though Dr. Abbott cannot receive books which actually exist, and of which there is abundant attestation, he can believe in and argue from documents of whose existence there is no shadow of proof. He says:—"Turning to the three earliest biographies of the founder,

we find that they are all based upon some pre-existing tradition earlier than any of the three. Disinterring this original tradition from the three Gospels, we perceive that this early document concurs with the Epistles of St. Paul in making no mention of the miraculous birth or the miraculous resurrection." We may be mistaken, but this seems to us the very perversity of criticism and credulity.

Yet, after resolving miracle and doctrine into "metaphor misunderstood," Dr. Abbott everywhere earnestly advocates the worship of Christ as Divine, on what tangible grounds it is hard to say. He recognises, and apparently admits, the uniqueness of the position which Christ claimed for Himself, while cutting away the grounds of that claim. If Christ was all that Dr. Abbott apparently believes Him to be, we find no difficulty in believing all that the four Gospels say of Him. Why Dr. Abbott should believe the greater and reject the less, is to us simply inexplicable. There is indeed one passage which refers to Gautama Buddha in a way which makes us wonder how much he means by the high attributes ascribed to Christ. After an account of Buddha's teaching, he asks, "What believer in a righteous Providence can fail to recognise in this great Teacher the Eternal Word of God speaking through this pure doctrine, and manifesting Himself through this sublime life?" Still, we should be sorry to question the sincerity with which the preacher calls on his hearers to worship Christ. We can only say that we could not do it for the reasons, often vague and sentimental, which he gives. In truth, the whole volume is a most melancholy one. We have said nothing of the sermons on Hope for the Living and Hope for the Dead. Everything is left in suspense. The author speaks of a "just heaven" and "merciful hell," and finds himself "unable to side with those who are called Universalists, or Annihilationists, or with those who believe in a Purgatory, or with those who enter into any detailed dogma on this subject." If Dr. Abbott is right, the Apostle was mistaken in supposing that life and immortality are brought to light in the Gospel.

Dr. Abbott's doctrinal position is exactly described in a sermon by Dr. Liddon, entitled "Growth in the Apprehension of Truth." "It would seem that some among us have practically substituted for the Apostolic injunction, 'Therefore leaving the first principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection,' the exhortation, 'Therefore leaving the creeds of the Apostolic Church, let us do what we may to reduce the Christian faith to a working minimum.' One after another the truths of Revelation are discarded, on the ground that they occasion differences; men retain that only in which for the moment they agree. And so it is that we are sometimes told that the Fatherhood of God and the character of Christ are the only permanent elements in Christi-

anity; and we find ourselves exactly where we were when we started, in the company of the modern catechumen,—the first step in synthesis, being in analysis the last." That teachers of such opposite schools belong to the same Church is a curious phenomenon. It is hard to believe that the two systems of belief, which they hold, represent Christianity. The difference is immense, and we need scarcely say which we prefer. Bating some sacramentarian tendencies, which find less expression in this new series of sermons, Dr. Liddon's is the full, rich theology of universal Christendom. This new volume is quite equal, if not superior, to the previous volumes which have placed Dr. Liddon among the very foremost of living preachers. There is the same ripe learning, the same breadth of thought and view, the same passionate fervour, while the rhetoric is mellowed and subdued. The themes are of the loftiest, and the treatment is worthy of the themes. There is nothing petty or conventional. The preacher has his finger on the pulse of modern religious thought, knows everything that has been said and written on the subject, and, instead of avoiding, meets every objection full in the face. Some of the subjects are, Import of Faith in a Creator, Worth of Faith in a Life to Come, The Life of Faith and the Athanasian Creed, Christ's Service and Public Opinion, Sacerdotalism, The Courage of Faith, The Gospel and the Poor. In the sermon on Christ in the Storm, after a brief, vivid description of the dangers which the Church has outlived, the preacher proceeds: "No ideal lacking a counterpart in fact could have guided the Church across the centuries. Imagination may do much in quiet and prosperous times; but amid the storms of hostile prejudice and passion, in presence of political vicissitudes, or of intellectual onslaughts, or of moral rebellion or decay, an unreal Saviour must be found out. A Christ upon paper, though it were the sacred pages of the Gospel, would have been as powerless to save Christendom as a Christ in fresco; not less feeble than the countenance which, in the last stages of its decay, may be traced on the wall of the Refectory at Milan. A living Christ is the key to the phenomenon of Christian history. To Him again and again His Church has cried out in her bewilderment and pain, 'Up, Lord, why sleepest thou? Awake, and be not absent from us for ever!' And again and again, in the great thoroughfares of Christian history, He, her Lord, to borrow the startling image of the Hebrew poet, 'has awaked as one out of sleep, and like a giant refreshed with wine,' to display Himself in providential turns, whether in the world of events or in the world of thought, on which no human foresight could have calculated. And what has been will yet be again. There are men who can say to Him only, 'Thou, O Christ, art the most exquisite work of chastened imagination, of purified moral sense, that our race has known; in that Thou art

our highest ideal of human goodness, Thou art truly Divine; we cannot rival, we cannot even approach, we cannot, if we would, forget Thee.' But if this were the highest language towards Him that is honestly possible, whatever else He might be, He would not be 'Our hope and strength, a very present help in trouble.' He would only be precious as a poem or a piece of sculpture is precious; just as beautiful, perhaps, but just as helpless an object, rendered into the finer forms of the world of thought. But we Christians have cried to Him in one form or another for many a century, 'Thou sittest at the right hand of God, in the glory of the Father. We believe that Thou shalt come to be our Judge. We therefore pray Thee help Thy servants, Whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood.' And in His being what this language implies lies the recuperative power of the Church; it lies in faith's grasp of the fact that Christ really lives and rules in earth and heaven, and that He may still be appealed to with success, even though men dare to exclaim, 'Master, carest Thou not that we perish?'" Of course High-Church opinions peep out here and there, as in the following reference to Wesley. In the same sermon, after quoting Bishop Butler's lament over the prevailing irreligion, Dr. Liddon proceeds: "That disregard, being in its essence moral, would hardly have been arrested by the cultivated reasoners, who were obliged to content themselves with deistic premises in their defence of Christianity; it did yield to the fervid appeals of Whitefield and Wesley. With an imperfect idea of the real contents and genius of the Christian creed, and with almost no idea at all of its majestic relations to history and to thought, these men struck a chord for which we may well be grateful. They awoke Christ, sleeping in the conscience of England; they were the real harbingers of a day brighter than their own." In the fine sermon on "Influences of the Holy Spirit," there is a similar reference to the visit of Messrs. Moody and Sankey. "Last year two American preachers visited this country, to whom God had given, together with earnest belief in some portions of the Gospel, a corresponding spirit of fearless enterprise. Certainly they had no such credentials of an Apostolic ministry as a well-instructed and believing Churchman would require. They knew little or nothing of God's revealed will respecting those sacramental channels whereby the life of grace is planted and maintained in the soul; and their test of ministerial success appeared sometimes to mistake physical excitement or inclination for a purely spiritual or moral change. And yet, must not we, who through no merit of our own have enjoyed greater spiritual advantages than theirs, feel and express for these men a sincere respect, when, acting according to the light which God had given them, they threw themselves on our great cities with the ardour of Apostles; spoke of a higher world to thousands who passed the greater part of life in

dreaming only of this; and made many of us feel that we owe them at least the debt of an example, which He who breatheth where He listeth must surely have inspired them to give us!"

Dr. Mozley was one of the strongest and most original minds which the Church of England has had in this generation. His posthumous volume of sermons resembles the former one in many respects, save that it has not had the advantage of revision for the press by the author, and that the subjects are slighter in substance. The sermons are evidently such as the author would give in the ordinary course of his ministry. They are brief, a cardinal merit in the eyes of many. Unlike Dr. Liddon, Dr. Mozley pays no regard to style. The discourse flows on like strong, sensible talk. Some of the titles of the sermons will illustrate the preacher's fondness for looking at texts, so to speak, at an angle. The sermon on James i. 12 is entitled "Temptation Treated as an Opportunity," that on Matt. xi. 25 "The Educating Power of Strong Impressions," on Matt. xviii. 5 "Christian Mysteries the Common Heritage." Where the same idiosyncrasy is not indicated in the title, it is present in the discourse in almost every case. Whatever the text, Dr. Mozley is sure to treat it in a way altogether unexpected. On this account several of the sermons are very striking. The preacher provokes thought, almost contradiction, as where he sets himself to prove that Jacob was a princely, regal character. In his original way of viewing things Dr. Mozley greatly resembled Beck among German preachers and professors.

The Origin of Evil, and other Sermons.

The Origin of Evil, and other Sermons. William Blackwood and Sons. Edinburgh and London. 1879.

The subjects of these twenty-four smart and rather showy sermons are "The Origin of Evil," "The Mystery of Suffering," "Prayer," "What is Truth?" "Manliness," "The Greatness of Man," "Faith," "Works," "Habit," "The Harvest of Character," "The Supernaturalness of Nature," "The Naturalness of the Supernatural," "The Argument from Design," "The Vision of God," "Punishment," "The Fatherhood of God." These topics cannot be said to have any such mutual relations as could give marked unity to the whole; yet each is highly suggestive. The forty-seven quotations of poetry, some of them lengthy, and the seventy to eighty prose quotations, or references to the opinions of distinguished men in this small volume, might have given to it the character of a compilation had they not been so cleverly inwrought into the author's own convictions as to show that he is not only an extensive reader but an independent thinker.

The brief sermon on "The Argument from Design" is useful as pointing out that neither "the universality of law," nor the theory of "Evolution," which as yet is only a hypothesis, overturns the evidence of final causes for the existence and wisdom of God. The sermon on "Habit," too, is well calculated to be of great and lasting benefit to the young. We wish the preacher had guarded himself a little more against the "habit" of penning inaccurate statements and extravagant representations of the tenets he dislikes. When he says Socrates "was the first to declare that evil should not be rendered for evil," Prov. xxv. 21 carries us back three hundred years, and Exodus xxiii. 4, 5 nearly seven hundred years beyond the time of Socrates. To affirm that gravitation is "a force that is perhaps as old as eternity" implies that perhaps matter is eternal, and therefore uncreated; and such may be the author's belief. Some good men will join him in holding that brutes as well as men may be immortal; nor will he be alone in crying Amen to Canon Farrar's assertion of the peccability of our Lord. But surely there must be inadvertence in the statement "that the distinction between right and wrong is a distinction which is not made but accepted by God." Unless there be some authority exterior, and superior, to God, the distinction must arise from His own nature; and therefore He can hardly be said to "accept" it any more than He accepts Himself.

Nor can we altogether appreciate our preacher's definition of truth as synonymous with fact, or that which exists. The two terms may be sometimes interchangeable; but in metaphysical philosophy, which the preacher seems to aim at, there is a difference: fact meaning that which is done or exists; and truth the correspondence or agreement thereto of thought or consciousness. Truth has its seat in our minds: fact may be without or apart from our minds. The thought or cognition which we call truth is itself a fact, and may be viewed objectively; but it is not the same fact as the view or cognition of it. Every agreement of mind with fact is itself a fact; but it cannot be said every fact is such an agreement.

The theological position of the preacher is most unsatisfactory. He can scarcely find words extreme enough for the denunciation of Calvinism, while Robertson, Maurice, and Kingsley seem to be regarded as a species of semi-martyrs because of the opposition their teaching evoked. The bias is unmistakable. We notice also, what is rather common in attacks on old beliefs, the assumed air of superior moral sentiment, and of loftier and worthier ideas of God. To win the assent or approval of the sceptic by casting odium on tenets which the great majority of Christians have held as cardinal is but a poor and discreditable gain.

The value of some fair replies to disbelieving physicists is more than counterbalanced by the surrender of much Scriptural truth. We cannot dilute that truth to suit the unbeliever without at the same time diluting it for the believer. The process of levelling down to meet the demands of infidelity, once begun, can never consistently stop short of atheism.

Finding suffering an enormous fact in the world, our author seeks to account for it as a necessary element in the moral government of God—a necessary discipline for the improvement of character and the attainment of happiness. The Scriptures yield a more satisfactory account, when they teach that human suffering, though often graciously turned into discipline, is the penal result of man's sin, first as a race in Adam, and then as free individuals. Only in a loose sense is it correct to affirm that "evil then being a necessary fact, some suffering is also a necessity." "Evil . . . is necessarily involved in good as shadows are the accompaniment of light." It would be more accurate to say the notion, not the fact, of evil is involved in the notion of good. To write: "The necessity for it (punishment) could not have been avoided by any conceivable possibility," is untenable except on the assumption of sin's entrance into the world. Our theologian might never have heard of the distinction between suffering as chastisement and as punishment; at least he resolves all the latter into the former. But to do this he has to denude God of all His attributes but those of Fatherhood, and so without warrant, and in face of the revealed righteousness of God, to merge justice into love, the essential difference in these two notions notwithstanding; and even then he indicates no sort of proportion between the sufferings of creation here and hereafter, and their ameliorative results. Some faint idea, however, of the distinction appears in the phrase, we "do not know but that it (suffering) may be always productive of good;" which contains an admission that, for aught he knows, there may be suffering which is not improving or remedial in its tendency. All chastisement is punishment, *i.e.*, the suffering therein has been deserved by sin of the individual or the race; but all punishment is not chastisement, *e.g.*, the final "everlasting punishment" of the persistently wicked. Chastisement is inflicted on those "whom the Lord loveth" for their "profit;" punishment, on offenders as such. Death is the wages of sin. Sin "bringeth forth death." "Death by sin" shows that suffering or natural evil is the desert or due of sin, though the Redeemer often makes use of it as a wholesome discipline.

The gracious agency of the Holy Spirit in raising the sinner out of darkness into the marvellous light of God is nowhere recognised in these sermons. Nay, so far as appears, their author might have "not so much as heard whether there be any Holy

Ghost." "The end and use of prayer is not to bring God's will into conformity with ours; it is to bring our wills into conformity with God's:" from which it would be reasonable to infer that God's action is not in the least degree affected by our prayers. And yet we are shown how, as men accomplish their purposes by counteracting one law of nature by another, so may God "extricate" us from "any trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity," "by a supernaturally skilful combination and adjustment of natural forces:" from which it may be inferred that God's action, and therefore God's will, may conform to our prayers. This theory of the merely reflex influence of prayer is not more at variance with the illustration just quoted than with the plain doctrine of Scripture, which makes God's giving contingent on our rightly asking.

There is a sermon on "Christ's Plan of Salvation." But if any reader expects to find in it any such plan as he meets with in the third and fifth of Romans, the third of Galatians, or the third, sixth, and tenth of John, he will be utterly disappointed. The discourse is simply a moral essay on Love as the fulfilling of the law. Ideas of guilt, expiation of sin by the sacrifice of Christ, and justification by faith alone, have no place whatever. The "plan" is merely to induce men to act from love by the influence of Christ's precept and example, though it does not appear how this is possible without atonement. And yet the author exclaims: "This is Christianity. Is it not a beautiful religion?" To our view, as compared with the full gospel of our Lord, its beauty is of the same sort as would appear in a picture of St. Paul's Cathedral minus all but the dome. Otherwise described, it is the revealed scheme of salvation mutilated, diminished, and rendered useless by the ruthless assaults of rationalism.

Consistently with his "plan of salvation," our author omits all notice of the atoning sacrifice in his four sermons on Hebrew ii. 10: "For it became Him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings." In imitation of Dr. John Young (*Life and Light of Men*), he sets forth how Christ in suffering manifested "the divinity and beauty of self-sacrificing love," and thus furnished the story which has "purified the vilest hearts, and brought the most abandoned of the devil's votaries to the very feet of God." The vicariousness of the suffering is ignored. Was ever author's meaning more perverted? The inspired writer has just said Jesus was made man in order to taste death for every man (including those already dead or distant, who could not be saved by His example); and he immediately adds that for this object, and in the capacity of Captain or Leader of our

salvation, He was perfected by suffering. A few sentences later he tells us He partook of flesh and blood "that through death He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, and deliver them who, through fear of death, were all their life-time subject to bondage;" and that He might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people. In the same letter we read that, when "He offered up Himself," He offered sacrifice for the sins of the people; that sin is purged away by His "blood" "who through the Eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God;" that He was offered to bear the sin of many; and that "without shedding of blood is no remission." These four discourses, as a representation of the sufferings of Christ, are more defective and unfaithful than would be a map of the physical geography of Switzerland from which the Alps were left out.

At this stage our readers will not be surprised to learn that "eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of Man" are reduced (*à la* "Ecce Homo") to "intense personal devotion," and "habitual feeding on the character of Christ;" in which the "character" of Christ is adroitly foisted into the place of His propitiatory sacrifice. So far as these sermons may be considered as one work, they are a warp of theistic truth interwoven with a woof of fragile rationalistic error—another attempt to effect a compromise between Christian faith and scepticism.

Pressense's Early Years of Christianity.

The Early Years of Christianity: a Comprehensive Survey of the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church. By E. de Pressensé, D.D., Author of "Jesus Christ: His Times, Life, and Work," &c. Translated by Annie Harwood-Holmden. Four Vols. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1879.

These volumes have already received our favourable notice in connection with their original appearance in French or in English. They form one of the most readable histories of the Church during the first three centuries ever published. The style is always easy and charming, and often highly dramatic. The tone is so far spiritual that long chapters would serve the purposes of a devotional manual, though at the same time the author never transforms himself into the mere preacher. Accurate as a rule in his scholarship and information, and with several important exceptions wise and right in his deductions, M. de Pressensé exhibits in this work without abatement that analytical faculty and rare pictorial skill for which heretofore he has been dis-

tinguished. Occasionally he allows his own theological peculiarities to mislead him, but he never sacrifices correctness to colouring. And his standpoint—that of a Protestant, an opponent of hierarchical distinctions, and a vindicator of the common rights of humanity in the sight of God—is consistently maintained, and so ably defended, that his adversaries are driven altogether away from the ground of Scriptural use and primitive tradition.

The first volume is complete in itself, and describes Christian life and doctrine during the Apostolic age in the several phases which, in their relationship to the Church of the second and third centuries, are separately treated in the three following volumes. The author wisely omits the long discussion of the history of religions prior to Christianity, which appears in the French edition, because a very full *résumé* of it is accessible to the English reader in his book entitled *The Life, Work, and Times of Jesus Christ*. He starts at once with the foundation of the Church on the Day of Pentecost, and traces it through its various episodes of persecution and extension, and through its different conflicts with internal discussion and with nascent heresy down to the death of St. John. Foot-notes and appendices discuss the literature of his subject and the authenticity of the early writings which constitute the New Testament, and full indices of quotations from Scripture and of allusions to authors that are referred to in the course of the volume are added. Obviously the book is equally suited to interest the general reader who is apt to weary of dulness, and to instruct the student who values a high specific gravity above either drapery or rhythm.

The second volume is occupied with the external history of the Church from the persecution under Trajan to Diocletian, and with sufficiently full sketches of the fathers and apologists of the period. And whilst M. de Pressensé manages to make his narrative superior to that of Gibbon, and at least equal to that of Stanley in interest, in evangelical appreciation of Christianity he surpasses both. No one has better realised the force of the assaults which philosophy and theosophy directed against it, or the inherent truth and fitness to man's wants by reason of which it prevailed. And when he describes the difficulty of a Christian's position in the Roman Empire, so surrounded by the associations of idolatry that concealment of his own faith was out of the question, and yet knowing well that if his faith was not concealed it would attract all the unspeakable horrors of a persecution that recognised no limits to its rage, one can almost hear the populace shouting "Christianus ad leonem," and the ecstasy of a Perpetua remains a mystery no longer. At the same time this second volume, like the others, is not without blemishes. It is not a sufficient account of the introduction of Christianity into these islands to write, "We can only infer from the fact

that Easter was long celebrated in the churches of Great Britain according to the practice in Asia Minor, that the Gospel had been brought to the Britons by Christians from the East." Fortunately we have several other facts from which we may infer that the connection of the British Church with that of the East was at the most very indirect; and M. de Pressensé might have found in the early ritual and use of his own Church indications that would have led him to a different conclusion. Moreover, omitting many matters of minor importance, M. de Pressensé's account of the administration of baptism is certainly incorrect. "Baptism," he writes (vol. i. 374, 375, 376), "was administered by immersion. . . . Regarded from the apostolic point of view, baptism cannot be connected either with circumcision or with the baptism administered to proselytes to Judaism. Between it and circumcision there is all the difference which exists between the Theocracy, to which admission was by birth, and the Church, which is entered only by conversion. . . . . Christian baptism is not to be received, any more than faith, by right of inheritance. This is the great reason why we cannot believe that it was administered in the apostolic age to little children. No positive fact sanctioning the practice can be adduced from the New Testament: the historical proofs alleged are in no way conclusive." In the fourth volume our author acknowledges that in the second and third centuries infant baptism was the practice of all the churches, but confines its method in all ordinary cases exclusively to that of immersion, and generally of triple immersion. But on the other hand there are instances of baptism, recorded even in the Acts, in which probability points strongly to its administration by affusion. The original Greek (βαπτίζειν) may be interpreted with perfect propriety of such a pouring of water upon the head and body as that now in question. The Latin writers more than once apply the expression "perfusus" to the baptised catechumen. And the earliest Christian art represents the new convert occasionally as undergoing immersion, but far more frequently, as in a fresco from the Cemetery of St. Calixtus, as standing in a very shallow pool, and receiving upon his head water that was poured out of the hand of the ministrant. Immersion was undoubtedly the more general mode, and indeed became for a while subsequently to the second century the almost universal rule of the Church; but affusion was probably never without its adherents, and has in its favour numerous Scriptural intimations, and apostolic and primitive practice. Evidently M. de Pressensé allows his own theory of the Church to influence him in his assertion that baptism was not administered to little children in the apostolic age. The New Testament testifies otherwise, and Irenæus in the early part of the second century, and in the latter part Tertullian, who in knowledge of the usages of the Church was second to none then living,

were absolutely conclusive witnesses to the prevalence of infant baptism. It is true that Tertullian disliked the practice, and argued against it. But such a fact only increases the weight of his testimony, inasmuch as he never charges the practice with being an innovation upon previous usage. In this instance, as in a few others to which we cannot particularly refer, M. de Pressensé ceases to be a reliable guide. But the comparative fewness of such errors, grave as they sometimes are, render his history safer and more correct than several that have recently been published. He blunders occasionally, but many contemporary writers upon the same subjects have blundered much more.

The heresies and the development of doctrine in the Church are dealt with in the third volume of the series. M. de Pressensé thus summarises its contents: "We have seen theology, properly so called, originating with the Greco-Asiatic school, of which Justin Martyr was the head or the initiator: then developing itself with incomparable breadth at Alexandria, through the subtle and brilliant genius of Clement and the dialectic power of Origen, who formed the first complete system. St. Hippolytus represents at Rome the Oriental school, with all its greatness and all its defects. Irenæus weds it in a manner with the genius of the West, and frees it from Platonist abstraction: this is the special merit and glory of the Gallo-Asiatic school, which is weak on the question of authority. The school of Carthage, which unhappily espouses ardently the cause of Episcopal monarchy, fails to hold the advanced ground reached by the Bishop of Lyons with regard to the living conception of the Deity, and blends a fierce asceticism with the extreme assertion of the rule of faith." The practical lesson, which the study of this part of the subject ought to teach, is, in our author's own words, which are too extreme, and which suggest the wrong conclusion, that discussion is never to give place to certainty—"to repudiate alike the religious radicalism which denies revelation, and the narrow orthodoxy which insists on the acceptance of its own interpretations. In truth, neither the one tendency nor the other finds any sanction in the heroic Church, which was wise enough to encounter fundamental errors with the simple weapons of free discussion, and to vindicate the legitimate independence of the human mind by the variety of its schools and its formularies."

In the fourth volume M. de Pressensé traces the reconstruction of society which Christianity effected, and the operation of the different causes which led to so grievous a decay of Christian life towards the close of the third century. Those causes our author classifies under four heads. "1st. The great and rapid growth of the Church, which necessarily brought into it heterogeneous elements. 2nd. Persecution, which added to the authority of the bishops, just as in time of war the ascendency of military leaders

is increased. 3rd. Heresy, which sometimes by the terror it inspired gathered the people in more united and compact bodies around their pastors, sometimes had another and indirect effect in leading them back to Jewish notions of ecclesiastical authority. 4th. A progressive deviation from the purity of the faith, and the substitution of a certain legalism for the great doctrine of Paul on justification, which is the parent of all true liberty, and the basis of religious equality." It is in the exhibition of these historic changes, which affected equally the departments of Church government, of worship, and of personal morality, that M. de Pressensé's warm sympathy with Christianity appears, unadulterated by prejudice or partisanship. He has much to say in commendation of the endurance with which martyrs bore their sufferings, and of the quiet Christian charity which sweetened the confessors' prisons. But he is not blind to the mischief which persecution wrought in the Church, to the bitterness it aroused in the spirits of the Christians, to the controversies it left behind, and to the pride which mingled with and sometimes supplanted the patience of the sufferers. And thus he shows us, clearly and historically, albeit perhaps with too sparing a condemnation of the fanaticism with which the Montanists discredited the sound doctrine which was committed to them to be proclaimed, how Christian life gradually degenerated into indifference, worship into formality, and the ministry into a priesthood. The moral abuses and hierarchial pretensions of the fourth and subsequent centuries would have been impossible then, had they not naturally sprung from roots which our author reveals to us, slowly spreading themselves in the subtle tendencies of the second and third centuries.

It remains merely to say that Mr. Harwood-Holmden's translation is fluent and idiomatic. But the first volume is disfigured by bad spelling, and there are traces of insufficient scholarship or deficient editorial care all through. The same man should not be called "Dioclesian," and "Diocletian" interchangeably. Clement of Alexandria is credited with a book entitled sometimes "*Stromata*" and sometimes "*Stromates*," but never correctly "*Stromateis*." If little slips of this kind, which are far too numerous, were put right, and the notes and appendices were revised, the publishers would deserve the gratitude of all students of ecclesiastical history, and of all believers in the Divine rights of conscience, even more abundantly than they do at present.

Halley's Life of Dr. Halley.

A Short Biography of the Rev. Robert Halley, D.D. Together with a Selection of his Sermons. Edited by Robert Halley, M.A. Hodder and Stoughton.

Dr. Halley was born at Blackheath in the year 1796, and was of mixed Scotch and English descent. When nearly twenty, he entered Homerton College, where he was under the care of the Revs. W. Walford and Dr. Pye Smith. In June, 1822, he was ordained pastor of the church at St. Neot's; where he married, and where he remained till, July, 1826, he became classical tutor of the New College at Highbury. After thirteen years of professorship, during which he had had the now venerable Dr. Stoughton under his care, and during which also he had bloomed into a D.D., he was, in the year 1839, invited to succeed the celebrated Dr. McAll as pastor of the Mosley Street Chapel, Manchester. The City of Cotton had not then attained its present vast dimensions; but even at that date the "grand old chapel" was surrounded with warehouses, and it was feared lest the church would speedily become extinct. Yet while many would have shrunk from the responsibilities devolving upon the pastor of a large church in the centre of a busy town, perhaps more would have been afraid to follow a preacher who possessed the golden-mouthed eloquence of Dr. McAll. This double responsibility was undertaken by Dr. Halley; and perhaps the fact that he made no pretensions to that eloquence which consists mainly in mellifluous sentences, was altogether in his favour. Compared with so consummate a master as McAll, any merely "eloquent" brother would have had to occupy the position which Dryden, no doubt insincerely, attributes to himself in comparison with Addison. "After his bees," said that grand master of English, "my latter swarm is scarce worth the hiving." In like manner a preacher whose excellency consisted in graceful gestures, in flowing sentences, and in a poetic fancy, would have been crushed by the involuntary comparison which his hearers would institute between his loftiest flights and the long-resounding eloquence of his great predecessor. But when a strong, sturdy man appeared in the pulpit, with the business-like air of one who had a definite purpose in view, and began to speak in abrupt, half-completed, and yet pregnant sentences, probably no member of the congregation would pause to make a comparison. Those who are familiar with the highly-polished style of Dr. McAll may compare one of his elaborate introductions with an example from this volume. One of the few complete sermons here published is one furnished by the editor of the *Christian*

World, and is entitled the "Inviolate Body of Christ." The text is taken from John xix. 36, and the first sentence is—"A bone of Him shall not be broken. Why not?" Surely the Doctor had studied the art of surprise. In a volume of sermons, now probably out of print, we believe by Sterne, the preacher first announces his text, concerning its being better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting, and then plunges *in medias res* with the point-blank assertion, "That's a lie." We feel that Dr. Halley's "Why not?" is almost equally startling, and has the advantage in reverence and decorum. A similar instance is furnished by the sermon on the "Light in the Cloud," the opening sentence of which is: "A bright light in the clouds! Where? where? I cannot see it, says some troubled hearer." So also, the discourse entitled "A Pilgrim's Songs," begins "A pilgrim's song is surely a very pleasant sound." Mr. Halley remarks, on page 24, "I have often heard my father's preaching spoken of as 'abrupt' and 'rugged,' and have sometimes been a little puzzled to know what was meant." Now if the incident which Mr. Halley relates has not made the meaning clear, we beg him to consider the illustrations of his father's ruggedness which are afforded by these three sermons.

Dr. Halley appears to have won considerable influence in Manchester. The town was at that time the centre of the league for the repeal of the corn laws. At a meeting held about the year 1840, in which 650 ministers took part, in order to bear witness to the influence of the corn laws on the working classes, Dr. Halley occupied a leading position. A story is also related which shows the courage with which he could confront and quell an angry mob. Yet all these were made subsidiary to the great work of the Christian ministry. A prominent feature of his pulpit services was his annual course of lectures to young men. One course on certain Old Testament facts was amazingly popular. "Every pew was closely packed, every foot of standing space was crowded on the alternate Sunday evenings, and this became customary winter after winter till the preacher removed from Mosley Street. Young men flocked in from miles around; there was then little railway communication, and parties were forced in Ashton and Bolton and other towns to walk to and fro to hear these lectures." For the benefit of those whose knowledge of Lancashire is not very minute, we may remark that Bolton is eleven miles from Manchester; in these degenerate days most young men would fancy that a walk of twenty-two miles was rather too heavy a price to pay for a sermon. Yet if all the discourses were on the same level as the one printed in this volume, and entitled "The Christian Tradesman," we can easily imagine that these lectures would mark an era in the

history of the audience. A fair sample of "the good Doctor's" masculine style is the following: "For what is Christianity? What are its requisitions, its sanctions? Christianity is not a religion so sublime as to keep aloof from the ordinary concerns of men and confine itself to the heights of Zion. It is not so ethereal as to breathe only in the melody of hymns and live only in the quietude of the Sabbath. It comes down to the every-day business of life, follows the man from the sanctuary to the warehouse or the workshop, presides over his bargains, balances the scales of his traffic, consecrates his gains to the service of God, and imparts strength to resist the temptations of the world. Descended from heaven it dwells on the earth, and stamps the impression of the celestial sphere upon all the transactions of this inferior world. From heaven it came, to heaven it points; but it stands upon earth the companion of men. In the sanctuary it sings and it prays; but in the market it buys and it sells: in the morning and the evening, grateful for mercies, it offers its orisons of praise to the Father of all men; but through the hours of the day it transacts its earthly business. Believe not that religion is so sacred a thing that it must not be made common or unclean by the brawny arm of labour or the busy fingers of trade. . . . Regard it not as a thing which comes to life on a Sunday, and, dead through the week, is to be resuscitated in your bosoms with the dawn of the returning Sabbath. Its exercises are varied on the Sabbath, but its services continue through the week. On the Sabbath it guides your devotion to God, but in the week it directs your dealings with men" (page 236). Now, while in all this there is not one spark of genius, there is a plain, straightforward common sense. In these discourses we should look in vain for the brilliant gems which light up the dark and fragmentary theology of Robertson; or for the perfect style and subtle balancings of thought which mark the sermons of Newman. There is none of the brilliant illustrations by which Maclaren will often condense a whole page of argument into one vivid line, or the rush and sweep which are sometimes seen in the eloquence of Liddon; but there is always in these sermons of Dr. Halley's the consciousness that we are listening to a sturdy adviser, who is talking about what he understands. If he has to ask "why not?" he says "why not," and does not pause to construct some imposing circumlocution. Yet in this straightforward abruptness there were qualities which could not fail to fasten the attention; and it is easy to imagine the effect which was produced by the opening or closing questions. The Rev. S. Pearson, M.A., remarks in a letter to the editor, "In the sermon on the Cleansed Leper, how startling it was to hear the discourse closing as with the crash of a sudden cataract by the question: 'Where, the nine? where are they now?'" Obviously

such a style would need to depend largely on the delivery. On some lips the effect produced would be simply ludicrous; while a preacher who was intensely earnest, and who put the question not as a mere form, but as if he expected an immediate reply from the consciences of his hearers, might produce an effect which would be almost electric.

In 1854 Dr. Halley was chairman of the Congregational Union, and in 1857 he succeeded Dr. Harris as Principal and Professor of Theology in New College, London. Mr. Pearson states that the students, during the Doctor's fifteen years' professorship, not only respected but loved him. "He was regarded by all as a grand old man. He was emphatically the father of his students. . . . His lectures did duty for several generations of students, but nothing could rob them of the robustness and originality with which they were conceived. . . . He was conservative without being stubborn; he was liberal without being rash." Obviously, Mr. Pearson was a favourite student. We remember hearing the ordination charge delivered by the Doctor in Steelhouse Lane Chapel on the occasion of Mr. Pearson's first settlement, and it was therefore a pleasure to find that charge printed in this volume. Evidently the Professor returned to the full the affection of the student, for on page 294 we read: "I do not say you are without faults. I suppose you have them. I do not know what they are. May this people never know them; never have reason to know them. You know them: keep them under your own eye. Do not forget them. Do not neglect them. Pray against them." We fancy, however, that there must have been some to whom the Doctor's abrupt sternness would appear harsh. This, however, was only on the outside. Later on in the letter Mr. Pearson says: "My pen falters when I try to speak of the love and goodness of his heart. Sometimes a posse of students were invited to spend the evening at his house. How touching and chivalrous was his affection to Mrs. Halley, then in failing health! To us he was like a father among his boys. And, to a great extent, he carried about with him almost a boyish love of laughter and of fun. These were evenings long to be remembered."—Page 90.

In the year 1865 Dr. Halley was called to sustain the loss of her who for forty-two years had been the faithful companion of his pilgrimage; and in 1872 he resigned the Principalship of New College. Much of his property had gone down on that memorable "Black Friday" in 1866 when the Bank of London failed; but by two testimonials, which amounted together to nearly six thousand pounds, his many friends secured the comfort of his old age. For a few months he undertook the place temporarily vacated by Dr. Simon, of Spring Hill, Birmingham, and then retired to Clapton. He passed to his

eternal rest on August 16th, 1876, some five days after the completion of his fourscore years of work. His legacy to his family, to his denomination, and to the Church at large, was the precious memory of a well-spent life. We can easily believe that his name is embalmed among the most costly treasures of many a life.

After the examples already quoted from the sermons, there is little occasion for any minute examination of the remaining part of this volume. We believe that they will add little to Dr. Halley's reputation, though they will not detract from it. Probably his most enduring literary reputation will rest on his *Annals of Lancashire Nonconformity*, a work which the biographer truly says "is distinguished by careful research, graphic description, humorous touches, and above all by a most generous spirit of impartiality." The volume before us will doubtless be held dear by old friends and former pupils, will be precious in the esteem of those who have been privileged to attend the Doctor's ministry, and will be studied by a few who may wish to understand the style which leads to eminence among Dissenters. Beyond these circles the book will scarcely find a public. Considering the difficulty of his task, Mr. Halley has done his work with commendable delicacy. On the one hand, he never forgets the reverence due to a father, and that father a man of many and various excellences; and on the other hand he does not allow his filial affection to betray him into any extravagant estimates of his father's ability. Though not of a supreme order of excellence, yet the biography is interesting, and the sermons more than able.

Perry's St. Hugh of Avalon.

St. Hugh of Avalon. By G. G. Perry, M.A. London: John Murray.

Probably the ordinary conception of a monk is that of a man whose life, even when it happens to be free from vice, is passed away in indolent devotion; and, probably, few ordinary readers have fairly realised the immense obligations which literature owes to the monastic settlements of the dark ages. Not to mention the familiar fact that the literary treasures of all antiquity, both sacred and profane, have been preserved for us by the monks, it is right to remark that we owe our knowledge of Europe, from the days of Charlemagne to the revival of letters, mainly to the monasteries. Especially in our own country, from the times of Bede to those of the Edwards, we are indebted for almost all our information to a series of literary monks. The

great works which were composed in the monasteries, above all at Peterborough and St. Albans, are an almost inexhaustible treasury of historical information. But for such writers as these, the days of William Rufus, Henry, and Stephen would be almost as perfect a blank as the history of Peru a couple of centuries before the invasion of Pizarro. The great interest which is taken by this generation in historical inquiries has brought many of these works into circulation; and, among others, Professor Stubbs has earned the gratitude of students by the care and industry with which he has edited these relics of English antiquity. Some years ago Mr. Dimock published an edition of the *Metrical Life* and the *Great Life* of St. Hugh of Lincoln. He then began to prepare for publication the works of Geraldus Cambrensis, whom Mr. Green describes as the wittiest of Court chaplains, the most troublesome of bishops, and the gayest and most amusing of all the authors of his day. On Mr. Dimock's death the work was delayed for some time, but was afterwards completed by Mr. Freeman. When the *Great Life* appeared, Mr. Perry, already favourably known by his life of Bishop Grosseteste, wisely determined to give this interesting biography to the English reader; the work, however, was delayed in the expectation that Geraldus Cambrensis would supply additional information. As soon, then, as this author was published, Mr. Perry proceeded with his task, and the result is the present biography of St. Hugh of Avalon, the main builder of the Cathedral at Lincoln.

Mr. Perry's workmanship, as far as we have been able to test it, may fairly lay claim to the merit of care and accuracy; but we may say at the outset that the literary skill displayed in it hardly reaches the level which we have a right to expect from a cultured clergyman. Probably the explanation of this defect would be, that Mr. Perry has been so long engaged in the study of mediæval Latin as to have partially lost that fine tact which instinctively avoids a mistake. The composition, when not absolutely ungrammatical, frequently limps, and seldom rises to a higher strain than that of a respectable translation; while the art of arranging a series of facts in an interesting form, and of eliminating all that is merely commonplace, does not appear to have been sufficiently considered. In *The Doctor*, that wonderful medley of strange learning and curious facts, Southey relates an anecdote of an American judge, who said to a prolix advocate: "Really, there are some facts with which it ought to be taken for granted that the court is acquainted." In like manner a book will often appear interesting or uninteresting, according as familiar facts are merely taken for granted, or are lengthily retold. This principle has been occasionally overlooked by the author; and therefore, when the purposes of his

narrative require an allusion even to the most familiar history, he is apt to traverse the whole ground with the air of one who is parading some new discovery. Apparently he has forgotten that the elaborate treatment of a fact, which would be necessary in a history of England, is quite out of place in a biography of St. Hugh. Thus the usurpation of Stephen is related in a style which might suit an intelligent Chinaman, but which will appear prosy to Englishmen of even only ordinary education.

Occasionally, Mr. Perry so far forgets the current of his narrative as to relate the same fact twice over. A fault closely allied to this is the introduction of extraneous matter. Information may be both valuable and curious; but it certainly has no place in a life of St. Hugh, unless it throws some light upon the man himself. But when a whole page of the most commonplace history is introduced, and the paragraph suddenly winds up with the remark, "We do not know whether St. Hugh was at all concerned in this business," the effect is ludicrous. In the seventh chapter we are told that "St. Hugh was not a statesman. He shrank altogether from secular affairs, and loved better to be cleaning the scuttles at Witham than to be taking his place in the Curia Regis." This statement, which is quite warranted by the evidence, would be a sufficient reason for not attempting to illustrate his life by any reference to contemporary politics; but the strange fact is that it forms the introduction to a long account of Richard the First's crusade. After, however, we have waded through a page of familiar facts, we come suddenly upon the following sentence: "What amount of support he" (the Archbishop) "received from Bishop Hugh, or what the latter's views as to crusades were, we have no means of judging; but it seems not improbable, from various indications of his opinions, that he would not be inclined to advocate the use of the arm of flesh, but would rather look for the recovery of the holy places to the spiritual weapons of faith and prayer" (page 254). In other words, Mr. Perry first asserts that we are unable to form any opinion as to Bishop Hugh's opinions, and then persists in judging. It appears to us that the introduction of a whole page of contemporary history, which the author himself admits to have no known point of connection with the biography, is hardly allowable. It becomes a case of "Life and Times," in which the times altogether overshadow the life. On such a principle we could easily construct a so-called biography of some obscure John Smith, of whom we know only the record on the tombstone that he lived to an advanced age, and died, say, in the year 1600. We should give, for example, a long account of the Spanish Armada, and connect it with our hero by saying, "What were Mr. Smith's opinions on this great movement we have no means of judging, but it appears not improbable, from

various indications, that he was very thankful there were so many ready to fight his battles."

It is only fair to add that we indicate these faults because they detract from the interest of a valuable book. This work contains so much of real worth that it is with a feeling of vexation we note faults which a little care would have easily removed. Mr. Perry has given us a picture which enables us to realise, with tolerable accuracy, the religious life of our ancestors in the days of Cœur-de-Lion and Lackland. Probably, even in his own Cathedral of Lincoln, there is no very absorbing interest taken in St. Hugh himself; but still the study of this book may be pressed upon all those who desire to learn how our religious ancestors actually lived, and thought, and felt. Protestant readers especially need this kind of literature; for they usually regard the ages before the Reformation as altogether dark and corrupt. We are in danger of forgetting the truth, so often proclaimed by Carlyle, that no system can long endure after it has become altogether corrupt.

After an introductory chapter, in which he relates the previous history of Lincoln Cathedral, Mr. Perry opens the more immediate subject of his book by a capital account of the kings and clergy in the days of St. Hugh. His sketch of the three monarchs, Henry the Second, Richard, and John, agrees with the estimate formed by other modern historians; but his intimate acquaintance with the monastic annalists enables him to paint very vividly the manners and customs of the clergy. The wealth of the Church had already begun to accumulate in the hands of the monks, and, consequently, the parish priests were often in a state of wretched poverty. The inevitable result was that they eked out their meagre incomes by various forms of simony. Thus it was a common practice to say the mass as far as the offertory; when that had been taken up, to begin afresh, and to repeat the process as long as the congregation put anything into the boxes. Perhaps profanity never reached a higher point than when the Lord's Supper was used in magical rites. The mass was said over waxen images, devoting to death, with solemn imprecations, the persons represented. No wonder the monkish annalist remarks that the rural parish priests were worse than Judas; for he, believing Jesus to be a man, sold Him for thirty pieces of silver; but they, believing Him to be a God, sell Him for a penny. Another feature of clerical life under the Plantagenet was the remarkable ignorance even of those priests who undertook to preach. "A certain priest preaching about Barnabas said 'he was a good and holy man, but he was a robber,' confounding Barnabas with Barabbas. Another described the Canaanitish woman as partly a woman, partly a dog, thinking her name to be derived from *canis*, a dog. The Latin equivalent

for a 'broiled fish and a piece of a honeycomb' was transformed by another into 'an ass-fish and beans covered with honey!' The word used in the vulgate for a 'fire of coals' (*prunæ*), another explained as meaning plums. A somewhat more serious fault was his who argued from the words, 'Fornicators and adulterers God will judge,' that no other evil-doers were to be judged" (page 152). Yet more serious charges than those of simony and ignorance were constantly laid against the clergy. William of Newbury mentions more than three hundred homicides with which the clergy of his own time were popularly credited; while even some of those officials who had been active in the introduction of celibacy admit that it had produced a frightful amount of immorality. "The superior clergy were generally," says Mr. Perry, "free from these stains, but ignorance, meanness, avarice, and servility were common among them all. There was a paralysis of discipline in the Church." There is no need to study carefully the lives of the leading bishops in order to judge their spiritual influence. Every reader of English history knows the pomp and vanity, the secular ambition and religious pride, the violence and warlike habits of many of these servants of Christ. Shakespeare's Cardinal Beaufort expresses the popular conception of a powerful bishop: that there is no man so wicked as a wicked priest. Thus the clergy were base, and, apparently, the people were miserable. A modern historian gives an extract from the English Chronicle, which reveals the terrible anguish of the English in the days of St. Hugh's happy youth in Burgundy. "They hanged men up by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke. Some were hanged up by their thumbs, others by the head, and burning things were hung on to their feet. They put knotted strings about their head, and writhed them till they entered the brain. They put men into prisons where adders, and snakes, and toads were crawling, and so they tormented them. Many thousands they afflicted with hunger." Against this terrible oppression the Church alone had power to come in between the people and the barons; and when, therefore, the clergy were corrupt, we may conclude that it was never merry world in England. Such were some aspects of English society in the days of St. Hugh; and his biographer rightly remarks that there could have been no greater boon conferred on the country than the sincere, bold, and saintly example of the Burgundian monk.

Hugh was born at Avalon, close to the Savoy frontier, probably in 1135. He sprang from a line of noble ancestors, as renowned for piety as for gentle blood; and when, in his eighth or ninth year, his mother died, his father devoted himself to a "religious" life, and took Hugh with him into the monastery. A beautiful feature in the future Bishop's character was his affection for birds,

and even squirrels, which were tamed by him so perfectly that they would leave the woods, and, at the hour of supper, come to share his frugal meals. Finding the discipline of the monastery not sufficiently stern to satisfy his devotion, Hugh broke an oath of loyalty which he had taken, and fled to the Carthusian convent at Grenoble. Here Mr. Perry notices a singular fact which seems to us to prove that the life of man cannot possibly be ordered by regulations imposed by external authority. The Cistercians required that the whole time of the monks should be occupied in devotion and manual labour; while the Franciscan friars were not allowed to possess a book. Now such is the perversity of human nature that the laborious Cistercians became the most luxurious, and the ignorant Franciscans the most learned of the monastic orders. Here, in the obscurity of Grenoble, St. Hugh spent his early manhood, until he was suddenly translated to England, became the favourite of the sagacious Henry the Second, and ended his days as Bishop of Lincoln.

The immediate cause of Hugh's transfer was the foundation of a new abbey in Somersetshire. The Norman conquest had given a vast impulse to this particular form of piety, so that the next century witnessed the rise of many of our most stately buildings, and in the ten years which followed 1128 nearly twenty large Cistercian monasteries were erected, including such stately foundations as Riveaux and Fountains. In accordance with the prevailing fashion, Henry made a vow to found three abbeys; and after several other priors had failed, Hugh was invited to take the government of the new foundation at Witham, in Somersetshire. In his character of religious patron, Henry seems to have fallen into the error so amusingly put into rhyme by Mr. Canning:

> "In matters of commerce, the fault of the Dutch
> Is giving too little, and asking too much."

Accordingly Hugh found that almost everything was needed, and only after much ingenious diplomacy and some bold speaking, prevailed on the king to give full effect to his vow. At this period of his life he laid the foundation of a close intimacy with his sovereign, and it is pleasant to believe that Henry found one churchman who asked nothing for himself. The manner in which the pious monarch sought to defraud the heavenly powers may be judged from the singular history of a Bible. Henry gave ten marks to St. Hugh for the purchase of parchment, on which the monks might copy the Word of God; but shortly afterwards he determined to enrich his new foundation with a complete illuminated copy of the whole Bible. Accordingly, having heard that there was a fine copy in the monastery at Winchester, he

coolly ordered the prior to make him a present of it. The latter, of course, did as he was commanded, hoping, but apparently in vain, for some rich reward in return. The king then sent the splendid manuscript as a royal present to Hugh and his brethren. Much to the credit of the brethren at Witham it is added that when the pious fraud was discovered Hugh insisted on returning the costly treasure to its first owners at Winchester.

In 1186 St. Hugh was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln. One of his first acts was to take a firm stand against the iniquitous forest laws. These laws were so oppressive that we can hardly understand how the country contrived to exist under the burden. The old annalist exclaims that "violence was instead of law, rapine a matter of praise, equity a thing to be hated, and innocence the greatest guilt." Hugh ventured to excommunicate the king's own forester, and did not consent to remove the excommunication till the forester had submitted to be flogged. Mr. Perry rightly remarks, a little later in the narrative, that "a still greater proof of true courage, because it shows a moral courage very rare in the men of his generation, was the way in which Hugh behaved when invited to inspect an alleged miracle. A priest once called upon him to inspect a miraculous appearance in the chalice, where it was said that the actual conversion into flesh and blood of part of the host could be seen with the bodily eyes. Hugh indignantly refused to look at it. 'In the name of God,' he said, 'let them keep to themselves the signs of their want of faith'" (page 235). In his communication with his own diocese, Hugh appears to have been the very ideal of a Roman Catholic bishop. He performed with due solemnity all the official duties of his post; endeavoured to familiarise himself with his flock; was especially successful in winning the affections of the young; and, on the wildest nights, after the hardest toils, was ever at the call of the afflicted or bereaved. Mr. Perry says only little of this Bishop's work as an architect; but the pious historian of the English Cathedrals narrates that "The whole of the front choir, east transept, with its chapels, chapter house, and eastern side of the great transept, were all erected during his life, and such was his earnest zeal in this great work, that, when seized with mortal sickness in London, he occupied himself a considerable time in giving parting instructions to the master of the fabric. In him the bishop, the architect, and the saint were united." Mr. Perry dates the commencement of his work in 1190, or two years later. It is easy to believe that it was carried on with the greatest energy, when we find that the Bishop himself worked with his own hands, carrying cut stones in a basket, or sometimes a hod of mortar on his head. It may be added here, that when the main body of the cathedral was completed in 1280, the body of St. Hugh was translated to the magnificent presbytery

at the east end of the choir, and enclosed in a shrine said to have been of solid gold. The historian already quoted appears to marvel that not even the sanctity of the good Bishop could protect his remains from the sacrilegious hands of Henry the Eighth's Commissioners. Our wonder would rather be first, how so great a mass of gold was gathered together, and then, how it escaped so long? One would fancy that when Cardinal Beaufort was Bishop of Lincoln such a mountain of gold would hardly be likely to escape annexation.

St. Hugh's intercourse with that strange hero of English romance, Richard I., was marked by the same intrepidity and dexterity which he had manifested in the previous reign. Not only did he venture to resist the king's demand for money, but he even openly remonstrated with him for his immorality. "If you serve God," said the Bishop, "He will make your enemies peaceably disposed towards you, or He will overthrow them. But beware lest you commit some sin, either against God or your neighbour. It is currently reported of you that you are unfaithful to your marriage bed, and that you receive bribes for appointments to spiritual offices. If this be true, you cannot have peace from the Lord." This is in the true spirit of Nathan; and when we read these bold strong words, we can forgive the good Bishop for appropriating a few relics of departed saints. Would that all monarchs had such bold advisers, and that all monarchs would heed their warnings! Equally bold was his treatment of the crafty, if cowardly, John. He preached before this monarch on the duties of kings; but much too serious for a man who made a sport of all things sacred and profane, he preached too long. Three times John sent messengers to the pulpit to tell the preacher to conclude; he, however, proceeded with his discourse till all his hearers except John, who appears to have been as nearly a professed atheist as the times would allow, were deeply affected. Unfortunately, as has happened so frequently in later days, the Bishop's eloquence failed to affect the one man whom it was mainly intended to reach.

St. Hugh died in London, in the year 1200, in the episcopal residence, which stood on the present site of Lincoln's Inn. Twenty years later he was canonised according to the rites of the Church of Rome, and his shrine soon rivalled the popularity of that of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. Such a life, while scarcely conceivable in England to-day, must have been of incalculable benefit to his own generation, and the records of human virtue would have been incomplete without a suitable memorial of St. Hugh. His abiding monument on earth is the grand Cathedral of Lincoln; and who can doubt that in the heavenly world he is already surrounded by many whom, according to his light, he allured to virtue? While we have felt it necessary to complain

of some features of this work, we yet have to thank Mr. Perry for his instructive and learned volume. A little more care in the composition would have smoothed away a few blots, and made this biography as interesting as it is able. It is with History as with Geography. The careful study of an atlas is necessary for all who wish to possess an accurate knowledge of any foreign country; but a far more vivid idea will be gained from a good painting of some characteristic village. In the same way, the historical student must make himself familiar with the long roll of kings, battles, and revolutions; but to make the life of our ancestors real, we need a careful photograph of some typical individual; and such a photograph of the days of the Plantagenets Mr. Perry has presented us in the life of St. Hugh.

Brooks's Influence of Jesus.

The Influence of Jesus. The Bohlen Lectures, 1879. By the Rev. Phillips Brooks, Boston. London: Dickinson. 1879.

Mr. Brooks is one of the most influential among living American preachers. He is a preacher to the thoughtful and speculative rather than, like Beecher, to the multitude. Never profound, he is often acute and subtle, and always thoughtful. He would compare best with Robertson, although less intense and concentrated, tending more to discursiveness and diffuseness. His sermons, however, as a whole will impress and be enjoyed by all with whom Robertson is a favourite. Perhaps, a still better comparison would be with Channing, of whom his quiet, chaste style often reminds us. "An orthodox Channing" would not be an unapt description of Mr. Brooks. He often analyses an idea down to the last atom. His sermons give us the impression of one who is thinking aloud. He sometimes dwells too long on a single thought or section of his subject, to the great detriment of the symmetry of the discourse. A philosophising vein and a breath of true poetry run through all his works.

The subject of this series of four lectures is one eminently suited to the preacher's peculiar gift. It is broad and unconfined, affording ample scope for the general treatment of which Mr. Brooks is fond. It has also the merit of originality, opening up a new and fruitful field. All that can be done in a single series is to throw out hints and sketches for others to take up and complete. "All that the subject, as I have stated it, would include, not four nor forty lectures could undertake to treat." The subject is the moral, social, emotional, and intellectual life of mankind as affected by the life and teaching of Christ, a lecture being devoted to each point. We may remark that the

value of the work would be greatly enhanced by a synopsis of the leading thoughts. This is especially necessary in the case of writers like Mr. Brooks, in whose writings the connection of thought is not always obvious at first sight.

The great truth, the lecturer holds, which it was the mission of Christ to implant in the heart of mankind, is the fatherhood of God. This determined the specific character of the influence exerted by Christ upon every department of human life. Thus, in the first lecture it is shown how the morality of Christianity is that of the family rather than the state. God is a father commanding, the Christian is a child obeying. The legislative authority in the Gospel combines, in itself, the perfect example and effective power which belong to the office of father. The obedience of a Christian springs partly from instinct, partly from deference to just authority. These thoughts are worked out in all their ramifications.

In the second lecture the social life of Christ is traced in its gradual development from the stage of natural instinct to that of intelligent choice, and the influence of the same controlling idea is shown in the conduct of Christ in His relations to individuals, his disciples and the State. "The social life of Christ was first an instinct. The child clasped His tiny arms about His mother's neck, or laid His little hand into the strong hand of Joseph, as they walked on the long road to Egypt, with the same simple desire to utter love and to find love which is the first sign of life akin to their own that millions of parents' hearts have leaped to recognise in their firstborn . . . That instinctive character never passed out of the relationships of Christ. When He bade the disciples go with Him to the mountain of transfiguration or to the garden of agony, beneath every design of their enlargement or enlightenment, who does not feel beating the simple human desire for company in the supremely triumphant or supremely terrible moments of life? . . . As Jesus develops into manhood, the idea of His existence grows and rounds itself to clearness. By-and-by He is full of the consciousness that He is the Son of God, and that through His sonship this world-full of men is to learn that they are God's sons and are to be brought back to their Father. And when He had been filled with that idea, then the instinct which had already drawn Him to His brethren found its interpretation. He knew why He sought them. It was for the self-indulgence of His own consciousness and it was for the enlightenment of theirs. By-and-by, if I ask why Jesus shrinks from solitude and craves to have John and James and Peter with Him, I find myself compelled to say, something more than just that such is His healthy human instinct. I recognise that He is deliberately seeking two things there: first, the self-knowledge of His own sonship to God; and second, the enlightenment of

these men's consciousness to know that they are the sons of God. I see the sun break in with a triumphant burst of light upon a chamber set with countless jewels, but which has thus far been wholly shut up in the dark. There is a double joy, I think, in the great heart of the sunlight as, almost with a shout that one can hear, it floods the open chamber with itself. First, it finds new interpretation of itself, it finds itself, as it were, in the new stories of its glory which the jewels tell, as, one by one, they burn under its touch; and second, it feels every jewel quiver under its fiery hand with the transporting discovery of its own nature." The above is a very fair specimen of both of Mr. Brooks's style of thought and expression. Both the second and third lectures are noble compositions, which we can only commend to the attention of our readers. We will give a few more brief extracts by way of illustration. "Jesus begins with the individual. He always does. His first and deepest touches are upon the single soul. Before all social life there is the personal consciousness and its mysterious private relations to the Father from whom it came. The father cannot teach his boy so early that God shall not have taught him first. The mother cannot drop such unconscious influence into her child's soul, that it shall not find the soul already full of the influence of God." "I am often struck by seeing how the loftiness of Jesus altogether escaped the perplexity of many of the questions with which our lives are troubled, as the eagle flying through the sky is not worried how to cross the rivers." "There is something else in Jesus that always gives me a profound and vivid sense of how that human body which He wore was full of the capacity of suffering, and of how large a part of His total experience its emotions made. The fear of death, or rather, perhaps, the fear of dying, is something almost wholly physical. I know it is not conscience—it is not the dread of meeting, as we feebly say, a God with whom she has lived in tenderest and most trusting communion for these forty years—I know it is not these that make a true, pure saint turn white-cheeked and tremble when you go and tell her that she is to die. The emotion really has its birth where you behold its symptoms, in the body. It is the flesh that shrinks from the thought of dissolution with as truly a physical instinct as that with which the finger draws back from the knife that pricks it. Now through the Gospels there runs, almost from the beginning, a *Via Dolorosa* whose stones you can almost feel still tremble under the feet of Jesus, walking to His more and more clearly realised death." "Merely to see that things are right or wrong, and not to feel a pleasure in their rightness and a pain in their wrongness, does not indicate a finely-moulded character."

We notice a peculiarly American use of the word "belong" in such sentences as "a natural belonging of every man's soul in

goodness," "the heaven where Capernaum belongs," "the symbol and the reality belong together," "this story belongs beside the story of the temptation." "Zenophon" is to us a novelty in spelling. "Snarl" is used in the sense of "entangled." Thus, "the pain and delight of childhood we know are realities, inextricably snarled in with the first possession of a mortal body." Webster says that this use of the word is universal in New England. In old England it is not classical.

The chief fault we have to find is with the English publisher, who should have known better than to give a grave theological work a binding pretty and fanciful enough for the lightest story-book. We hope that no one will judge the inside by the outside.

Miller's Thirty-nine Articles.

The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. An Historical and Speculative Exposition. By Rev. Joseph Miller, B.D. Vol. II. Part First. Article VI.

This volume resembles its predecessor, both in its excellences and defects. Among the former we reckon the really philosophical tone of thought running through the work. The author endeavours to analyse every doctrine into its elements, and shows no little skill in the task. The present volume is occupied entirely with the Article on Scripture, and discusses the questions of Inspiration, the Canon, and Interpretation. All the various theories are passed under review—Catholic, Protestant, Rationalist and Puritan. Nearly a hundred pages are taken up with an account of the various theories of Christianity propounded in modern Germany. The account may be recommended to all who desire information on the subject, being clear and concise. But it seems to us as if the author has done either too little or too much in this respect. In every case he has simply given a statement of the error, often in detail, without indicating the antidote. We more than doubt whether it is wise or right to give Ewald's arguments against Isaiah, Davidson's against Daniel, the partial and prejudiced reasonings of the author of *Supernatural Religion*, particulars of the exploded theories of vulgar German Rationalism, and of Colenso's calculations, without any hint of the reply to be made to these different errors. The reader is supposed to be familiar with the arguments on the other side. But readers familiar with the other side scarcely needed Mr. Miller's *resumé*. Nor is Mr. Miller's justice even-handed. While giving inordinate space to obsolete rationalistic opinions, he condemns Puritanism in a page. Mr. Miller cannot know theologians like Goodwin, Owen, and Howe at first hand as he seems to know Bahrdt, and Strauss, and Feuerbach (p. 161), or he would not have written

the following: "A spirit of dogmatism and infallibility is an invariable characteristic of a true Puritan. He abandons one sort of infallibility only to take refuge in another, which, if he would open his eyes, would be seen to be equally objectionable. He invests his particular creed and tradition, though it be but a few centuries old, with a supreme significance, and somehow or other thinks there is a magical charm or saving efficacy in it. He has a similar sublime devotion, with the Romanist, to the externals of religion. The 'opus operatum' is unconsciously revived in a new form. He seeks a text of Scripture to sanction every straw and indifferent duty. He is as observant of times and seasons and as scrupulous of meats and drinks as any Pharisee or Romanist." Of course this is the merest caricature of a "true Puritan," and we presently learn where it has come from when the author says, "Dr. Robert South in his sermons, so admirable for their good sense and classic English, draws a life-like (?) picture of the Puritan character, as he does also of the other sectaries of his day." South on Puritanism is as trustworthy as Bahrdt and Strauss on Christianity. The publication of so extreme a judgment on Puritanism by a firm like Hodder and Stoughton's is somewhat surprising. We sincerely wish, however, that Mr. Miller imitated South in his "classic English." We greatly prefer the Doctor's Saxon to the strongly Latinised style of the present work. "Pectoralistic" is perhaps an extreme specimen. The paragraphs for the most part read like the decrees of an old Council. We are sorry to be obliged in all honesty to have to point out these defects in an otherwise meritorious work. A partial explanation is perhaps to be found in the hurry pleaded in the preface.

Monrad's World of Prayer.

The World of Prayer. By Dr. Monrad, Bishop of Lolland and Falster, Denmark. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by the Rev. J. S. Banks. T. and T. Clark. Edinburgh. 1879.

English readers are greatly indebted to Mr. Banks for his translation of this work; he has rendered available to them a book of devotional reading which admirably combines the truest Christian mysticism with the soundest and healthiest practical teaching. In the words of the English translator, "No one who reads the present volume will doubt it is instinct with the very spirit of devotion. It deals with the innermost mysteries of spiritual life, and evidently reflects the experience of the author." The ground covered by the work is that which the Christian's mind needs increasingly to make its own in proportion as the

claims of an active and energetic age press upon it. Christ Praying, Hindrances to Prayer, The Contents of Prayer, How we ought to Pray, Deception in Prayer, The Answer to Prayer, The Name of Jesus—these are subjects which come home to us, and make us the debtors of any man who shows himself competent to expound and enforce them to us. This Bishop Monrad is well qualified to do. Take, for instance, the practical wisdom of the chapter on "The Imitation of Christ," especially pp. 55, 56: "If we were only able in all that happens to us in life to hold fast to these two thoughts, 'I have deserved no better,' and 'It comes from my heavenly Father,' adverse events would not so often rob us of the joy in the Lord which we realise in following Christ." Or in what he tells us of the use to be made of intruding thoughts in prayer, p. 129: "Some powerful thought, perhaps, takes such exclusive possession of our minds that it cannot be driven away. But why not make use of this very thought? Why not build a bridge between it and prayer? All thoughts may find a way to God, for in Him we live, and move, and have our being. . . . To what class does the thought belong? Is it care? Why not at once cast it on Him who cares for us? Is it joy? Why not render thanks to Him, the prime fountain of all joy, the giver of all good gifts?"

The chapter on Christ Praying is full of wise and often profound thought; we especially commend to our readers the author's views of the unity of Christendom as contained in that chapter (see p. 83). He places that unity on its unassailable foundation, and teaches the true doctrine of its development and consummation.

As a specimen of the spiritual penetration and incisiveness which characterise the book, take the brief and suggestive sentence on page 153: "There is perhaps no sign by which we can better ascertain the character and measure of our inner life, than the way and manner *in which we say the Lord's Prayer*."

We must remark, too, on the true morality and sound healthy tone of Bishop Monrad, as he deals with that fatal habit of mind into which many have fallen who find the highest expression of their hopes in the words "Oh, to be nothing!" "We then desire," he says, "nothing more for ourselves, friends, fatherland, or mankind; . . . there is something wonderfully soothing in thus giving up all longing, all desiring, and committing what is to take place to a higher determination. . . . But in spite of all this, with all the nobleness and dignity which undeniably belong to such a state of soul, there is something unsound, something morbid in it when it becomes permanent" (p. 162).

There is apparent through the whole volume a sobriety of thought and style, a calm strength of faith and elevation of soul exactly suited to the subject, and which tell us the writer is

speaking out of the fulness of a rich experience, that essential qualification for a teacher on the power and blessing attending prayer. It is instructive to observe how the Lord's Prayer is the keynote of the whole book.

Very earnestly commending this most valuable little work to our readers, we content ourselves with quoting a passage admirably illustrative of its thought and style:—"If (after prayer) at length the fulfilment of our hope comes, then hope vacates its office, for what we possess we need no longer hope for, and the imploring prayers of the seeker are succeeded by full-toned thanksgiving to the Lord our God. If, on the other hand, in the course of events the vision of hope becomes dimmer and dimmer, let us indeed pray with growing urgency and fervour in the same degree in which the gloom deepens around us. But if we observe ourselves more narrowly, we shall be able to hear the chords of another strain commencing within—those of Christian resignation, of calm, peaceful submission to the will of God. How soft and low are these notes at first! They would scarcely dare venture forth did not confidence in God's love compel them. Alas! how we turn from them, seem unwilling to listen to them! for to give our ear to them is to renounce all hope of better days. But while it becomes darker and darker around us those tones are heard more and more plainly; and at last the decisive hour strikes when our earthly hopes are borne to their grave. Then kindles another hope in the soul—hope in the living God and in His salvation, which endures for ever. Then opens within the peace that is not of this world, resting solely on filial confidence in God's eternal love; and in the quiet sanctuary of the heart strikes up a new song, an anthem of praise to our heavenly Father, who is excellent in counsel and wonderful in working.

Bible Hygiene.

Bible Hygiene; or, Health Hints. By a Physician. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1879.

We are sorry the author of this neat volume has attempted to combine the objects stated in his preface. In doing so he hardly does justice to either. As a series of health hints his book was not required. Dr. Richardson's racy works are far more complete, and unquestionably more readable. As a development of one branch of evidence in favour of the Divine origin of the Bible, it may prove useful. Though we notice several very dubious applications of Scripture passages to modern scientific discoveries, and a few thoughtless statements—*e.g.*, on page 53, where he unwittingly proclaims the sovereignty of matter whilst

talking of "the air, food, and drink which they use, and that *originate* all their mental and bodily acts!"—nevertheless some chapters are not devoid of originality and eloquence. After reviewing the state of medical science in Egypt during the Mosaic period the author thus introduces what should have been the one topic of his book.

"In the midst of this prevalence of absurd theories, an illogical and uncertain practice, and general ignorance of hygienic matters, a Hebrew sage suddenly appears and changes the entire aspect of medical science. He originates an entirely new system of theory and practice completely subversive of, and indeed totally opposed to, the prevailing plans. He departs widely from the undeviating usage—that of therapeutical or curative medicine—followed not only by the Egyptians and other nations of antiquity, but by others of a much later day; and substitutes for it the more philosophic and wiser hygienic or preventative method. He gives to the world a health-code without a tinge of the absurdities of necromancy, superstition, and astrology, then so prevalent; containing no extraneous matter, wordy digressions, or side-issues, so common in most ancient and even in many much later compilations; and embraces rules that 'collectively form one of the most precious and authentic monuments of the history of the healing art,' a code in which everything concerning health is regulated with great care; and the laws, especially the well-defined, condensed, and pointed epitome for *the prevention, arrest, and ultimate stamping out of that class of ailments which have most afflicted mankind in all ages, namely, contagious diseases*, are so perspicacious, curt yet ample, practical yet logical, far-seeing and efficacious, as to compare favourably with and even surpass—not only in literary merit but also in a strictly medical point of view—the hygienic rules in vogue at the present day" (21-22).

This last elaborately comprehensive sentence—*horresco referens*—is worthy of expansion into a volume. The author has in some degree accomplished this, but scarcely with the fulness the subject deserved. After briefly indicating the relative consideration given to curative and preventive medicine during the succeeding ages, he justly proceeds: "Non-Biblical hygiene is thus a modern science, and the idea of interpolation of the text of the Pentateuch with these sanitary laws in ancient, mediæval, or even in later times, falls to the ground. Nay, had a physician of the last, the beginning of the present century, or even of a later date, planned a sanitary code like this, he would have been immortalised, and deemed a leader of men—a master mind and giant intellect far in advance of his age" (27). There can be no doubt of the truth of the fact here implied. The Mosaic sanitary code is an anachronism, viewed apart from the source from which it is said to have been derived. Huxley's "semi-

barbarous Hebrew" is after all a man of science or a man of God, and if the former be utterly unworthy of credit the latter hypothesis must be adopted. It is indeed marvellous how perfectly the hygienic laws of the Israelites agree with the latest proclamations of science. Their regulations for the prevention of the spread of leprosy are those which are more or less efficiently put into practice in the attempt to stamp out the various infective diseases of to-day. We find the most stringent rules for the isolation of the sick person and his attendants, their careful purification before again entering society, and the disinfection, reconstruction, or destruction of the house, clothes, and anything that might act as a carrier of contagion. Only the other day we heard the remark made by the manager of a fever hospital, himself an able thongh by no means Biblically biassed physician, that it was very curious that the old Israelites employed as their chief agent of disinfection the very one which is considered of most value to-day—viz., heat. The development of the germ theory, seemingly proved for relapsing and splenic fevers, favours this method of disinfection. Life can be destroyed by heat. Other agents are allowed by all to be very ineffectual, unless, as with beetle poisons, the germ be caught in one hand and the disinfectant be applied in large doses by the other. We refer specially to all attempted destruction of germs in air by chemical means. The parasites are probably much less incommoded than the patient. What is man's poison may be, if not food, at any rate a neutral medium for the lower orders of life. Sulphurous acid may be an excellent disinfectant—having odour enough to expel any other odour—but when parasites much larger than spirilla and its relations were enclosed in an atmosphere of it for some time, the experimenter states he believes "they rather preferred it!"

Heat is universally acknowledged to be the most valuable of all anti-zymotics, and nothing leaves the hospital above referred to without purification by its means in chambers properly prepared.

We cannot stay to pursue the subject further. Those who desire to do so will find some interesting information in the work before us. Though it may have its blemishes it is written in a spirit loyal to truth, and with an evident desire to promote the best interests of mankind.

Hagenbach's History of the Reformation. Vol. II.

History of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland Chiefly. By Dr. K. R. Hagenbach. Translated by Evelina Moore. Vol. II. T. and T. Clark.

The volume before us fully maintains the high character we ascribed in our last issue to its predecessor. The former portion

of the history dealt chiefly with the rise and progress of the Reformation in Germany and German Switzerland; the present one deals more particularly with the same wonderful work of God in French, or more strictly speaking, Romanic Switzerland. This part of the field came in for a large share of that counterfeit reformation which, by exaggerating and abusing some of the reformatory principles under the influence of ignorant, hysterical fanaticism, developed among the Anabaptists and others a course of action which was as truly inimical as Popery to the genuine cause of Protestantism. In order to carry out the injunction to become as little children, "some of the Anabaptists might be seen in the street skipping and clapping their hands, while others would join in a dance, or, seating themselves on the ground, engage in some game, or roll and tumble with each other in the dust." Others dandled dolls, and one made little sand-heaps on the bank of the Rhine, and attempted to empty the Rhine with his hand, in obedience to the same precept. It had been well if the mania had been confined to childish follies; but where its power became equal to its will it assumed the form of cruelty, adulterous communism, and horrible murder. In 1526, for example, in the house of a farmer near St. Gall, a younger son, addressing his senior brother, Thomas, said, "'It is the will of the heavenly Father that thou shouldest strike my head off.' In the presence of the brothers and sisters of the pair, Thomas besought God that he might receive a will for the work, but was not sensible of any answer to his prayer. The two then exclaimed, 'Thy will, O Father, be done!' Leonard kneeled down, Thomas seized a sword, and in an instant the head of his murdered brother fell at his feet. After the commission of this deed, he took his lute and praised God for the success of his work." Worse still was it when, a few years later, the fanatics grasped the civil power in Münster, and there established their reign of terror. Works of art were ruthlessly destroyed. Their king, John of Leyden (a tailor), under whom a community of goods and wives was enforced, on hearing one of his sixteen wives hint that it might not be the will of God that the besieged people should starve, immediately dragged her to the market-place, struck off her head, and compelled the rest of his wives to sing, "Glory be to God on high." Referring to this reaction after the overthrow of Popery, Luther might well say, "God had chased out the devil, but the devil's grandmother had come in." In support of his remark that much that is faulty in modern Germany had its germs in original Lutheranism, Sir William Hamilton might have referred to the Sunday question. Summarising the Confession of Augsburg, drawn up by Melancthon, our author, with manifest sympathy, observes: "Remarkable, amongst other things, is the liberal conception of the Christian

Sunday, as set forth in this Confession. Sunday is not regarded as a renewal of the Old Testament Sabbath, but as a voluntary, though beneficial, human institution, in the interests of good order." The unchanged authority of the Decalogue must have been forgotten. The able translator aptly notes, "The laxness in the observance of Sunday, which prevails to so great an extent among the Germans, may be in part the result of this too liberal article."

The sketch of Calvin, "the third personage of the Reformation," is well done, setting forth in clear and interesting style, as well as with fair judgment, his youth, training, theological tenets, high Christian character, incessant work, and the vast influence exerted by his life and labours on the Christian Church of that and subsequent ages. In perusing these two volumes, the learned will feel themselves borne pleasantly along some of the most interesting paths of ecclesiastical history, and the less read will not fail to participate in the same consciousness, while probably both classes will be led to increased admiration for the great principles of the Protestant Reformation.

Drysdale's Philemon.

The Epistle of Paul to Philemon; an Exposition for English Readers. By the Rev. A. H. Drysdale, M.A., Rochdale. London: Religious Tract Society.

An extremely beautiful setting of the gem of all letters. That any setting should be quite worthy of such a gem is out of the question; but Mr. Drysdale's commentary approaches the ideal as nearly as any we have seen. In addition to the loving study and adequate scholarship apparent on every page, Mr. Drysdale has the graceful pen necessary for a commentator on such an epistle. Two hundred pages of comment on twenty-five verses seem a great deal; but what are these to the five hundred folio pages of the old Puritan Attersoll? The introduction, in four brief chapters, deals with all necessary preliminary matter. Other specimens of "the prison-literature of the Church" mentioned are—Luther's *New Testament Translation*, Bunyan's Allegory, Chrysostom's Letters in Exile, Buchanan's *Version of the Psalms* made in the Portuguese Inquisition, Grotius's *Truth of Christianity*, Rutherford's Letters from "Christ's Palace in Aberdeen," Guyon's Hymns composed in prison at Vincennes. The question of slavery in the ancient world is discussed, and the Apostle's method of dealing with it defended. We note the following points in the new translation of the Epistle given. In the Salutation, vv. 1—3, Timothy is called "the brother," Philemon "the beloved," Apphia "the sister." In the Exordium, vv. 4—7, "always" is joined to the previous sentence, and "in

us" is read instead of "in you," "I had" instead of "we have." In the body of the Epistle, vv. 8—22, "becoming" is substituted for "convenient," "Onesimus" is placed at the end of the verse for the sake of emphasis, "without thine assent" instead of "without thy mind," "service" instead of "benefit," "perhaps to this end he departed." The paraphrase which follows is well done. In the exposition, which occupies the bulk of the volume, all the delicate hints, the plays upon words, the preference of love to authority, are clearly brought out. An extract or two will illustrate the way in which the substantive teaching of the Epistle is expounded. "Grace, like life, may be regarded as a great and blessed gift from without, or a Divine power working mercifully towards us, and ultimately working in us; bringing salvation for us, and securing its mightiest triumph when it secures a lodgment of itself within us. And just as life receives various names, from the various blessings it includes—feeling, moving, seeing, hearing, which are but varieties of the one great privilege of living—so grace is the comprehensive term including the supply of all favours and privileges needful for our fallen and undeserving condition, as sinners to be saved. It is enlightenment for darkness; pardon for transgression; comfort for trial; hope for despondency; strength for weakness; and all help for all need. And just as life brought into play as a power within us will be sight, if it operate through the eye; speech, if through the tongue; hearing, if through the ear; so with grace—if it work upon our convictions of sin, it will be the grace of repentance; if on God's testimony, it is the grace of faith; if on God's commandments, it is the grace of obedience, and so on." "Christian work is a soldierly campaign, a martial service under authority, with a sacred meaning and incentive in it, and a grandly comprehensive issue before it, to raise it above drudgery or cheerless toil. It includes the watching of the sentinel no less than the warring of the combatant—a watching that turns in every direction, looking *in* on the citadel of the heart, looking *out* for the foe at hand, looking *round* for fellow-soldiers and associates, and, above all, looking *up* for direction, help and blessing—watching unto prayer."

Miracle no Mystery.

Miracle no Mystery; or, The Old Testament Miracles Considered in their Evidential Character. By an English Presbyter. London: Nisbet and Co. 1879.

The explanation of the title is, that the writer considers the application of the term "mystery" to miracles inappropriate, inasmuch as miracles are intended to reveal, not to conceal.

"He would therefore suggest the desirability of restricting the application of the term to such occurrences in Biblical history as were declared, or manifestly intended to be, *evidential*, and that in a *special*, and not merely a *general* sense: such as indicated the Divine presence and power for a special purpose." This *evidential* criterion would exclude all merely natural events, all not witnessed by spectators, all that had not a good purpose. Prediction of a miracle gives an additional security. Every real miracle must harmonise with previous revelations. Assuming these criteria, the author proposes the following definition of a miracle: "An occurrence involving natural phenomena, but distinguishable from them as a manifest deviation from the ordinary and regular course of nature,—witnessed by at least two human beings at once;—wrought for some good object, either the glory of God or the good of man, or to attest the Divine mission of the messenger through whom it was performed, whether human or angelic; and generally, though not necessarily, predicted by that messenger, and being also in harmony with previous revelations of the Divine attributes." The author then tests the whole body of Old Testament miracles by these signs. It is sufficient to indicate, without criticising, the scope of the book. The author writes clearly and sensibly. In the following sentence the grammar limps: "The author most fully allows, that the inexplicable and inscrutable processes of the natural world, with the confessed inability of science to explain their ultimate and efficient causes, is an argument of an *à priori* kind in favour of the probability of miracles."

Blackley's Non-Catholic Period of the Church.

The Events of the Non-Catholic Period of the Church, after the Death of Christ, as set forth in the Acts of the Apostles. By W. Blackley, M.A., Chaplain to the late, and present, Viscount Hill, and late Vicar of Stanton, Salop. London: Samuel Harris and Co., 5, Bishopsgate Street Without. 1879.

In this, as in the former case, the title needs explanation. Time was when titles explained themselves and the books which they headed. The non-Catholic period of the Church, means the period before the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles, the Catholic period beginning with the conversion and baptism of Cornelius. These forty-two expository lectures cover, therefore, the early portion of the Book of Acts, as far as xi. 18. Books like this are the difficulty of critics. The spirit is so excellent, the matter, as far as it goes, so unexceptionable, that one is unwilling even to appear unkind. The lectures were perhaps

profitable to the congregations who heard them, but why they were published it is hard to see. From the first page to the last there is absolutely nothing new, but any amount of what is slipshod and commonplace. Here is a fair specimen of the loose style: "Now, if what I have stated be truth, we discover, first, that in every professing church there are two sorts of persons in it: those who have received the truth in the love of it, and others who are only formalists; teaching the necessity for all members of churches to examine themselves, whether they are in the faith." Here is an example of the kind of exposition: "But Peter not only found saints at Lydda, as a class, but he found there a person afflicted with the palsy—a disorder which deprives the limbs of motion, and renders them useless to its subject. Whether this man was one of the saints at Lydda we know not, though I think it exceedingly probable that he was—that he was one of those whose hearts were right with God, though afflicted in body. And he had been afflicted a long time, had kept his bed it appears for eight years. If a saint, he had borne his affliction with patience, yielding himself up to the will of God in all humility of mind, and praying that his affliction might be sanctified to his own good, and tend to the Divine glory." We suppose this may be called imaginative exposition. The best portions of the book are the verses occasionally quoted from Wesley's hymns; but who the author of the following lines is, we know not:

> "Having nothing else to do
> But to gather up our feet
> And die our father's (*sic!*) God to meet."

The Preacher's Homiletical Commentary.

The Preacher's Homiletical Commentary. Psalms lxxxviii.—cl. by Revs. William Jones, J. W. Burn, George Barlow. Minor Prophets by Rev. James Wolfendale. London: Dickinson.

The title-page of the complete work bears a sentence with which a critical reader might be inclined to find fault, "On an Original Plan." The plan is certainly original, but not the matter, the originality of the plan consisting in the fact that the bulk of the matter is borrowed. In the larger volume on the Prophets, the number of "quotations and choice extracts from authors" is about two hundred, the number of "anecdotes and illustrative incidents" about one hundred. In the volume on the Psalms the number of authors quoted is about a hundred and fifty, and a note is added, "Very brief quotations are not indicated in this index." We are not condemning the plan, but simply indicating

what it is. Supposing the plan to be accepted, there is nothing but good to be said of the way in which it is carried out. The work is thoroughly honest, all the quotations being acknowledged. The authors, or compilers, know where to find the best material. In the volume on the Psalms Perowne is the writer most honoured. The field of selection is also very wide. We notice in the crowd *The Caravan and the Temple*, Samuel Coley, *The Homiletical Quarterly*, W. M. Punshon, E. E. Jenkins, Joseph Parker. As a rule, it is only the substance of the matter that is transferred, the author's thoughts being well digested, and then presented in other words. The work of dovetailing and adapting is done with remarkable care and skill. Many of the pages are quite admirable specimens of mosaic, in which no seam or joining can be detected.

Another distinctive feature of the commentary, and perhaps the one designated by the sentence on the title-page, is that it is topical. The index of subjects, in the volume on the Psalms, fills twenty-two double-columned pages. These indices display great care and must have cost much labour. They are evidently intended to meet the wants of preachers, and can scarcely fail in this respect to be very useful. Another recommendation of the volumes to preachers is that they are admirably printed, the type being bold and clear. Any one who can use the best thoughts of other minds will find ample material here.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Nicholson's Manual of Palæontology.

A Manual of Palæontology. By Henry Alleyne Nicholson, M.D., D.Sc., &c., Professor of Natural History in the University of St. Andrews. Second Edition. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons. 1879.

The name of Professor Nicholson is well known through the scientific world of both hemispheres as that of a lucid, forcible, judicious, and entirely trustworthy writer on Natural History, his published works ranging from general treatises on Biology and Zoology to elaborate monographs of the British Graptolitidæ and of the Tabulate Corals of the Palæozoic Period. The present volumes are a second, much enlarged, and almost wholly recomposed edition of a work bearing the same name, which appeared in the form of a single volume some six or seven years ago. The plan of the later book is substantially that of the earlier; the chief difference being that Dr. Nicholson has now suppressed that portion of the original work which treated of historical or stratigraphical palæontology. This subject he has dealt with more at large, during the interval, in a separate volume, entitled *The Ancient Life-History of the Earth*. The *Manual* opens with a series of introductory chapters, explaining the principles of palæontological science. Here, of necessity, the author traverses ground with which readers of Lyell and other popular writers on geology are tolerably conversant. In Professor Nicholson's hands, however, the old itself becomes new through the masterly freshness of the treatment to which he subjects his topics; and this same "Introduction" embodies several discussions, notably those on the Contemporaneity of Strata, on the fact and causes of the Imperfection of the Palæontological Record, and on the General Succession of Organic Types, which, while they put the student abreast of the latest discoveries, are fine examples of that united caution and independence by which the loftier order of scientific mind is distinguished. The bulk of Dr. Nicholson's volumes is occupied with a detailed account of the various classes of animal being found in a fossil state in the earth, the classes being taken in accordance with an excellent morphological scheme of the animal kingdom, presented by the author near the close of his introduction. Beginning with the Invertebrates, to which

Professor Nicholson wisely devotes a much larger space in his work than to the Vertebrates, he carries his reader along the line of the magical past from foraminifer, sponge, and coral, by way of the sea urchins and stone lilies, the worms and the barnacles, the crabs and the scorpions, the lamp shells, the oysters, and the cuttles, to that vast assemblage of fish, amphibian, reptile, bird, and mammal, which, subject to certain limitations, constitutes both structurally and historically the crown of the creation. Under each successive division and sub-division of the series, the writer first marks the leading characters which distinguish it, drawing for the purpose, so far as is needful, upon the domain of zoology. He then gives a full and precise description of the fossil members of the group, as they are at present known to science. Last of all he defines the place which the several organisms hold in the geological succession of the fossiliferous rocks. All this Dr. Nicholson works out with a rigid scientific exactness, omitting nothing that is really important and in keeping with the aim of his book as a Manual for students, not shrinking, where occasion requires, from the use of a technical dialect, such as only the initiated will fully comprehend. At the same time there is a wonderful charm of simplicity and clearness about the composition: the indefinable touch of genius lights up the pages; and the most general reader must be stolid indeed who does not follow the author with an interest running hard upon enthusiasm. The question of the nature of *Eozoon Canadense* Dr. Nicholson leaves where he finds it—*sub judice*. *Oldhamia* he is disposed, with Salter, to refer to the order of the calcareous seaweeds. He explains "that he would have considerably modified the section dealing with the so-called Tabulate Corals, had his investigations into the structure and relationships of these fossils been completed in time" for the present publication. With respect to these strangely "generalised" and "transitional" forms of the fossil vertebrata brought to light in America within the last few years by the discoveries of Professor Marsh, Dr. Nicholson's readers may perhaps look for larger information and more definite conclusions than they will actually find in his volumes. This is not because the fossils in question are forgotten. They are introduced again and again by Dr. Nicholson both in statement and argument. The author, however, knows very well that much of Professor Marsh's material has thus far been but imperfectly studied; and he prudently abstains from attempting to fill up the gaps in his science with dubious realities and loosely-founded conjecture. Indeed, nothing is more admirable throughout Dr. Nicholson's book than the carefulness with which he shuns a precipitate and wholesale theorising. Quite early in the work, referring to the doctrine of evolution, he says: "The evidence of Palæontology points, in the

main, to the operation of some general law of evolution, whereby the later forms of life have been derived from the older ones. That this law has acted along with, and has sometimes been counteracted by, some other and as yet obscure law regulating the appearance of new types seems equally certain; but it is not necessary to enter upon this complex and imperfectly understood question in this place. We are dealing here primarily with facts, and in the following pages we shall meet with unmistakable evidence of the operation of some law of evolution, while we shall, at the same time, find ourselves confronted with phenomena which, in the present state of our knowledge, appear to be irreconcilable with the universal or exclusive action of this law. It would be an easy solution of the difficulty to adopt the course of definitely accepting some hard-and-fast theory upon this subject, and to bring forward prominently all the known facts favouring this theory, while we left in comparative abeyance the facts pointing in other directions, or explained them away by more or less probable assumptions. Upon the whole, however, it seems preferable to enter upon the study of the actual facts of the science of Palæontology, as far as may be, unfettered by preconceptions and unpledged to theories; while we may, at the same time, safely accept the doctrine of evolution, in the shape presented to us by the master mind of Darwin, as an invaluable, indeed as an indispensable, working hypothesis." This is the right position, and we wish all men of science were wise enough, like Dr. Nicholson, to adopt and hold to it. Subjoined to the zoological chapters of the Manual is a short section on Palæobotany (the germ, as we trust, of a distinct volume on Vegetable Palæontology, hereafter to proceed from the fertile pen of the author); and to this are added a glossary of Palæontological terms and an index: while interspersed through the body of the work the reader will find serviceable lists of the principal books and treatises, English or foreign, which may be consulted for further information as to the Palæontology of the various animal sub-kingdoms. One other feature of Dr. Nicholson's volumes it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning in even the briefest review of their contents. We refer to the illustrations, which are not only profuse and scientifically accurate, but exhibit for the most part a pictorial delicacy and vividness such as must satisfy the most exacting connoisseur in this kind of art. Some of the illustrations are derived from familiar sources; but many of them are either original or are taken from authorities beyond the reach of the ordinary student. Dr. Nicholson's book is worth purchasing, if only for the sake of the drawings which enrich and beautify it. Altogether the present edition of the *Manual of Palæontology* is as important and charming a scientific book as has issued for some time past from the British press.

Quatrefages' Human Species.

The Human Species. By A. De Quatrefages, Professor of Anthropology in the Museum of Natural History, Paris. London: C. Kegan Paul and Co. 1879.

In our opinion this will prove one of the most popular volumes of the International Scientific Series. We welcome a treatise on this important subject written under true scientific restraint, the restraint of facts. The world has been startled by so many wild theories, propounded dogmatically as results of modern science, that one is almost surprised to hear the sober truth. It is quite impossible to give the reader any adequate idea of the amount of interesting information M. De Quatrefages has compressed within the limits of 500 pages, without incurring the usual evils of condensation. Taking a wide view of the subject he discusses in turn the unity, origin, antiquity, and original localisation of the human species, the peopling of the globe, acclimatisation of the human species, primitive man,—formation of the human races, fossil human races, present human races,—physical characters, and, lastly, the psychological characters of the human species. M. De Quatrefages belongs to that distinguished class of anthropologists which is commonly designated by the phrase "behind the times." He is unable to understand how grains of fact can leaven pyramids of theory, and we confess to a similar deficiency in our mental constitution. Hence we quite agree with him in believing that, so far, the evidence given by science favours the unity of the human race and its elevation into a special kingdom, the immutability of species, and the very limited action of the law of natural selection.

When defending the unity of human races M. De Quatrefages points out that the morphological differences exhibited by the extreme groups of men are by no means so extensive as those which exist between races of animals and plants which are allowed by all to belong to the same species. Thus in point of colour the horse and fowl vary much more widely than man, whilst in all three cases the extremes are connected by numberless intermediate shades.

We note, however, with satisfaction that more weight is attributed to physiological than morphological characters in the estimation of species—a test unfortunately only applicable to living individuals. Both in plants and animals the contrast between the behaviour of mongrels, or offspring of different races or varieties, and hybrids, the offspring of different species, is most marked. In the case of the former we have normal or excessive fertility; in the latter the most decided sterility. Applied to man the test distinctly proclaims unity of species.

Whether he be civilised European or benighted Australian, man in the present, as in the past, is definitely marked off from all other creatures. It is indeed a curious fact that in the history of fossil man even "Huxley allows that the oscillations"—morphological, for the more certain physiological tests cannot be applied—"are never so great as to cause confusion. The *human character*, therefore, does not alter in nature; it does not become *Simian*" (296). "We can therefore, with perfect safety, apply to the fossil man, with which we are acquainted, the words of Huxley: 'Neither in quaternary ages nor at the present time does any intermediary being fill the gap which separates man from the Troglodyte. To deny the existence of this gap would be as reprehensible as absurd'" (295). Not only, however, is there no direct evidence in favour of man's derivative origin, but as Wallace, the distinguished naturalist and co-originator with Darwin of the Natural Selection Theory, admits, the mechanical hypothesis completely breaks down when applied both to his moral and physical nature. The mere body of a savage is inexplicable on the utilitarian theory. The size, development, and delicacy of several organs are quite out of proportion to the use to which they are applied. Wallace therefore concludes "that the brain, hand, and larynx of savages possess *latent aptitudes*, which being temporarily *useless* cannot be attributed to natural selection. Man, moreover, has not the power of acquiring them himself. Foreign intervention, therefore, is necessary for the explanation of their existence. Wallace attributes this intervention to a *superior intelligence* which acted on the human species, just as the latter has acted on the rock-pigeon to produce from it the pouter, or the carrier, and which employed analogous processes." We agree with M. De Quatrefages in thinking that Wallace has thus "set himself in opposition to the very essence of the theory" of natural selection. If he be correct the working of the world cannot be explained by second causes alone. The following paragraph illustrates the other class of difficulties: "The development of the moral sense in the savage cannot be accounted for by considerations taken from *utility*, whether *individual* or *collective*. Wallace insists upon this point at some length; he quotes examples which prove that this feeling exists, in all which is most delicate and most opposed to utilitarian notions, among the most savage tribes of Central India. We could give many examples of this fact; among others, that the Redskins have the greatest respect for their word of honour, though it should entail torture and death" (119).

M. De Quatrefages is not content with a one-sided and partial view of man; with Professor Jevons he boldly affirms we must acknowledge the apparent truism, whatever is, is. "An animal

species is not characterised solely by the peculiarities manifested by its physical organism. No history of bees or ants omits to speak of their instincts or to show how these differ in different species. With much stronger reason ought we to point out in the history of human races the characteristic points in their intellectual, moral, and religious manifestations. Of course, when approaching this order of facts, the anthropologist ought none the less to remain a naturalist" (352). Thus considered in his totality man is seen to tower so highly above all other creatures that M. De Quatrefages demands for him a separate kingdom. According to his own views, modestly propounded in the first chapter, we have each order of existence separated from the order below by the possession of a distinct power. In the plant physico-chemical forces work under the surveyorship of life: in the animal life is subordinated to the animal mind, which he believes to be associated with the power of voluntary motion; whilst in man, the microcosm, all these powers in their highest development are found conjoined with a new one, intended by the Creator to be supreme: that power which, as conscience, utters the "ought" which reveals its origin. That man alone is in harmony with the nature of things who, subjecting the physical and mental to the spiritual, rules himself according to the light which is given unto him. There are still last that shall be first. Too readily do we estimate a man's true worth by his civilisation and mental culture. In showing that obedience to the dictates of conscience may exist in the rudest society, M. De Quatrefages illustrates a principle the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. What a satire upon "civilisation" is the following: "Fundamentally the white, even when civilised, from the moral point of view is scarcely better than the negro, and too often, by his conduct in the midst of inferior races, has justified the argument opposed by a Malgache to a missionary, 'Your soldiers seduce all our women. . . . You come to rob us of our land, pillage the country, and make war against us, and you wish to force your God upon us, saying that He forbids robbery, pillage and war! Go. You are white upon one side, and black upon the other; and if we were to cross the river, it would not be us the caimans would take.' Such is the criticism of a *savage;* the following is that of a European, of M. Rose, giving his opinion of his own countrymen. 'The people are simple and confiding when we arrive, perfidious when we leave them. Once sober, brave, and honest, we make them drunken, lazy, and finally thieves. After having inoculated them with our vices, we employ those very vices as an argument for their destruction.'" Savages have usually much more natural religion than they are credited with. In his last book M. De Quatrefages makes some very sensible remarks about

atheistic principles being so readily attributed to those whom we consider from their otherwise degraded position altogether unable to discriminate between right and wrong in the service of Deity. "Religious belief forms part of the most hidden depths of our nature; the savage does not willingly expose his heart to a stranger whom he fears, whose superiority he feels, and whom he has often seen ready to ignore or ridicule what he has always regarded as most worthy of veneration. The difficulty which a Parisian experiences in France in understanding the superstitions of the Basque sailor, or of the Bas-Breton peasant, should make him able to appreciate those which he would find in giving an explanation of similar subjects in connection with Kaffirs or Australians. Campbell had great trouble in obtaining from Makoum the avowal that the Bosjesman admitted the existence of a male god and of a female god, of a good and evil principle. He left many other and much more important discoveries to be made by MM. Arbousset and Daumas. Wallis, after a month's intimacy with the Tahitians, declared that they possessed no form of worship, whilst it entered, so to speak, into their most trivial actions. He had seen nothing beyond a cemetery in the Morai, those venerated temples, of which no woman might even touch the sacred ground. The lively faith of a missionary is, again, often a cause of error. Whatever the Christian communion may be to which he belongs, he generally arrives in the midst of the people whom he wishes to convert with a hatred of their objects of belief, which are to him works of the devil. Too often he neither seeks to account for them, nor even to become acquainted with them; his sole endeavour is to destroy them." Wherever man is found he exhibits some signs of religious worship. In some degree and form he recognises the fact that he is a responsible being. Here M. De Quatrefages leaves the subject to the theologian.

We have read his work with great pleasure and profit, and wish every volume of the series was written in a similar spirit and with the same careful adherence to and interpretation of facts. In the second edition an index might be advantageously appended.

Nordenskiöld's Arctic Voyages.

The Arctic Voyages of Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, 1858—1879. Macmillan and Co. 1879.

This book is in some sort misleading. We might fancy it contains a complete account of the voyage of the *Vega*, and of the discovery of the North-East Passage. It only gives a short sketch of that voyage, pending the fuller details which Professor Nordenskiöld will doubtless give when he has, for the first time, circum-

navigated the twin continents of Europe and Asia. Mr. Leslie devotes three-fourths of his book to the earlier voyages, viz.: the Swedish Arctic Expeditions of 1858 and 1861, and 1864, the main object of which was to thoroughly explore Spitzbergen; the Swedish Polar Expedition of 1868, which was to penetrate as far north as possible, and which actually reached latitude 81° 32′ N., within 400 nautical miles of the Pole—Scoresby's 81° 30′ having hitherto been the *ultima Thule* of Arctic voyages; the Polar Expedition of 1872, which wintered in latitude 80° 5′ N.; and two voyages to the Yenesei, in the course of which the Siberian coast was thoroughly explored.

Then follows a chapter on the voyage of the *Vega*, and then two appendices—one a very interesting account of the climate of the countries visited, and of the health of the crews. The first chapter gives an autobiography of the Professor himself. The founder of the family is said to have been a Lieutenant Nordberg, who settled in Upland early in the seventeenth century. Of his son, who changed the name to Nordenberg, it is recorded that he protected himself against the plague, which was raging in Finland, by taking all his family and belongings on board one of his ships and cruising about for a year. The Nordenbergs were ennobled in 1751, and again changed their name to Nordenskiöld. One of Adolf's great uncles worked with Bernhard Wadström for the abolition of negro slavery. He died at Sierra Leone from injuries received from the blacks during an attempt at colonisation. Adolf's father, Nils Gustaf, was a distinguished mineralogist, Government inspector of mines, councillor of state, &c. Frugord, the family mansion, full of natural history collections accumulated by generations of nature-loving ancestors, was just the place to breed in Adolf the tastes which have made him famous. During the Crimean War, young Adolf, then holding two small Government posts, lost them both through taking part in a students' demonstration in favour of the independence of Finland. This necessitated a visit to Berlin, where he worked at mineral analysis in Rose's laboratory. When the affair had blown over he went back to Finland and got a travelling fellowship; but at a parting banquet he said something about "the memory of the past and the hopes of the future," which was considered treasonable, and he was deprived of his appointment and of the right of ever holding office in the university. The end of it was that he left Finland and settled in Sweden, where he was soon appointed Mosander's successor in the mineralogical department of the Riks Museum, and a year afterwards was appointed geologist to Torell's first expedition to Spitzbergen, in 1858. The Polar Expedition of 1868 was helped largely by Oscar Dickson, Carnegie, and other British merchants. When we said that in this voyage the highest northern latitude had been reached, we meant in the Old World

Hall's American and Nares's English expeditions both got further, starting from Smith's Sound. The expedition to Greenland in 1870, undertaken to compare the endurance and fitness for sledge-work of dogs and reindeer, was very interesting, for it included an excursion into the wilderness of ice, everywhere full of bottomless clefts, which fills the interior of Greenland. This formation covered almost all Europe during one of the latest geological ages, "the great ice age;" but though it has a whole literature to itself, no geologist had before examined it. The Polar Expedition of 1872 was not a success; the ice on the north of Spitzbergen was in a very unfavourable state, the reindeer broke away as soon as they were landed, and the party was crippled for want of provisions, partly by having to take in and maintain a large number of shipwrecked walrus hunters, partly because their two tenders were ice-bound a few hours before they were to start back to Norway. The additional mouths to be fed prevented them from taking any very distant journeys. Mr. Dickson most magnificently met the whole extra expense of feeding all this large additional party, placing £5,500 at the disposal of the Swedish Government for the purpose. It was he, too, who paid most of the cost of the Yenesei expeditions.

Professor Nordenskiöld was thus already a veteran Arctic explorer before the *Vega* began her journey. Mr. Leslie's book gives us an astonishing idea of the man's energy, for besides his constant voyages he has found time to thoroughly reorganise the Stockholm mineralogical and geological collections, and to play a very active part as an extreme Liberal in the politics of his adopted country.

We must now give a very few details from Mr. Leslie's different chapters. Torell's idea in 1858 was to reach the North Pole by a sledge journey over the ice from North Spitzbergen. Parry in 1827 tried this method, but pronounced it hopeless. In 1845, however, he changed his opinion, and thought that if a start could be made in April the three difficulties, the roughness of the ice, the softness of the snow, and the current southward, would be avoided. The Swedes had to abandon the idea because their start was delayed, and most of the party set themselves to explore North Spitzbergen, discovering one of Parry's depôts, with meat-tins, cartridges, &c., still in perfect condition in a lead-lined chest, stamped with the ship's name, *Hecla*. On Muffin Island they saw a sad sight. At a distance they thought it was a lime-stone rock; but it proved to be thousands of walrus skeletons heaped together, the poor creatures having been slaughtered merely for the sake of their tusks. The hunters land when the walruses are on shore, spear those nearest the sea, and thus form a rampart against the rest, who in their desperate struggle to get to the water suffocate or cut one another to pieces. The walrus will soon be extirpated in North Spitzbergen, as it

has been on the west of the island, unless some "close time" is insisted on. Sweden lately offered to take possession of Spitzbergen, and look after the walrus hunting, &c.; but, though all the other European powers wished it, Russia said, "No." Perhaps Russia means some day to use the coal seams which, with impressions of maple-like leaves, show how different the climate once was.

The great obstacle to Arctic expeditons is that no more in those high latitudes than in England can the climate be reckoned on. Thick fogs come on suddenly; coasts that were clear one summer are beset with drift ice the next. Thus in 1864 the Swedes were detained some time at Bear Island, where they fell in with Mr. Birkbeck's yacht *Sultana*, having on board the Cambridge Professor of Zoology and Mr. A. Newton. "We were astonished (says Professor Nordenskiöld) that any one should have thought of sailing in such a frail nutshell; a collision with the smallest floe must have driven a hole in its side."

During the Greenland Expedition of 1870 our Professor started across the ice field on the track taken by former parties in search of "lost Greenland." It was a rough and toilsome journey: "one does not get on very fast when he has continually to drag a heavily laden sledge up forty feet of ice at an acclivity of 25° or 30° and immediately afterwards to descend at the risk of getting broken legs. . . . The sledge was not nailed but tied together; had it been an ordinary sledge it would have been at once broken in pieces; as it was, it lasted at least for some hours." At night it was as bad as by day; they had only two sleeping sacks, into each of which two sleepers managed to insert themselves with their feet in opposite directions; and there was only a thin tarpauling between the rough ice and the sack.

In this interior of Greenland the voyagers came upon "cosmic dust" containing a brown alga, which has been the great ice destroyer—has changed the ice deserts of England and France to fertile fields and woods.

Chap. VI. gives a long and interesting account of the way in which the Swedes passed the winter during their expedition of 1872-3, building shelters first of timber, then of moss bags, and finally of the far more suitable material, snow. The magnetic observatory, built of snow, they nicknamed "Crystal Palace." During all this time they were dredging under the ice, finding all sorts of strange creatures; in fact, had their rations not run short (the deficiency causing scurvy) they would have passed a pleasant time. From a sledge journey undertaken during this wintering our Professor pronounces strongly in favour of reindeer and not dogs. Their deer (they had but one) was as quiet as an old horse, ate with relish the old moss out of their bags, and when killed on their return gave excellent food. Those who have read Professor

Tyndall on Alpine glaciers will be interested in the exploration of Spitzbergen ice fields—the crevasses, the mode of freezing of the snow, the man soundings, the snow bridges, and the depressions, which our author calls *glacier docks*.

The exploring of the Siberian rivers showed that, though the *tundras* are permanently frozen a few feet below the surface, they are in summer very fertile above. Professor Nordenskiöld predicts a great future, as a corn-growing land, to Siberia. Among other populations, a Skopt settlement is described—vegetarian dissenters banished to Siberia; their dislike of animal food did not extend to fish. Among the Samoyede and Ostiak natives heathen customs, *e.g.*, laying food and even paper roubles by the graves, still keep their ground. Still more interesting is the account of the Tchuktches, among whom the *Vega* wintered. During this last voyage they specially explored Cape Clelyuakin, the most northerly land of the old continent.

The book contains in almost every page the record of heroism and energy, displayed not in the cause of destruction but for the good of man.

Arnold's Roman System of Provincial Government.

The Roman System of Provincial Administration, to the Accession of Constantine the Great. Being the Arnold Prize Essay for 1879. By W. T. Arnold, M.A., formerly Scholar of University College, Oxford. Macmillan. 1879.

Mr. Arnold's book is an exhaustive treatise on some of the most interesting of historical questions. How did Rome manage to hold the vast possessions which fell to her by right of conquest? Was her government, on the whole, a blessing or a curse? How far might a different administration have staved off the total collapse which in the Western Empire followed the coming in of the barbarians?

Such questions have been asked and answered, according to the temper of the questioner, from Montesquieu and Gibbon to Bryce and Freeman. Mr. Arnold gives in a succinct form the means of answering them. Rome's foreign conquests began with the Second Punic War, which showed her the necessity of occupying Sicily and Sardinia. Mommsen may be right in saying that these conquests were not at first deliberate or intentional, her immediate aim being to make herself all-powerful in Italy. Nevertheless, the sweets of conquest soon made themselves felt. When C. Gracchus added the taxation of Asia to the treasury, and fed the people with doles of foreign corn, the system that the Romans were to rule and enjoy,

their subjects to serve and pay, may be said to have been established. Then began conquest for the sake of gain, and by-and-by, as in Gaul, followed conquests, like our rectification of our Afghan frontier, for the purpose of checking barbarian invasion. For a time, in several countries, the Romans kept up puppet princes (*umbræ regum*), the Ptolemies, the Herods, the petty kings of Lesser Asia, much as we have done in Cashmere, Baroda, and elsewhere, and with the same result—such countries had neither freedom nor order. Another Roman device was: *divide et impera*, "play off one tribe against another."* And then, when a district was annexed, came the chain of forts and those "coloniæ" which were nothing but fortified outposts on a large scale. Such were Narbo Martius (Narbonne) and Camalodunum (probably Malden in Essex)—places which the natives hated as the head-quarters of tyranny. Conquest was facilitated, too, by the ubiquitous Roman trader; Tacitus (*Agric.* 21) shows Agricola as of set purpose introducing the Britons to the pleasant luxuries of their conquerors: "all this in their ignorance they called civilisation, when it was but a part of their servitude."

Mr. Arnold insists on the superior wisdom of Julius Cæsar's wish to put the subject-states on a full equality with Roman citizens. Augustus, a trimmer, anxious to work a personal despotism on the old constitutional lines, went back from his predecessor's intention; and it was not till Caracalla's day that the provinces had the full franchise given them, and then only in order that certain taxes might be levied on them, from which as subjects they had been free. The question of giving full rights to subject-states is, of course, an intricate one. We do not pretend to do so to Hindoos; we did not, till the other day, do so to Irish; but the Roman conduct in Italy was unquestionably bad and selfish, whatever may be thought of the wisdom of their restrictions in Asia and Syria. The Italians were in the main people of the same race; they had fought side by side with them against Carthage; they were to the full as intelligent and enlightened as the Romans themselves; and yet they had to wrest from their unwilling suzerain the common privileges of citizenship at the cost of desolating wars and an amount of misery which made the tardy boon scarcely worth having.

Mr. Arnold's account of the publicans and "their complement" the negotiatores is full and clear. "There was an immense deal of capital at Rome which could neither be absorbed by the only two recognised modes of employment for it in Italy—farming and money-lending—nor by investing it in a society of publicani. This surplus capital poured itself out upon the

* Compare the monstrous way in which, after its conquest, Macedonia was split up into four provinces without right of intermarriage.

provinces in a golden stream, only to return to Rome in still larger volume before long." The incredible exactions to which Lesser Asia was subjected from the time of its conquest proved too much, even for such a rich country. First came the locust-flight of money-lenders, backed up in their extortions by Roman arms. Then followed the Mithridatic war, the enthusiasm with which the Asiatics sided with Mithridates proving how Rome had ill-treated them. This brought a fearful amount of suffering; and then came the civil wars, in which the provincials were equally ruined by both sides, Brutus exacting ten years' tribute in one year, Antony, after Philippi, insisting on a similar sum.

The different mode of administering different provinces—Egypt, for instance, which was *ménagé* as being Rome's granary, and Spain, which had made itself feared—is clearly brought out in Mr. Arnold's work. So is the way in which with the extinction of small proprietors sprang up the class of coloni, newly conquered barbarians, the ancestors of mediæval serfs.

The work of Diocletian in reorganising the Empire has due place given to it; while the good which was undoubtedly mingled with the bad of the system is strongly set forth—the prosperity, for instance, in Nero's time of Southern Gaul. Indeed, next to careful research, thorough fairness is the chief characteristic of Mr. Arnold's valuable book.

Besant's Rabelais.

Rabelais. By Walter Besant, M.A. Foreign Classics for English Readers. William Blackwood. 1879.

Mr. Besant's "studies in old French poetry" prepared us to expect a treat in his Rabelais, and we have not been disappointed. Of all the volumes of this series none is so thoroughly interesting as this, because in none has the biographer entered so thoroughly into the spirit of him whose life he writes.

Times are changed since Voltaire could say of Rabelais, his book is "un ramas des plus grossières ordures qu'un moine ivre puisse vomir." Gross the book undoubtedly is, but still a book which Coleridge, Michelet, Victor Hugo, and Kingsley agree to defend cannot be worthless. There is a Rabelais club, we believe, in London; what are its aims and what the qualifications for membership we know not. But, whether or not such a club is likely to do good, the man to whom Swift and Sterne owe so much of the point of their satire (alas! that we must add of their coarseness) deserves to be known and to be impartially judged. Such a judgment Mr. Besant enables us to pass. While he "nothing writes down in malice," he certainly "nothing extenuates," nor does he content himself with the commonplace

that Rabelais' coarseness belonged to the age; we have plenty of contemporary writing which is distinctly the reverse of coarse. Rabelais has some excuse in the fact that he went into a monastery at nine years old, and therefore in many things remained a child to the last, that love of gratuitous filthiness which is often found in quite young boys being cultivated by the foul-minded fellowship of ill-conditioned monks. This early imprisonment, moreover, threw Rabelais back in the race of ideas. He is sometimes called a child of the Renaissance. This, Mr. Besant points out, is only true so far as dates go. "Little, indeed, of the tide of new learning had reached in the last decade of the fifteenth century the remote convent of Seuilly. Little did they know of Greek scholars, Latinists, Humanists, the invention of printing, and the changes which were to come. Rabelais went, as a boy, into the darkness of his cell full of the old-world prejudices, ideas, and traditions, and came out of it after many years of twilight into a sunshine which dazzled him. He never understood, in consequence of his long cloistership, the proportions, the possibilities, and the limitations of the new forces. That is why Luther and Calvin, who seemed angry with cause, were in fact ignorantly impatient with him." The wonder is that the little Chinon boy should have developed such a yearning for the light, such a passionate love of free thought as gleams forth amid the intricate mazes of his clumsy allegory. His hatred of monks and monkery and priestcraft we can well understand. In the Abbey of Thelema, that splendid foundation so minutely described that 300 years later an architect was able to draw the plans and elevation of it, there are no priests or monks, but young men and women of pure minds and noble natures (*damoiseaux* and *damoiselles*). The clerical creatures—*monagaux*, *prestregaux*, and so on, with the females after their kind, the *monagesses*, *prestregesses*, *abbeyesses*, &c.—are confined to the *Ile sonnante*, where a perpetual jangling of bells is kept up day and night.

Mr. Besant's book is divided into two parts—the life of Rabelais, and an analysis of his great work. In regard to the latter, he rejects absolutely the idea that Gargantua and Panurge and Friar John and Raminagrobis and Pantagruel, and the rest, are real personages under the veil of allegory. *Gulliver's Travels*, it is said, are an elaborate satire on the politics, foreign and domestic, of the day; but no such groundwork exists for the fantastic construction of Rabelais' story. It typifies in general the battle between light and darkness, between intellect and obscurantism, but even this is only true in general. A good deal of it is pure fun—heavy fun, no doubt; for Rabelais' vast reading, and the obligation which he thought himself under of bringing it out on all occasions, often makes the fun heavy. How

much later writers owe to him may be judged from the case of the "Frozen Words" (p. 155). When Panurge, Pantagruel and the rest are on the confines of the Frozen Sea they hear the air full of wailing and groans and outcry. Terrified at first, they by-and-by discover that there had been a battle near the spot the winter before, and that the groans and cries of the wounded, and the shouts of the combatants, are only just getting thawed. We all remember how this has been borrowed in *Baron Munchausen's Adventures;* even Rabelais did not invent it, it is found in an obscure Italian, Castiglione, and possibly dates still further back.

Here is a sample of Rabelaisian apologue or allegory: Gaster (*i.e.*, stomach), first master of arts in the world, represents Necessity, the cause of all inventions. "Gaster is a despot who must be kept supplied; when he was stinted I have seen all the heavens tremble, and all the earth shake. Whatever company he is in, none dispute with him for precedence or superiority; he still goes first, though kings, emperors, even the Pope, were there. Every one is pressed, every one labours, to serve him, and in recompense he does this good to the world that he invents all arts, all machines, all trades, all engines, and all crafts. . . . When his regent, Poverty, takes a journey, wherever she goes all parliaments are shut up, all edicts suspended, all orders vain. She is subject to no law; she is exempt from all law. All shun her; in every place choosing rather to expose themselves to shipwreck at sea, and to pass through fire, over mountains, and across gulfs, than be seized by her." We have not space to follow "the quest of the divine bottle," *i.e.*, truth; and of Rabelais' life we can only say that, born at Chinon, in 1483, he began his education in the monastery of Seuilly under the shadow of the great castle of Coudray-Montpensier. Thence he went to La Baumeth, a monastery near black Angers; and then, his education over, he chose the only career open to him, that of an ecclesiastic. "There was little choice. The calling of the father must be that of the son, unless he preferred the one profession, the Church, which always remained open. There were, to be sure, melancholy instances of independence, like those of Villon and his friends, of men who refused to follow in the beaten track. Mostly their bodies were visible for many years, hanging on the gibbet of Montmartre, a lesson plain for all to read." So Rabelais became a Franciscan, and somehow managed to get hold of books in a community which hated letters, and held all learning in suspicion. Why he left Angers, and settled at Fontenay-le-Comte in the marshy flats of La Vendée no one can tell. "Here there grew up in his mind a dangerous ambition. He, too, would make himself one of those colossal scholars who, like Budæus or Scaliger, knew everything. He, too, would be an encyclopædia of learning. By him, as by these great repositories

of knowledge, nothing in the shape of literature or learning was to be neglected. They did not as yet understand the art of special research; they would know all, just as Roger Bacon, Brunetto Latini, and Jean de Meung knew all. Encyclopædic pretension was a mediæval absurdity; and yet, while it survived, it produced astonishing results. In 1520, or thereabouts, Rabelais and his friend were imprisoned, and their books seized. In 1524 he escaped from the convent, seeking by the Virgilian sortes what he should do, and hitting on the line

"Mea! fuge crudeles terras," &c.

He escaped capture, and perhaps death, thanks to the friendship of D'Estisme, bishop of Meillezais; and by-and-by, according to some authorities, he got a country living. Some time or other he must have visited Paris, where he met Marot, and then he studied physic at Montpelier.

With Cardinal du Bellay he went to Rome; and after being furiously attacked on account of his book, both by Protestants and Catholics, he resigned his preferment, and died in Paris.

Every one ought to know something about Rabelais, and from no book can all that is wanted be so readily got as from Mr. Besant's.

Barnes's Poems in the Dorset Dialect.

Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect. By William Barnes. C. Kegan Paul and Co. 1879.

Those of us who know Mr. Barnes of old, not only as a poet, but as a philologer, will be delighted at this reprint with additions of his poems in the Dorsetshire dialect. The form is different; Mr. Barnes had hitherto put forth several successive series, which the public so appreciated that they are out of print. He has now given us one stout volume of nearly five hundred pages, suppressing (and we are sorry for it) the gossipy talks about philology, and substituting a glossary with some "hints on Dorset word-shapes." These we will not pretend to deal with. Whether Dorset has preserved in greatest purity the speech of the Wessex men, whether the Wessex speech has greater claims than the East Anglian or the Mercian to be considered *par excellence* the true old English, we leave it to others to decide. Our concern is with the "Whomely rhymes" in which the rector of Winterbourne Came tells us in such a pleasing way so much about his surroundings, his people, and his own life. We will not even discuss the question whether these poems would be more generally read if they were published in plain modern English. Our own opinion on the point is very decided; we should not care a quarter so much for Burns if he was rendered down into ordinary south-country vernacular. Let any of our readers try

for 'himself any well-known line—"Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," "A chiel's amang ye takin' notes," "O Nannie, will ye gang wi' me," and so on, and he will find at once that such a proposal involves a *reductio ad absurdum*. Ask a South of France man how he would like the poems of Jasmin and the other Provençals done into French of Paris, and then you will see how absurd is the idea of rendering Barnes's poems into book-English. Mr. Barnes is a Dorsetshire man, a son, we believe, of the people (as the phrase is); and therefore, thinking in broad Dorset, he has a right to write in it. Whether or not his thoughts were worth giving to the world is a question which the world has already answered in the affirmative. We shall now quote a few of his samples of "the bold and broad Doric of England," as he calls it. Those readers who knew him before will not be sorry to meet him again; those hitherto unacquainted with him will thank us for having given them a real treat. The freshness of Mr. Barnes's thoughts is enhanced by the charm of his manner. Here is a verse from "The Varmer's Woldest Dä'ter:"

"No, no! I bent a runnin' down
The pirty maidens o' the town,
Nor wishin' o'm noo harm;
But she that I would marry vust
To sheäre my good luck or my crust
'S a bred-up at a farm.
In town a maïd do zee mwore life,
An' I don't underrāte her;
But ten to woone the sprackest wife
'S a varmer's woldest dä'ter.

Her heart's so innocent an' kind,
She idden thoughtless, but do mind
Her mother an' her duty;
An' livin' blushes that do spread
Upon her healthy feäce o' red,
Do heighten all her beauty;
So quick's a bird, so neat's a cat,
So cheerful in her neäter—
The best o' maïdens to come at
'S a varmer's woldest dä'ter."

Mr. Barnes is happy in his neighbours; he finds squires as good as his farmers' daughters. This is from one of his sweetest bits of descriptive poetry:

"An' all the vo'k did love so well
The good wold squire of Culver Dell,
That used to ramble through the sheädes
O' timber, or the burnin' gleädes,
An' come at evenin' up the leäse
Wi' red-eär'd dogs beside his knees,
An' hold his gun a hangen' drough,
His eärmpit out above his tooe,
Wi' kindly words upon his tongue
Vor vo'k that met en, wold an' yong,
Vor he did know the poor so well
'S the richest vo'k in Culver Dell."

Mr. Barnes is sometimes humorous. The poem which describes the crow employing the pig to root up grain for it—a type of agitators who live by popular discontent—is a case in point; so is the comparison of the winters of long ago, when frosts used to last for months, and when a flood would carry away "a bridge wi' a man an' his little bwoy," with our modern seasons (Mr. Barnes must make an exception for 1878-9); so again is the weirdly-comic description of the uncanny thing which haunts the village lanes:

> "A seemen sometimes like a alinken houn',
> An' sometimes like a loäf upon the groun';
> An' once when gramfer on his wold grey meäre,
> Was joggen whoam at night from Shrotten feäir,
> A' lay just like a pack o' wool across
> The roäd right under en an' leämed 'is 'oss."

The reply being:

> "That wer' for hetten un, he should ha' let un
> Alwone, d'ye zee; 'twur wicked for to het un."

But, next to close, full (but not over full) description of country sights and sounds and scents—the harvest-home, the bean field, the wild common where the children play, and which Mr. Barnes regrets is now enclosed—there will soon be no place, he says, for the cottagers' children to play over, just as there will be no milk to spare for them to grow fat upon—next to pictures like that of "the gre't elem tree out in little hwome groun'," Mr. Barnes excels in pathos. We know few things more touching than the poem from which this is taken:—

> "Since you noo mwore be at my zide
> In walks in zummer het,
> I'll goo alwone where mist do rido
> Drough trees a-drippen' wet;
> Below the rain-wet bough, my love.
> Where you did never come,
> An' I don't grieve to miss ye now,
> As I do grieve at hwome.
>
> Since now bezide my dinner bwoard
> Your voice do never zound,
> I'll eat the bit I can avword
> A-vield upon the ground;
> Below the darksome bough, my love,
> Where you did never dine;
> An' I don't grieve to miss ye now,
> As I at hwome do pine."

His picture of agricultural prospects is not very bright. Capital now carries all before it; large farms are the order of the day:

> "Aye, if a young chap woonce had any wit
> To try an' scrape together zome vew pound
> To buy some cows and teäke a bit o' ground,
> He mid become a varmer bit by bit."

That was possible once, but machines (which are Mr. Barnes's abomination), and the greed of landlords, have altered it all. The poems throughout show not only a thorough knowledge of the people's ways, but such a thorough sympathy with them as makes us anxious to know even more of Mr. Barnes than we can gather from the volume itself. One suggestion we will make: why does he not get a few of the poems such as "Don't try to win a maiden's heart to leave her in her love," cheaply printed and dispersed through his neighbourhood? We are sure they would be eagerly read, and would do much good.

Christlieb's Indo-British Opium Trade.

The Indo-British Opium Trade. By Theodore Christlieb, D.D., Ph.D. Authorised Translation from the German, by David B. Groom, M.A., London. James Nisbet and Co., London.

The literature of the opium question is fast increasing, and to all patriotic Englishmen this must be a hopeful circumstance. Ambassadors and consuls, travellers and missionaries, blue books and yellow books have all contributed their quota to enlighten the public mind of this country on the dire subject. And now in this little volume we are made to see ourselves as others see us. As many of the readers of this Review are aware, the author is a professor of theology and university preacher at Bonn, Prussia. The name and prestige of Dr. Christlieb will give his opinions immense weight in Germany and other continental countries, and will bespeak for them a careful and candid examination.

A genuine regard for England's weal, the speedy removal of all obstacles to the evangelisation of China, and the triumph of right over might in the intercourse of Europe with Eastern nations, are among the evident motives which led the Professor to undertake his self-imposed task. Britain, the principal criminal in this sad business, has to listen to strong words, but not stronger than the occasion warrants.

The book is divided into four chapters. The first is headed "A Glance at the History of the British Opium Trade down to the present Time." The second treats of the "Effects of the Opium Traffic on India, England and China." The third chapter considers the "Influence of Opium on Mission work in China," and the last one is devoted to the question, "Can the Evil yet be Remedied?"

The history of the traffic we learn began in 1773, in which year the East India Company made their first transaction in opium with China, and it continued till 1800 without attracting much attention from the Government, opium being declared to be medicine, and as such allowed to pass. At this period there set in the

policy of strict prohibition, which continued till 1860, at which time opium was removed from the list of contraband goods and placed on an equality with other articles of commerce. These sixty years were marked on the one hand by the publication of edicts condemnatory of the trade, by threats, and then by compulsory measures of the Chinese Government to put it down, and on the other hand, to the eternal disgrace of England, by the smuggling of ever-increasing quantities of the "black mud," one of the Chinese names for opium. "Ever-increasing" quantities, we say, for when the officials of China woke up, at the beginning of the century, to the terrible danger which threatened the country, the export of opium from India to China was only about 5,000 chests, but in 1860, in spite of all their efforts to crush the monstrous evil, it had risen to 60,000 chests. It was during this period that the honour of this country was deeply compromised by our "Opium War" with China. In reference to this war our author quotes in a foot-note, from Turner's "British Opium Policy," the following strong words of Mr. Gladstone, to which he gave utterance in Parliament in 1840:—"They," the Chinese, "gave you notice to abandon your contraband trade. When they found that you would not, they had a right to drive you from their coasts, on account of your obstinacy in this infamous and atrocious traffic. A war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know, and I have not read of."

"The Effects of the Opium Traffic on India, England and China," are next brought before us. As to India itself, among the foremost effects may be reckoned that of a great diminution in the "*amount of land available for crops*, and in the quantity of *corn actually produced*." It is shown that the poppy requires a very rich soil. "The whole ground employed in India for the culture of opium extends over an area of about *one million and a half acres*," is a statement quoted by our author from Sir Walter Trevelyan. Now it would require a most unusual ingenuity to justify a fact like this, in a country whose people may be said to live on the verge of ever-recurring famine. Three Indian famines are referred to by Dr. Christlieb, all of which were made more severe through the presence of the poppy plantations in or near the regions in which they occurred. Another effect on India is this, that although by the monopoly of Government the use of opium by the natives on a large scale is doubtless prevented, as far as possible, yet the increase in the amount of land cultivated furthers the home consumption.

Again, in the eyes of India, this opium business has brought upon the honour of England a very black stain. The natives speak of the trade as "indicating that the Government have not proper regard to the well-being of the different Oriental nations."

Before leaving India, two other consequences of the trade, both having relation to the Government, are spoken of. The opium revenue, being easily secured, has prevented the authorities from bestowing that attention on irrigation and the construction of canals which might have contributed much to the prevention of famines, is the first; and the second is the fact that the policy at present pursued tends to an ever-increasing dependence of the Indian Budget on the precarious income derived from opium. That the income is precarious is evident from the fact that in one year, 1872-3, it fell off more than half a million sterling.

The effects on England are neither few nor small. But they were not unforeseen. It was stated by the Chief Government Inspector of British Trade in China that the opium traffic was, in its general effects, "damaging in the highest degree to every branch of trade." Fears were entertained in 1842 by prominent merchants and manufacturers in this country that "if the opium traffic were legalised, the commerce of Great Britain with China would, *in every part of it*, be undermined." And a Chinese Government official once remarked, in reply to some observations on the depressed condition of the British trade, "Don't send us so much opium, and then we shall be in a position to buy your manufactures." The purchasing power of China is, no doubt, paralysed by the wholesale consumption of the Christian poison from India. It is well known, moreover, that the traditional hatred of China to England, which originated in this iniquitous traffic, is also fed from the same source. And yet, alarming as are these results to the present generation of Englishmen from the shortsighted greed of our countrymen, they do not fill up the picture. For whatever connection there may be between our pushing the opium trade in the East, and the gradually increasing non-medicinal consumption of the drug in this country, of the latter fact there can be no doubt. Farm labourers, in some parts of England, "before commencing any unusually heavy work, are said to be in the habit of smoking an opium pill, heedless of its effects, simply in order that they may the more quickly accomplish their task. And in certain districts the death-rate of infants has been vastly increased, traceable "in large measure to the effects of opium."

Before passing to China to consider the disasters wrought by opium in that country, our author adverts to "*Assam* and *Aracan*, where the use of the drug is very general." Its introduction into Aracan is one of the blackest chapters in the history of our Eastern Empire, but the space at our disposal forbids any further allusion to it. In describing the effects of the drug on China, Dr. Christlieb lays under contribution the testimony of medical men, officers of government, missionaries, and the Chinese themselves. The demoralisation of the Imperial army, the impoverishment of

the country, and the consequent growing antipathy of the people to everything foreign, are briefly dwelt upon. The increase of opium cultivation in China, in its sad suggestiveness as to the future of the country, is glanced at; and also the consequent diminution in the production of cereals in certain provinces. But let not any reader imagine that because China is growing opium for herself, there can be no great harm in our keeping the market open for the Indian drug. Because a man is bent upon committing suicide, is it lawful, therefore, for another man to murder him?

The third chapter is on the "Influence of Opium on Mission Work in China." There are many antagonistic influences in the way of the evangelisation of the Sons of Han; but none that will at all compare in power with that of the opium trade. There are some three hundred Protestant Missionaries labouring in China, including medical missionaries and female teachers, of whom one hundred and fifty have been sent from this country. But England is also responsible for 80,000 chests of opium being poured into China. That is to say for every Christian missionary sent forth by our various societies there has been despatched as an assistant (?) to him in his work of mercy about thirty tons of poison. Now, how this course forms the greatest barrier to the progress of Christianity by arousing animosity to it in the minds of the literate and the better class of people, and by unfitting those who indulge in the drug to understand and appreciate Christian doctrine, and how, if once a desire after the truth is awakened in the breast of any poor victim, the fetters of his slavery hold him so fast as to make his salvation an almost utter impossibility, the reader will find abundantly illustrated in Dr. Christlieb's pages. And surely the time has come when the directors and constituents of our missionary societies, as such, should have something to say on the subject when words like the following are being constantly addressed to their agent. "You are from England, are you? Then you must have to do with the sale of that death-growing poison. What a wicked woman your Queen must be to send her ships here, laden with poison to kill us poor people, whilst we only send you good tea and silk! She certainly can believe in none of those truths which you profess to teach" (p. 66). Many a missionary has winced under rebukes like this one: "Your religion has good principles, but you don't act up to them yourselves, you foreigners. You don't show any love to us; on the contrary, you are ruining us with your opium." A Protestant missionary was once driven from a city by a mob, who shouted after him: "You killed our Emperor; you destroyed our Summer Palace; *you bring poison here to ruin us; and now you come to teach us virtue.*"

In the fourth and last chapter the question discussed is, "Can

the Evil yet be Remedied." Viewed in a financial aspect, there are huge difficulties in the way. But there were difficulties in the way of the abolition of slavery, and yet it was accomplished. And England is not only not poorer, but her wealth is estimated to be three-fold what it was at that period. There are weighty political reasons moreover why with all speed an end should be put to the evil. It is on this account that China and England kept out of war with so much difficulty. And they would not keep out of it at all if only China had the power; she would be the first to commence it. But moral considerations are paramount in insisting that our present mode of treating China should terminate. No voice in Parliament or out of it has been raised to justify our policy on moral gounds. The only argument ever used by financiers is that of the beggarly bandit who defends his robbery by saying he had no choice between that and hunger; or that of the murderer who piques himself on being more astute than his fellow-assassin by doing that first which, had he omitted doing it, would have been accomplished by the other. But surely conscience, and a regard for righteousness, and belief in the Bible, and benevolence towards our fellowmen have not died completely out of our English heart! It cannot be that the country which produced Wilberforce and Clarkson and Howard can endure this abomination much longer. The Churches of the land—Established and Nonconformist—must rise up as one man and in their might slay this enemy.

There are a few selfish motives which may have weight with some people. Such as the possible improvement in China opium, so as to leave no market there for the Indian product, and thereby cutting off, within a few years, the whole of our opium revenue; and in that case the odium of the trade, without its emolument, would stick to us for ever. Again, it is a fact that the revenue derived to China from the opium trade is spent in the erection of arsenals and the construction of war vessels, and as soon as she feels herself strong enough she will throw off the burden which is crushing her poor people.

And who will not wish her success in the attempt, if in the meantime this country has found no place in her own heart for genuine repentance?

Again, is it not possible that when our opium gains from China are all gone, through no good will of ours, and our Indian financiers are at their wits' end, that they will, in order that there be no general collapse during their administration, open wide the flood-gates of misery to our Indian fellow subjects, and not being able to poison China poison their own people for filthy lucre's sake?

Our tenure of the China market is no longer undisputed, for the Dutch have introduced poppy cultivation into Sumatra, and the Portuguese into the Mozambique Province; and so competition

will end in a partial loss of revenue or great increase in the quantity of opium produced. Nevertheless our hope is that ere these dark clouds thicken, the Christian conscience of the country, duly instructed, will assert itself and sweep away this diabolically organised attempt to destroy body and soul the millions of China.

The book before us in its German and French dress—for it has been translated into French—has excited considerable interest on the Continent, and we shall be glad to know that it is widely read and produces much good in England.

Stoughton's Worthies of Science.

Worthies of Science. By John Stoughton, D.D. London: The Religious Tract Society.

The scope of this work is precisely set forth in the prefatory note: "We often meet with those who believe either that science creates a prejudice against religion, or that religion produces a prejudice against science. Many suppose that they are incompatible. The object of this volume is not to reason on the subject, but to show that, in a large number of instances, scientific men have illustrated in their lives a perfect harmony between the two pursuits. Complete biographies must not be looked for on these pages. Only such points are introduced as serve to present clearly to every reader the kind of union just noticed. Each 'worthy' is left to speak on both scientific and religious matters, as much as is convenient, in his own language; or summaries of his discoveries and opinions are drawn from sources acknowledged to be trustworthy." The performance is quite equal to the promise. This interesting portrait gallery, commencing with Roger Bacon and ending with Adam Sedgwick, includes such men as Pascal, Locke, Ray, Leibnitz, Newton, Cuvier, Dalton, and Faraday. We have here some of the suns of science, men who shone with a splendour far beyond the day in which they lived. Science is rightly proud of their strength of intellect and independence of mind, whilst religion claims that that strength and independence harmonised with a sincere faith in its natural and revealed truths. The Bible has been styled the enemy of progress, although the greatest discoveries in the realm of nature have proceeded from the labours of men who delighted in its revelations. Here is a great anomaly, if the Bible be false. The fact that many scientists disbelieve in Holy Writ is no proof of the existence of an antagonism between science and religion. There may be many other causes for the separation. But when it is again and again established that religion and science have

dwelt peacefully together in high places, the induction naturally follows—the two are perfectly compatible.

Too often those who sit in judgment on this subject are quite unfit for the work. As well might a blind man discuss the relative value and compatibility of the powers of sight and hearing. There are higher faculties in man's being than the physical and the intellectual. Just as those who have cultivated alone the physical part of their nature cannot reasonably be expected to judge aright in the realm of intellect, so we hold that those who have neglected the development of their spiritual powers are quite incapacitated, however intellectually acute, for expressing opinions worthy of serious attention in the realm of religion.

The purely intellectual man will not find God in nature, just as the physiologist will never discover mind in brain. The Bible stated ages ago what science is proclaiming as a novelty to-day. But we have a revealed appendix which so-called science has not brought to light—"God hath revealed them unto us by His Spirit." The things of God are spiritually discerned. The highest part of our nature must be duly developed before we are in a proper condition to approach the relations of science and religion. Thus equipped the answer is not dubious: united in origin and aim they are seen to be one. Religion throws a beauteous halo round science, whilst science reflects the glory of Him whom religion reveals. Those who strive to harmonise nature by reducing all things to mechanical law would find their highest aspirations more than realised if through true spiritual religion they could behold Him who, manifested in Christ, rules the universe in unity of purpose according to His infinite wisdom.

END OF VOL. LIII.

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