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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1885.

ART. I.—THE LATE MR. HOPE-SCOTT AND
MR. GLADSTONE.

*Memoirs of James Robert Hope-Scott, of Abbotsford, D.C.L.,
Q.C., late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.* By ROBERT
ORNSBY, M.A., Professor of Greek and Latin Literature
in the Catholic University of Ireland; Fellow of the
Royal University of Ireland: late Fellow of Trinity
College, Oxford. John Murray. 1884.

THIRTY years ago Mr. Hope-Scott, then known as Mr. James Robert Hope, had an unequalled reputation as a barrister practising at the Parliamentary Bar, especially in Railway and Canal cases; he was at the same time, in High Church, and especially in Oxford circles, held in very high regard as an ecclesiastical counsellor, well skilled in university law and in canon law, although he never appears to have practised in Doctors' Commons; he had also, after twelve years of continually ascending High Churchmanship, a few years before, in 1851, publicly professed the Romanism which he had long privately held and cherished. Henry Edward (now Cardinal) Manning and he were received together into the bosom of the "Catholic Church." The two volumes which we propose to review have for their purpose the resuscitation of this once distinguished man's memory and reputation. Although, however, the first volume and some parts of

the second contain not a little to interest the student of recent Church history in England, we more than doubt whether the total effect of the volumes will be to restore to its pre-eminence the once transcendent reputation of Mr. Hope-Scott, either as a barrister or a leading spirit among the Oxford Tractarians. For a quarter of a century his name had disappeared from public view; he had, in fact, done nothing in his life to keep it in national remembrance. More than ten years had elapsed since his death, and for years before he died he had scarcely been heard of. Private correspondence with great Romanisers or distinguished "perverts," in which only questions of ecclesiastical scruples or casuistry are discussed, cannot avail to raise a man to veneration or to fame, however earnest and conscientious he may have been in his opinions. Nor will successful speeches before Parliamentary Committees, even although they bring the speaker the most wonderfully lucrative practice, so as to enable him, in a few years, to amass a large fortune, establish for him a claim to rank with public orators or national celebrities. Mr. Hope-Scott might have shone in Parliament, but he never entered Parliament. He might have become an able administrator—a great statesman he could hardly have been—but his life was spent between Parliamentary Committees and his family. He married in 1847 Miss Lockhart, the granddaughter of Sir Walter Scott, who died in 1858, at the age of thirty; and in 1861 he married again, his bride being the Lady Victoria Howard, of the great Catholic ducal house of Norfolk, who died in 1870, also at the age of thirty. In 1873, at the age of sixty, his own course came to an end. His health had always been more or less delicate, and his professional practice had put a severe strain on his constitution.

He seems to have published nothing except a pamphlet on the question of the Jerusalem Bishopric. He also printed privately some verses, of which those on the death of two infant children are pathetic and beautiful. His fame, as a public man, can only rest on his first speech as an advocate. He delivered this in 1840, before the House of Lords, as junior counsel on behalf of the Cathedral Chapters of England against the *Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill*,

a measure for cutting down the Cathedral establishments to a minimum and applying the funds thus saved to the augmentation of poor livings. This Bill was brought forward by the Whig Government as one of the reforms proper to that first period of reconstruction which followed the great Act of 1832, but of which the impulsive forces had exhausted themselves at the time when this measure was brought into Parliament. Mr. Hope was at the time only twenty-eight years of age, but in this his first speech he appears to have been as fluent, as much at ease, as happy and forcible in phrase and utterance, as logical in the arrangement of his argument, as felicitous in his illustrations, and as persuasive in his tone and manner as in any of his after-efforts as a pleader. The subject was one with which he had been long familiar. He had made it his own, and his heart was in it. It had the great advantage over the subjects on which he was to expend his powers in after-life, that it was a theme which touched on the loftiest considerations that could move either the advocate or his audience, and that it was delivered before the most august assembly and in the presence of the grandest historic surroundings, at least to the feelings of an English gentleman, a loyalist in Church and State, that the world could furnish. The success of the young advocate was very wonderful, and, as Lord Brougham said, "his fortune was made." From that day he began to be in request. Unfortunately, the railway movement absorbed him. He made his fortune, and buried his talents and influence, in the Railway Parliamentary Committees. He only emerged from them to die. Perhaps, if he had not become a Catholic, he might have found a wider sphere, and not have spent his strength in the obscure mine of wealth where he found and fixed his professional resort. But, as it was, his years were passed between the Parliamentary Committee-room and the almost cloistered seclusion of a life overcast by the dim atmosphere of Roman Catholic devotion and fenced around by the strictest exclusiveness of ecclesiastical influence and guardianship.

It is amazing, in regard to such a man, to read the language of eulogy employed in speaking of him by such men as J. H. Newman and W. E. Gladstone. It is to be observed, indeed,

that Newman's high tributes are to be found chiefly, if not only, in the correspondence which preceded the "conversion" of Mr. Hope, except indeed the eulogy contained in the funeral discourse which he pronounced upon his friend; and that Mr. Gladstone's exalted praise also is contained partly in letters of the same period, and partly in the epistolary tribute which, after his death, he sent to his early friend's daughter, Miss Hope-Scott. The language, however, is of extraordinary emphasis and exaltation. Mr. Gladstone, in particular, speaks of Mr. Hope, as he was called during the period of their intimacy, as if he were an altogether superior being, one vastly wiser and better, more gifted and more able, than himself; and yet to the disinterested critic who reads the life with care and weighs up deliberately the whole case in its particulars, it cannot but be evident that such an estimate is unreal. Mr. Hope's career, from first to last, will bear no comparison whatever with that of Gladstone. At Eton Hope was no more than a moderate scholar. At Oxford he took no honours. It is true that he attempted none, but if he had tried there appears no reason to suppose that he would have done anything brilliant. He gained, indeed, a fellowship at Merton, but as the result of a zealous and industrious canvass among his friends and the friends of his friends and his family, by favour, and not in virtue of his superior success in the examination. He was, in short, neither a classical nor a mathematical scholar. Nor was there any study, outside of certain branches of semi-ecclesiastical law, in which he seems to have excelled. In nothing great or distinguished was he ever a proficient, unless the practice of his branch of the advocate's calling be a great vocation. He had a very ready and available linguistic gift, at least for modern languages, and even for the various *patois* of modern tongues, but he was master of no modern literature, neither English, nor French, nor German, nor Italian. His biographer, indeed, distinctly states that he was not a literary man.

Throughout his long and often elaborate letters, even with such correspondents as Gladstone and Newman, there is no glister of literary wealth or beauty, flashing or at least

gleaming in occasional quotation or in apt allusion, much less is there the radiance of a scholarship that could not be hid, or the suggestiveness of deep and searching thought in regard to the profound and stirring questions which margined all the line of perplexed controversy along which he and his correspondents were seeking their way. For a man of such opulence of thought and learning as Gladstone to write as he does respecting such a favoured child of opportunity as Mr. Hope-Scott, to whose success physical gifts, family connections, and good fortune, so largely contributed—to write of him as if he were at once saint and sage—is not only surprising, but seems at first to be almost unaccountable, although presently we may come to see the reason, at least in part.

His success, indeed, in his profession was signal, as was also his success in society. But there is no difficulty in accounting for his success in these spheres. From his youth up, he was singularly handsome, being at once beautiful and noble in person and countenance. He was of an old and high-bred Scottish stock, the Earl of Hopetoun being the head of a junior branch of the family, and was brought up under gentle and generous influences; his grace of manner and address being scarcely less remarkable than his splendour of personal beauty. He was naturally a fluent and easy speaker, and his linguistic faculty, to which we have referred, and which seems to have been very quick, although he took little pains to cultivate or develop it—enabled him, in this respect like his distinguished lay-friend, to say whatever he had to say with propriety and force. He was, in fact, a born speaker, ready and graceful. Besides all this he was pre-eminently a man of affairs, a sagacious business man, and one who knew how to take hold of everybody by the right handle, and to present every subject in the way most likely at once to enlist attention and to persuade his hearers to his own views. His tact, in short, was equal to his shrewdness, if it was not more properly a part of it. Such a man had all the qualities of an irresistible advocate, and, if he had had either ambition or a large endowment of public spirit, might have been a great parliamentary orator. But of ambition he seems to have

had literally none. From his early manhood he appears to have had the soul of a lay ecclesiastic, although his family affections would have made it hard for him to endure the actual life of the cloister. His first thoughts, indeed, inclined him towards the ministerial calling, and as a clergyman he would, as far as we may venture to judge, have had a most distinguished as well as a congenial career. But if he had taken orders, he would unquestionably have become a Romish priest; and, obscure as the subject appears on the face of the memoir, the thought seems almost inevitably to suggest itself that some dim presentiment of this kept him in his early manhood from entering the clerical profession. Many of his family connections were Presbyterians; all were staunch Protestants—Protestants mostly of the “evangelical” type. His father, who was less of a Calvinistic Protestant than most of his relatives—who, indeed, had become decidedly anti-Calvinistic—died while his son’s future development was as yet uncertain, but his mother lived to mourn during many years, first the extreme Tractarian High Churchmanship, and afterwards the professed Romanism, of her dutiful and distinguished son. Devout that son seems always to have been. His case was in part, it can hardly be doubted, one of revolt from Calvinism and Presbyterianism. Nevertheless, as Mr. Gladstone has noted in regard to other Tractarian and perverted Englishmen, it was among the evangelical influences which surrounded his early years that the seed was sown of that deep religiousness which characterized him through life, and which, transplanted to the soil of Oxford at the very time when Newman’s influence was at its highest point, became first Romanism unconfessed but germinant, in the form of Tractarian Churchmanship, and then Romanism overt and professed. Newman’s was the mind and will that enthralled James Robert Hope. Mr Hope-Scott, through all his course, after he became a Fellow of Merton College, obeyed the magnetic influence of the man who, to adopt a figure of Mr. Gladstone’s,* was to sweep down from the Anglican firmament one-third of its most vivid stars. In fact, it is

* Vol. ii. p. 283.

his connection with Gladstone and Newman—it is the correspondence standing in connection with these two historic names—which lends by far the greatest interest to the memoirs of Mr. Hope-Scott. Apart from their letters his biography would be comparatively insignificant. For this gifted man who seems never to have read much, read less and less as the years went on, and after he joined the Roman Church his correspondence appears to have included little or nothing worth publishing or preserving; at all events there is nothing of value relating to that period of his life, furnished in these memoirs.

It seems evident that the ascendancy of Mr. Hope-Scott in his earlier years over such a friend as Gladstone, must have been due to the combination of attractive and impressive personal qualities in him of which we have spoken, to his combination of deep devoutness with business sagacity, to his success in his first speech before the House of Lords, and to the “promise and potency” of public distinction and influence, in addition to his private attractiveness and worth, which the whole circle of his acquaintance seemed to discover in him. All who knew him expected him to achieve fame and distinction of extraordinary brilliance and to accomplish this result early. In 1840, his prestige was perhaps greater than that of Gladstone had been at the same age, three years earlier. Gladstone had made no speech at the age of twenty-eight equal in character or impressiveness to Mr. Hope’s speech before the House of Lords. Nor had his work on *The State in its Relations with the Church*, published in 1839, greatly advanced his reputation. It was felt, even by Churchmen, to have opened more questions than it answered, and to have failed in the attempted solution of the most crucial problems with which it dealt. Macaulay’s masterly review had laid bare fatal errors in logic and had exposed some faults of style which were suggestive of certain intellectual infirmities in the gifted essayist. If Mr. Hope was much less learned and less widely and comprehensively thoughtful than Mr. Gladstone was, even at that age, he was without doubt more strictly logical, and had more of a lawyer’s acuteness—for he was every inch a lawyer—in bringing large and vague views to

the test. This would seem to have been the reason why Mr. Gladstone submitted to his reading and criticism, both in manuscript and also in printed proof, the work to which we have referred, leaving, in fact, the final revision and correction of the sheets entirely in his hands, during his own absence, in 1838, on the Continent. Mr. Hope seems to have done this work with great ability—criticising from the High Church point of view, which was common to himself and Mr. Gladstone, and making the work in consequence less illogical and inconsistent, indeed, but “higher” and narrower than otherwise it would have been. Occasionally, also, he appears to have done something in the way of making Mr. Gladstone’s style and sentences more direct and lucid than they had been left by their author. Perhaps, after all, it is no great wonder if the man who had rendered this service to Gladstone, the shrewd lawyer-like High Churchman, the devoted son of the Church, the charming and successful man of society, the precociously eloquent and successful advocate, should in 1841 and for nearly ten years afterwards, have been regarded by Mr. Gladstone with exaggerated respect and esteem. In a letter dated 1841, Mr. Gladstone spoke of the “advantage and comfort” of his friend’s “clear and cool counsel” in regard to the question of the Jerusalem Bishopric. A sagacious counsellor as well as an earnest and reverent High Churchman Mr. Hope was beyond question. He was also, to use a phrase of Mr. Gladstone’s in his letter to Miss Hope-Scott, after her father’s death, “a character of extraordinary grace.”

Being such a man, and being so absolutely devoted as he was to the great Oxford Tractarian, it is less difficult to understand the value which Newman appears to have set upon the friendship and sympathy of the able and rising young advocate than the reason of Gladstone’s extraordinary admiration and regard. Let it especially be remembered that there was no other layman of equal position and prospects who went all lengths with Newman and sustained him almost throughout by his intimate friendship and his earnest aid and counsel. Such a man was a great accession to the Tractarian ranks, while to the strength and prestige of Anglo-

Romanism he was, after his "conversion," a still greater gain. He was a convert to be made much of. Such a man was not thought guilty of presumption in seeking to marry the fair daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, although considerably less than half his age.

To which considerations it may not unjustly be added that the English Tractarian circle which looked to Oxford as its birth-place and centre was a set, a clique, with all the characteristics of a clique strongly marked, and among them that of being, to a great extent, a "mutual admiration society." It is necessary to take this into account, in order quite to understand the pre-eminence attributed to Mr. Hope-Scott by the gifted men to whom we have referred. It is somewhat remarkable, at the same time, that, although Mr. Hope and the future Cardinal Manning were close friends, and were both received into the Roman Communion together, comparatively few of the Cardinal's letters are given in the memoir; and in none of them do we find any such fervid expressions of admiration for his correspondent as are contained in the letters of his two other distinguished friends.

To the character and course of one who shines so much through borrowed light we have perhaps given too much space in these introductory pages. In the remainder of this article, we shall refer chiefly to the relations which subsisted between Mr. Hope-Scott and his two great friends. Some interesting glimpses will thus be gained into character and circumstance. The history of both the friends has already become part of the public history of the country; and not only Newman's *Apologia*, but Mr. Gladstone's autobiographical revelations also, warrant us in discussing questions which they have themselves already raised.

At Eton and at Oxford Hope had very little to do with his senior contemporary, whose attainments and reputation the younger man could only admire from a far distance. He did not belong to the University Essay Club, in which Gladstone took a leading part. Both, however, were of full Scotch blood, both were Tories, and both were of decidedly religious tendencies and sympathies. Hope had been brought up, to a considerable extent, under Presbyterian influences, Gladstone

under Low Church influences. Both together, accordingly, as Mr. Gladstone relates—and we confess that the story is quite a surprise to us—so far broke loose, little as they had ordinarily to do with each other, from the High Church traditions and prescriptions of the University as to go in company, on two occasions, to the Baptist Chapel, “once to hear Dr. Chalmers and once to hear Rowland Hill.” Dr. Chalmers, however, was, it must be remembered, no Dissenter, while he was not only a great intellectual and social power in Scotland, but the most famous preacher of his day, and even Rowland Hill, irregular as he was in his practices, and hardly to be called a Churchman, in any practical sense, had, nevertheless, received episcopal ordination, and was, perhaps, the most famous living English preacher. But Mr. Gladstone’s account of the matter shows how very far away both he and Mr. Hope stood, at this time (1830), from the ecclesiastical position which they were to occupy in after years. “Questions of communism or conformity at that date,” says Mr. Gladstone, “presented themselves to us not unnaturally as questions of academic discipline, so that we did not, I imagine, enter upon any inquiry whether we in any degree compromised our religious position by the act, or by any intention with which it was done.”

It seems strange that within a very few years after this both these young men were extreme High Churchmen. In 1835, Mr. Hope having promised to go on a visit to his esteemed friend, John Hodgkin, the very eminent Chancery barrister, whose pupil he had been, felt it necessary to ask his indulgence beforehand, because he would feel it to be his duty to absent himself from the good Quaker’s family prayer and Scripture readings. He not only objected to be present during “a Dissenter’s prayer,” as Mr. Hodgkin put it, but he said, “It is in some sort as a religious teacher that you assemble your family, and with my views of apostolical succession, and especially considering that you are an unbaptized person, I should not feel easy to participate in the service.” “This strong, though perfectly polite, expression of his views,” adds Mr. Hodgkin, “was the more remarkable as he had formed quite an exaggerated estimate of any moral or even religious qualities which he supposed me to possess; though, ecclesiastically, I was such a

heathen." At this time he was thinking of taking orders. The death of his elder brother had deeply affected him. Whilst in a very serious state of mind, he met with the writings of Jeremy Taylor and some other divines of the same school, and was led to change his Low Church opinions. To borrow Mr. Hodgkin's words, he thought these writers "more practical, and considered that holiness and the strict performance of the duties of life were more enforced by them than by the Low Church." From the Carolan High Church Divines the road to Rome was, for a logical thinker, and earnest spirit, direct, and, on some grounds, inviting, and slowly but steadily he performed the journey during the ten or twelve years which followed. How deeply seated was the root of Roman doctrine in him will be seen by one extract from his Journal dated July 15, 1837:—

"As I know that all the progress which I have hitherto made in repentance has been God's doing, may I neither take credit to myself for the past, nor look to any assistance but His for the future! And as I cannot doubt the number and greatness of my sins, so may I be cautious not to think too highly of my penitence! the sufficiency of which can certainly be judged of only by God. Amen!"

So far had Mr. Hope departed from evangelical and apostolic doctrine. What wonder that a self-searching soul in legal bondage living such a life as this passage affords a glimpse of, and unable to feel assured that his penitence was sufficient, should be led, sooner or later, to practise confession and seek relief and assurance from the absolution of a priest, rather than remain always an unabsolved penitent. Long before he went over professedly to Rome, Mr. Hope had been driven to the confessional for priestly absolution, in default of the peace and consolation which comes through a true-hearted faith—the faith and trust of the true penitent—in the Lord Jesus Christ as his present Saviour.

But we were speaking of the very different condition of mind from that of their later High Churchmanship, in which, some years before this period, that is, in 1830, Gladstone and Hope both stood, according to Mr. Gladstone's own account,

when they twice went both together to the Baptist Chapel. Mr. Gladstone was then, according to his own statement, still under the influence of the Low Church views in which he had been brought up. We confess that this statement is a surprise to us. We knew that some of Mr. Gladstone's brothers lived and died Low Churchmen; but we had imagined that his father's leanings—although in Liverpool he was an English Churchman—were towards the Scotch Episcopal Church, and that Mr. Gladstone had grown up from early youth with a strong attachment to that communion. We remember well a conversation which we heard some ten years ago, more or less, between a Wesleyan minister and a very distinguished dignitary of the Church of England, now no longer alive to charm and brighten the wide circle over which his influence extended. One subject on which they conversed was Mr. Gladstone. Surprise was expressed that a man of such wide culture, so catholic in his sympathies, so friendly as he was known to be with men like Dr. Guthrie in Scotland, and with not a few distinguished but decided Nonconformists in England, should yet hold fast with such tenacity to the High Anglo-Catholic party in his personal principles and sympathies, not only in regard to points of worship and of ecclesiastical taste and tendency, but also, as it seemed, to matters of doctrine. The question was asked whether all this was really due to Tractarian influence upon him as a young man at Oxford. His personal friendship with Newman and Manning, his life-long and tender intimacy with Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, were within view of the speakers. But the distinguished Broad Churchman to whom the Wesleyan minister put his questions, answered with a bright smile and great decision of manner, to the effect that Mr. Gladstone's bias was not from Oxford originally, that it was earlier and in a measure native to him. "If it were conceivable," he said, "that his identity could, like a physical thing, be decomposed into constituent elements, on each inmost element would be found the stamp of a Scottish Episcopalian. He is a Scottish Episcopalian in grain; that is the deepest thing in his nature." We do not profess to give the exact words used, but such was the idea and effect of the speaker's words. Since then we had

never doubted that the account so given was the true one. We were moreover confirmed in that view by the leading part which Mr. Gladstone took, not many years after his leaving Oxford, in founding Trinity College, Glenalmond, which was identified so closely with the Scotch Episcopal Communion—an undertaking in which, as counsellor and companion, Mr. Hope was for several years closely associated with him, although he had advanced so far beyond Mr. Gladstone in his approaches towards Rome, before the final completion of the undertaking (in 1841), that the roll of the College trustees, which included Mr. Gladstone's name, omitted his.

It seems, however, to be beyond doubt that, to whatever lengths Mr. Gladstone, at one period of his life, as shown in his correspondence with Bishop Wilberforce, as well as in the letters published in these volumes, was prepared to go as an Anglo-Catholic Churchman, yearning after a reconciliation with the great Western Catholic Communion, still it was not the personal ascendancy of Newman which dominated him. This, we venture to say, is well known to some of his intimate friends. He seems to have derived his primary and his deepest doctrinal and ecclesiastical inspiration from the writings of St. Augustine. Is there a bishop on the bench who has read all that Augustine wrote? It may reasonably be doubted whether there is one. But one of Gladstone's earliest and most intimate friends—himself a distinguished Oxford man and a contemporary of Gladstone's—has been heard to tell under what circumstances he learnt, many years ago, that so herculean a task had been performed by Mr. Gladstone, and that he consciously traced his personal views to no recent influence of his *alma mater*, but to that great patristic fountain. It is no wonder that such a student in his early manhood of vast folios and ancient lore, should in 1838 have suffered seriously for some months from impaired eyesight.

The view which we have just intimated of the origin of Mr. Gladstone's special Church views, a view which had come to us from authority which we could not doubt, is strictly confirmed by Mr. Gladstone's own statement, next following the passage already quoted from his letter to Miss Hope-Scott. Between 1831, when Mr. Gladstone left Oxford, and 1836, he

and Mr. Hope seem to have had no intercourse. But in 1836 their acquaintance was renewed, and Mr. Gladstone called on Mr. Hope at Chelsea, where his father resided as Governor of Chelsea Hospital. Mr. Hope, says Mr. Gladstone, "opened a conversation on the controversies which were then agitated in the Church of England, and which had Oxford for their centre." "I do not think," he goes on to say, "I had paid them much attention; but I was an ardent student of Dante, and likewise of St. Augustine; both of them had acted powerfully on my mind; and this was in truth the best preparation I had for anything like mental communion with a person of his elevation. He then told me he had been seriously studying the controversy, and that in his opinion the Oxford authors were right."

From which it would appear that Mr. Hope had more to do with biassing Mr. Gladstone and directing his attention towards the Oxford Tractarians than any other man. And from this memoir, we should gather that no one else at any period exercised so much personal influence over the mind of the rising statesman, a remarkable instance, as it seems to us, of personal fascination exercised over a greater personality by one who was certainly inferior in the larger and more vivid qualities of mind and character.

But whereas Mr. Gladstone was, in the midst of his marvellous versatility, most of all a statesman and always in the widest sense a citizen and a public man, Mr. Hope, after he became, in 1836, decidedly serious, was, more than anything else, a religious devotee. Into all his life he carried with him a ruling religious feeling and purpose. This, doubtless, was his point of strength, and if his religion had not, unhappily, been essentially unevangelical and his movement always Romewards, this would also have been his greatness and his glory. Happily, Mr. Gladstone, while not less truly religious, was not so enthralled by narrow principles and ideas that savoured of religious bondage and superstition. Still Mr. Hope's greater concentration of feeling, his narrower but more intense regard for things ecclesiastical, his specialty as a Church devotee, for whom public life and statesmanship seemed to have no attractions, made him within a certain

range stronger than his older friend. "The moving power," says Mr. Gladstone, "was principally on his side." It would even seem that among the subjects which Mr. Hope urged on Mr. Gladstone's attention was that of the relations between Church and State. What Mr. Gladstone says as to this point is very interesting. Referring to subjects as to which the moving power was on Mr. Hope's side, he proceeds:—

"Then came the question of the relations of Church and State, forced into prominence at that time by a variety of causes, and among them not least by a series of lectures which Dr. Chalmers delivered in the Hanover Square Rooms, with a profuse eloquence and with a noble and almost irresistible fervour. These lectures drove me upon the hazardous enterprise of handling the same subject upon what I thought a sounder basis. Your father warmly entered into this design."

We have already noticed that Mr. Hope laboriously and minutely revised Mr. Gladstone's work on this subject.

"He pushed the claims of the Church," says Mr. Gladstone, "further than I did; but the difference of opinion between us was not such as to prevent our cordial co-operation then and for years afterwards; though I well know that he served her from an immeasurably higher level."

"It was for about fifteen years that he and I lived in close, though latterly rarer, intercourse. Yet this was due, on my side, not to any faculty of attraction, but to the circumstance that my seat in Parliament, and my rather close attention to business, put me in the way of dealing with many questions relating to the Church and the Universities and Colleges, on which he desired freely to expend his energies and his time."

Among the subjects on which Mr. Hope tried to bend Mr. Gladstone to his own views, which were also the views of the Tractarian party generally, and especially of his great "guide, philosopher, and friend," Mr. Newman, was that of the Jerusalem Bishopric. This project, promoted chiefly by Bunsen, with whom Gladstone was at that time not only friendly, but intimate, and favoured also strongly by Prince Albert, to whose views Mr. Gladstone, at that time a member of the Peel Government, could not be indifferent, was, in the view of Mr. Hope, every way evil—tainted with heresy, and full, not only of peril, but of insult to "Catholic principles."

"Had Prussia," he says in a long letter to his friend, "come to us humbled and penitent, complaining that the burden of separation from the

Church Catholic was too heavy any longer to be borne, and that Rome would not relieve her of it, except upon unlawful conditions—had her ministers and laity brought their doctrines and offices under the review of our bishops, and besought their sanction to what was right, their correction of what was wrong—then none more gladly than I would have prayed that, as far as higher duties would allow, she should have become one with us. But as it is, she comes jauntily, by a Royal envoy, with a Royal liturgy in her hand, and a new and comprehensive theory of religion on her lips, to propose joint endowment of bishoprics, alternate nominations, mixed confessions of faith, equal rank for her Litany services, and a political protectorate soldered together by a divine institution," &c. &c.

The whole letter, a very long one indeed, is in a tone conformable to this extract, and reads much like an echo of Newman's letters on the same subject to his apt disciple, and of his formal protest on the subject, letters and protest which those who, yielding to the fashion of the day, profess to admire Cardinal Newman for his largeness and liberality as a Catholic ecclesiastic, should be at the trouble of reading. In the protest Newman declared, among other things, that "Lutheranism and Calvinism are heresies repugnant to Scripture, springing up three centuries since, and anathematized by East and West." As if the Church of England had not been "anathematized by West," and denounced by East as a schism. He closes his protest in these words:—

"On these grounds I in my place, being a priest of the English Church, and vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford, in relief of my conscience, do hereby solemnly protest against the measure aforesaid and disown it, as removing the English Church from her present ground, and tending to her disorganisation."

What the effect of Mr. Hope's letter was on Mr. Gladstone does not appear. He was at that time giving vast delight to Bunsen, who admired him greatly, by his apparent sympathy with the plan, as may be read in Bunsen's *Memoirs*.* Some time later, Mr. Gladstone, quite altered his view as to this subject. In his letter to Miss Hope-Scott, he speaks of it as a "really fantastic plan," whilst

* See also vol. xliii. of this REVIEW, "On Mr. Gladstone's Ecclesiastical Opinions," p. 383.

not concealing the fact that for some time it had his support. Mr. Gladstone's later judgment of it may be correct, although, before the scheme is wholly condemned, what that wise and good man Archdeacon Hare wrote in its favour ought to be considered. But even one who thinks the project unwise or impracticable, may feel himself at liberty to sympathize with the noble and Catholic-spirited enthusiasm of the devout Prussian king and the noble Prussian statesman who were the original authors of the project, and of the generous English Churchman who hailed it as an opportunity for showing the essential unity of German Evangelical Protestantism and the Reformed Church of England.

The spirit which possessed Newman and his congenial friend is not one to be admired. In passing, however, let us note that Mr. Hope himself discriminates between Mr. Gladstone's ecclesiastical tone and his own. "Your mind, I believe," he says, "to be of the Athanasian period—mine is of this day." And again, "your mind is of a fairer and more accurate cast, and therefore is a valuable corrective to my own. But, as I have before said, I think mine is the mind for the times rather than yours." In other words, Gladstone was, as he has indeed in his fragment of Autobiography described himself as being, of "a sanguine and impressible" disposition, open to large and lofty, to ideal and more or less romantic, impulses. Whereas Mr. Hope had the mind of a man of business, a practically logical mind; and so, having once with a settled conviction taken hold of the guiding clue of Romanizing principles, he followed its lead into the Roman citadel. To use the words of Archdeacon (Bishop) Wilberforce in writing of Mr. Waldo Sibthorp, "he held the *πρώτον ψεῦδος*, that unity is to be gained by the members of the Catholic Church through union with one visible centre." This fundamental fallacy, which, there can be no doubt to those who have followed Mr. Gladstone's course, including especially his letters in Bishop Wilberforce's Life, and in these two volumes, carried that statesman himself very far towards Rome, and, but for the Syllabus and the Infallibility Decree, might have carried him still farther, is a necessary part of the externalism which is inseparable from High Churchmanship. Such externalism,

however, would never have taken the hold which it has done of Oxford and the English Church if a genuine metaphysical training had formed part of the Oxford University course. Abstract science had not been much taught at Oxford, and so abstract thought had not flourished there. Literature and history had been taught, but not the science either of mind or of matter. It may well be believed that if the discipline of Oxford had included a training in abstract thought, Mr. Gladstone would not have felt himself bound, after the lapse of more than thirty years, to write to Bishop Hampden an apology for the part he had taken against his episcopal appointment, on the alleged ground of Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures, stating that he had condemned them on the information of others, having himself been unable to understand them, as for many years past he had found himself unable to master books of an abstract character. If such an alumnus of Oxford as Mr. Gladstone had to make such a confession, it is less to be wondered at that almost all Oxford Churchmen have seemed to be quite unable to understand the teaching of the New Testament as to the spiritual character and the spiritual unity of the Church of Christ.

The influence of Mr. Hope on Mr. Gladstone could not but be injurious, because Mr. Hope was so entirely under the inspiration of Dr. Newman. Mr. Hope, however, seems, as we have already said, to have been a very apt disciple, and sometimes, even in matters of casuistry, to have been able to "better the instructions" of the writer of Tract XC. Mr. Hope was prepared to carry the "doctrine of reserve" to great lengths. His great friend was publishing "the Lives of the Saints," and even Dr. Pusey had objected to them, because of their "Roman tone." On this he consulted Mr. Hope, part of whose reply is as follows:—"As to the Roman leaning, no doubt your 'Lives,' at least many of them, must evince it; no doubt also that, unless carefully managed, it will give offence. But may not caution obviate the latter? Is it not possible to commence by lives which will not at once bring the whole set into disrepute? the less palatable ones being kept for a more advanced stage."

The date of this letter was November, 1843. As Dr. Pusey's

name occurs in it as having objected to the too Romish tone of the "Lives" Newman was publishing, it will not be out of place to give a postscript added by that eminent Tractarian to a letter which he wrote to Mr. Hope in the following year, from which it may be judged how very Roman that must have been which was too Roman for Dr. Pusey, and also how advanced in his Romanising Mr. Hope himself must have been to whom this dreadful postscript is addressed. Mr. Hope was travelling on the Continent, and Dr. Pusey gives him a number of commissions. Of these commissions, however, as in a lady's letter, by far the most delicate is described in the postscript as follows :—

"There is yet a subject on which I should like to know more, if you fall in with persons" [priests, of course] "who have the guidance of consciences—what penances they employ for persons whose temptations are almost entirely spiritual, of delicate frames often, and who wish to be led on to perfection? I see in a spiritual writer that even for such, corporal severities are not to be neglected, but so many of them are unsafe. I suspect the 'discipline' to be one of the safest, and with internal humiliation the best. . . . Could you procure and send me one by B. ? What was described to me was of a very sacred character; five cords, each with five knots, in memory of the five wounds of our Lord. . . . I should be glad to know also whether there were any cases in which it is unsafe, *e.g.*, in a nervous person."

This exquisite commission was given in September, 1844. The B. here means Badeley, a brother barrister and Hope's most intimate and attached friend. Hope and Badeley remained in the Church of England for some three years after the date of this letter, and formed part of the circle which supported Dr. Pusey at Oxford, and with whom Bishop Wilberforce had to reckon on his acceding to that See, where Dr. Pusey played the part of something like an anti-bishop within the diocese. After reading the postscript quoted it is easy to understand the dread and almost horror which, about this time, or soon afterwards, Bishop Wilberforce began to feel in regard to Pusey's confessional doctrine and practice. But Pusey, instead of joining Rome as Newman and Hope and Badeley did, continued to exercise his pernicious influence within the Church of England till his death, nearly forty years afterwards, and just now a Pusey Memorial is being erected

towards which £30,000 have been subscribed by English Churchmen, who are led in this undertaking by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone.

What we have quoted will have sufficed to show what was the character of the man who, at the most critical period of his life, i.e., between 1836 and 1845, exercised a stronger personal influence over Mr. Gladstone than any other man. In 1845, Mr. Gladstone had become fully aware that his friend was pausing on the edge of decision for Rome, and wrote him a long and earnest letter of argument and entreaty, in which he speaks of Mr. Hope's "mind and intellect" as being such as he "looks up to with reverence under a consciousness of immense inferiority." In 1850-1, the "Papal Aggression" excitement had the effect of completely and finally detaching from the Church of England one whose heart had long been with Rome, and on Passion Sunday, 1851, he and (Archdeacon) Manning, now the Cardinal, were together received into the Roman Catholic Communion.

We have not space to quote many interesting passages, from the large correspondence in these volumes to which we have referred, and especially from Mr. Gladstone's long letter to Miss Hope-Scott, after her father's death, passages interesting most of all because of the disclosures which they contain as to the character, the varying phases of conviction, and the motives affecting the somewhat sinuous and uncertain course, as to matters ecclesiastical, of Mr. Gladstone. His own "Chapter of Autobiography," Bishop Wilberforce's Life, and these volumes, taken together have thrown a very full light on these points, and Mr. Gladstone, whilst he still lives, may be better understood by the student of human character and of the history of Church and State, than Lord Beaconsfield is ever likely to be understood. Most winding has been the course of Mr. Gladstone's development, but, by means of his letters and his other frank disclosures, whether by pen or tongue, the winding stream is at every point transparent; whereas the stream of Disraeli's development, although not more various perhaps in its changes than the other, is yet marked by far more sudden and violent turns, and is throughout dark, and, one might almost say, opaque to the inquiring eye.

But we must close our article. Gladstone speaks to his friend's daughter of her father as "the man on whom he most relied." He adds, "I relied on one other, also a remarkable man, who took the same course" [to Rome] "at nearly the same time; but on him most, from my opinion of his sagacity." "On June 18, 1851, he wrote me the beautiful letter, No. 95. It was the epitaph of our friendship, which continued to live, but only, or almost, as it lives between those who inhabit separate worlds." . . . "If anything which" [his own letter] "contains hurts you, recollect the chasm which separates our points of view; recollect that what came to him as light and blessing and emancipation had never offered itself to me otherwise than as a temptation and a sin; recollect that when he found what he held his 'pearl of great price,' his discovery was to me, beyond what I can describe, not only a shock and a grief, but a danger too."

When, in 1858, Mrs. Hope-Scott, Lockhart's daughter, died, her husband did not inform his former friend of his bereavement, but Mr. Gladstone wrote him a letter which called forth an affectionate and touching reply, but not one likely to lead to any renewal of intercourse or correspondence. In 1868, Gladstone seems to have written to Mr. Hope-Scott a letter asking indirectly for his political support. In a long letter the desired support was in effect refused. Gladstone then tried his ancient friend with a direct and argued appeal, but in vain; Mr. Hope-Scott, even though Mr. Gladstone was by this time committed to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, refused to give any pledge. He gave his vote and interest to neither. With these exceptions all correspondence, and indeed all intercourse, between the two friends ceased after 1851. So also, as is well known, all intercourse ceased between Mr. Gladstone and (the future Cardinal) Manning after 1851 for more than twenty years, until political necessity compelled a limited resumption of relations between them. Before Manning left the Church of England his friendship with Gladstone had been close and warm.

ART. II.—THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

The Official Report of the Church Congress, held at Carlisle, October, 1884. London : Bemrose & Sons.

THE twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Church Congress, attended by upwards of 3000 persons, mostly clerical, was held at Carlisle in October last, under the able and genial presidency of the Bishop of the Diocese. It was expected that the proximity of the border city to Scotland and to the North of Ireland, would attract large numbers from the sister countries, and give a special, if somewhat blended, colour to the Congress ; and the committee, in its choice of subjects and of speakers, evidently had this end in view. But these anticipations were only partially realized. The history of the Disestablished Church of Ireland, and of the Unestablished Church of Scotland, was occasionally used to point a moral and adorn a speech ; but, with the exception of a few distinguished individuals to whom we shall refer, the visitors from these Churches did not appreciably modify the ordinary character of the assembly. The three eminent prelates selected to preach before the Congress, however—the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishop of Derry—admirably represented the three parts of the United Kingdom.

The President's opening address was marked by that playful humour and that manly eloquence which make him welcome as a speaker everywhere. After bringing out each of the salient features of the programme by a light and graceful touch, Dr. Goodwin gradually rose into a strain of masculine and lofty eloquence, in which he said that the sterility which Dr. Newman once declared had fallen on the Church had passed away, and she had now become the mother of successful children and of various and fruitful toil. Referring to the choice of subjects and speakers, he said that they had taken into account the plurality of schools of thought in the Church : a plurality which was not necessarily an evil ; for, if they were to have thought in any true sense of the word, they must have diversities of thought. " Absolute unanimity," he said,

"is not possible in a congress of men : it can only be realized in that perfect unity of utterance which distinguishes a congress of geese." Out of 200 subjects suggested, 18 had been selected by a process which, he trusted, had resulted in "the survival of the fittest."

As we look through the Report, and consider how to crowd even a brief synopsis of only the more important papers into our limited space, we are obliged, like the Bishop, to "fall back on the classical example of the groom, who, being required to put five horses into a four-stalled stable, frankly threw up the problem." Passing by such subjects, therefore, as *The Rights of Parishioners in Parish Churches*, *Lay Ministration*, *Parochial Missions*, *Foreign Missions*, *Foreign Chaplaincies*, *Music as an Aid to Worship and Work*, *The Duty of the Christian Teacher in relation to National Politics*, *Social Purity*, and *Aids to Holiness*, and resisting the temptation to peep into the magnificent meetings of *Working Men* and of *Working Women*, and into the various extraneous meetings for *Church Reform*, *Home Reunion*, &c., which clustered round the Congress, we shall touch upon those topics only that are likely to be of general interest, or the discussion of which promised results of permanent value.

The first subject brought before the Congress was "*The Duty of the Church with regard to the Overcrowded Dwellings of the Poor in Towns and in the Country*," and, appropriately enough, the privilege of reading the first paper was accorded to Dr. Walsham How, Bishop of Bedford and Suffragan of London. Dr. How, who glories in the title which is sometimes given him of Bishop of East London, spoke from close and wide acquaintance with this complex and difficult problem, and urged that the duty of the Church was to create and direct public opinion ; to enlist and organize workers, chiefly on the lines of Miss Octavia Hill and her band of trained ladies ; and to bring its influence to bear upon owners of property and upon the poor themselves, so as to stir up the one class to a sense of its responsibilities, and the other to a desire and determination to help themselves. Major Rankin, M.P., followed with some sad details of overcrowding in villages ; and made a most important suggestion—which, how-

ever, was not very well received by the Congress—that efforts should be made to get the surplus rural population to emigrate to the Colonies, rather than to migrate to the large towns in England, where the labour market is already overstocked.

The suggestions of the Rev. J. Maurice Wilson (Head Master of Clifton College), who read the next paper, were the same as those of the Bishop of Bedford, except that he urged the Church to set an example to other owners of property by a strict scrutiny into the condition of dwellings on Church estates, and by an expenditure on the improvement of such dwellings, where necessary, in ways not directly remunerative. “Co-operation with Nonconformist Churches,” he added, “may be based on such high practical aims and work. Here is a field which we may enter as allies, all equally single-hearted; here we may learn mutual respect, heal up old wounds and scars, find our true unity, and multiply our united strength tenfold.” This fine-spirited paper produced a marked effect upon the audience, and many who read it will treasure up its happy illustrations and its useful hints. A new application of an old parable is worth preserving here. God has taught us that moral conditions are in a very high degree dependent on physical conditions. “The lesson of the ‘Parable of the Sower’ is not that it is our duty to sow seed indiscriminately in all soils, but that failure is certain unless we previously prepare the soil. The Church must plough as well as sow.”

Equally apposite and valuable was Mr. Wilson’s answer to the objection that overcrowded dwellings, like all other unfavourable conditions of life among the very poor, are the result of the laws of economical science, and that the Church can no more interfere with these than she can with the law of gravitation. “We conquer that law by mastering and applying the subtler forces of Nature, its vital forces, its molecular forces; and we can conquer the ordinary laws of economics by the finer forces of human nature, its patriotism, its enthusiasm, and, most of all, by the deep-set and all but universal instincts of religion. It is the work of the Church to apply to this purpose the mighty forces of love and humanity that can still be called out of men by the love of our Master.”

Papers were also read by the Rev. C. W. Stubbs, who advocated the extension of the Public Health Act and the Artisans' Dwellings Acts to rural districts, and by Mr. W. Inglis, of Leeds, President of the Church of England Working Men's Society, who said that "what was wanted was personal help from a band of men and women fired by religion and permeated by the Spirit of Him who went about doing good." The effects of overcrowding in our large provincial towns, as well as in the metropolis, were dwelt upon by Mr. Inglis at considerable length. These were (1), the ruin of young men and women; (2), the loss of home-training, most of the children in these slums being brought up in the streets, or, as he aptly called them, "the devil's Kindergarten;" (3), infant mortality, which, while in the district around Mayfair it was at the rate of 21·4 per 1,000, rose in Southwark to 305·0 per 1,000; (4), physical weakness and deformity, as witness the fact that, out of 6,000 poor boys examined for service in the navy, 4,000 were rejected on account of bodily infirmities. The only practical suggestion Mr. Inglis made was the formation of a National Society for the Protection of the Poor.

In closing the debate which followed, the President said that much was to be expected in this matter from compulsory education. He believed also that the fact that the Congress had placed this subject in the forefront of its business would be attended with widely beneficial results. So we believe; but we do most earnestly hope that the attention which is now being given to this terrible question will not be a mere fleeting fashion, but that it will issue in well-aimed and persistent effort. If the very lowest classes of our people are ever lifted out of their misery and degradation, it will be by the combined efforts of the Law and of the Gospel. Better conditions of life alone will not suffice; the limit of their efficacy is soon reached; yet for the present, and for many a year to come, the improvement of the surroundings of the very poor will need and tax the energies of both Church and State. What is most wanted, perhaps, just now, is a large collection and a careful classification of facts as a basis for legislative and philanthropic action: and this we may fairly look for as the outcome of the Royal Commission at present sitting, and of the awakened and eager

attention of the Churches, and indeed of the whole community. Meanwhile we shall do well vigorously and generously to support our home missions and other similar agencies, which strike at the root of this and all the other social evils which, happily, are filling the country with so much concern.

While one section of the Congress was considering the housing of the poor, another section was listening to papers and speeches on "*Popular Literature with reference to Infidelity and Public Morality*," the first reader being the Rev. J. E. C. Welldon (Head Master of Dulwich College), who, like Mr. Wilson, makes us feel how strong the Church of England is in her younger men. His paper, though barely answering to the title of the discussion, was remarkable in many ways. Limiting himself to the assaults made by Secularists upon the ethics and the theology of the Bible, Mr. Welldon exposes the weakness of their attack upon (1), the early narratives; (2), the morality of the Old Testament; and (3), the doctrine of Everlasting Punishment. "Upon none of these subjects," he says, "has the Church" (by which we suppose he means the Church of England) "committed herself to a definite and rigid statement of the truth, and in regard to all of them the widest difference of opinion is not only permissible, but actually existent, among her members." And, therefore, differences on these subjects do not, he thinks, justify the opposition of Secularists to the whole scheme of Christianity. Many of the positions taken up in this able paper are exceedingly doubtful and dangerous to the Christian faith. Here is another specimen:—

"The utmost, I think, which can be expected by a thoughtful mind in studying the morality of the pre-Christian dispensation is that such commands as are laid by God upon His people should be the expression of the highest moral enlightenment of the age in which they are given, or, in other words, *that there should be no conflict between the Divine injunction and the moral sense of the person who was called to execute it.*"

More successful is the writer when exposing the erroneousness of the views of Christianity held by those who are bitterest in their opposition to it; and, whilst we could have wished to find in his paper some more certain sound on the subject of future punishment, his fair and reverent treatment

of the question calls for nothing but praise. The passage is too long to quote, but too valuable to be entirely omitted. We give the substance of it:—"The ceaseless punishment of the vast majority of mankind, and this for simple intellectual error, apart from any consideration of moral conduct, is not, and has not been, and never can be, the creed of the Church. Yet it must be owned that there has been some justification for the Secularist view in the rash and random statements of certain Christian teachers Perhaps a careful study of the Gospels and Epistles teaches one to think that there are, if I may so say, two parallel lines of revelation which can never meet in this world, but will meet, as we humbly trust, in the world to come." He then pleads most earnestly that the subject be not "rudely flaunted in the eyes of men who are strangers to the entire circle of Christian doctrine, and who will look upon it, not as a part of a great system, but as an isolated tenet of unspeakable horror."

All Christian teachers will do well to ponder Mr. Welldon's wise reply to the question, What is the true answer to Secularism?

"Not mere denunciation, not an imputation of evil motives, much less sensationalism and the profanation of religious phraseology. One of the most effective infidel pamphlets he had seen was one in which a few carefully chosen passages of Salvationist literature were placed alongside the calm and philosophical utterances of a few enlightened and conscientious agnostics. There was only one way of meeting such infidelity, he said; 'it is to leave aside, as far as possible, all that is legitimately doubtful and disputable in theology, and to point the eyes of men to the Saviour, who lived on earth and died for all mankind.' 'When we consider His purity,' says one of the most virulent of living secularists, 'His faith in the Father, His forgiving patience, His devoted work among the offscourings of society, His brotherly love to sinners and outcasts—when our minds dwell on these alone—we all feel the marvellous fascination which has drawn millions to the feet of this "Son of man," and our faith begins to tremble towards the Christian pole.'"

More pertinent to the subject, perhaps, was the next paper, by the Rev. E. McClure (Editorial Secretary of the S.P.C.K.) who showed that the flood of literature that is poured forth, day by day, in this country, to quench the thirst for knowledge and mental excitement that has been created by our

elementary schools, while appealing, as all popular literature must appeal, to the emotions, the passions, and the imagination, is incomparably superior, from a moral and religious point of view, to the popular literature of France, or even of America. Still, there is much pernicious trash purveyed to the public in the shape of (1) Novels, many of which present pictures of life which must demoralize their readers; (2) Society Journals, whose very existence depends upon their suggestive nastiness and their scandal about celebrities; (3) People's Literature of the "penny-dreadful" sort; and (4) Boy's Literature, the most mischievous of which comes across the Atlantic.

Dr. Macanlay, of the Religious Tract Society, who has improved many a "leisure hour" and brightened many a "Sunday at home," and who has been one of the foremost in feeding the appetite for lighter literature with well-prepared and wholesome food, followed on much the same lines, adding, with respect to professedly infidel publications, that their influence on the life and character of the nation was hardly appreciable.

But the most striking paper was that by the Rev. J. W. Horsley (Chaplain of the House of Detention, Clerkenwell), on "Obscene Literature," in which he made some startling revelations as to the extent of the traffic in this vile and ruinous trash. The Society for the Suppression of Vice, he said, had seized and destroyed, between 1834 and 1880, over 385,000 obscene prints, pictures, and photographs; nearly 80,000 books and pamphlets; five tons of other letterpress; 28,000 sheets of songs, catalogues, and circulars, and the stereotypes of several works. At one time thirteen low-class, cheap, and obscene papers used to be hawked about the metropolis by boys, but now there is no paper in London amenable to the law. There is, however, at least one journal which adopts the legally safe line of pretending to denounce the vices it describes, and this claims a weekly sale of from 60,000 to 70,000 copies; and there is a vast amount of distinctly and intentionally immoral literature sent through the post, and circulated in other ways, of which the ordinary public knows nothing. Some of the remedies proposed by Mr. Horsley are very drastic, and will not commend themselves to

all; but we think that all Christians and all decent citizens will respond to his appeal for support to those Societies that are in existence for the suppression of this abominable and pestiferous traffic.

The general discussion was opened by the Rev. C. L. Engström (Secretary of the Christian Evidence Society) who greatly amused the audience by comparing the Christian religion to the sailor (in one of Lessing's fables, he should have explained) who was attacked on one side by a tiger and on the other by an alligator, but who, springing aside at the right moment, had the satisfaction of seeing the one leap into the jaws of the other. The like spectacle, he said, was presented, just now, by Mr. Herbert Spencer and Mr. Frederic Harrison. They were engaged in deadly conflict. Which of these distinguished gentlemen is the tiger and which the crocodile does not appear. Meanwhile, Christianity is safe. More relevant and reassuring, however, is the statement made by Mr. Engström that, after carefully examining six of the newspapers most read by working-men on Sundays, he had found that, although their tone was not high, yet, with one exception, there was nothing in them directly antagonistic to Christian belief.

In the evening of the same day the Congress was invited to consider a subject of a widely different kind. The question on the programme was—"What can England learn from Scotland and Ireland in religious matters?" But the question actually discussed by most of the speakers was, What can the Church of England learn from the Episcopal Churches of Scotland and Ireland in Ecclesiastical matters? The Bishop of St. Andrews, who read the first paper, referred, it is true, to the Established Church of Scotland (which is Presbyterian); but the only lesson which English Churchmen have to learn from it, he thinks, is "to place themselves in a position as regards the civil power more on a par with that which is enjoyed by the sister establishment;" though how that is to be done he does not tell us. The General Assembly of that Church, consisting of about 360 members, in the proportion of 200 ministers to 160 lay elders, elects its own moderator, has free judicial, executive, and legislative powers, and the

only sign of its connection with the State is the presence in it (ceremonially only) of the Lord High Commissioner as the representative of the Crown. It is in this substantial spiritual independence, and in its popular constitution, that the venerable Bishop thinks it worthy of the attention and the imitation of the English Church. In large towns, too, he thinks that something like the Presbyterian Kirk-Session might be adopted with advantage.

As to the Scotch Episcopal Church, whose members do not exceed three per cent. of the population, but who yet own more than half the landed property of the country, not much, he thinks, can be learned from it. Owing to its anomalous and difficult circumstances, it is "obliged to pursue a temporizing policy," which, however necessary for the present, is neither desirable nor commendable. Dr. Wordsworth is of opinion, however, that English Churchmen may learn something from his little Church in the matter of government, and recommends the formation of "a Synod purely clerical, but with open doors, and what we call a Diocesan Council," in which an equal number of lay delegates meet on a par with the clergy. This is substantially the plan of the Wesleyan Conference, which first holds its pastoral session, consisting of ministers only, and then holds its representative session, in which ministers and laity are combined; thus utilizing the lay element to the utmost degree, while it carefully guards the rights and privileges of the ministry.

The Bishop of Derry then pronounced a most eloquent eulogy on the Irish Episcopal Church, and ended with a humorous but sarcastic fling at some of the younger and wilder spirits among the English Ritualists, who, it appears, are in the habit of spending their holidays in the Emerald Isle, and who indulge in the pastime of coquetting with the Catholics, and disparaging the Irish Church. We quote selections from the passage, partly in illustration of the Bishop's style, and partly to preserve the happy epithets with which it abounds. "Acephalous Catholics" is the best description we have met with of that party in the Establishment whose aim has been and is to Romanize the English Church without acknowledging the headship of the Pope—

"I have ventured to maintain that you have something to learn from us, ecclesiastically and individually: first, ecclesiastically—unity, forgiving love, the courage which misfortune cannot quell; secondly, individually—purity, loyalty, steadfastness. Do not believe everything you hear against us from every ecclesiastical Herodotus who takes a return ticket from Euston to Killarney. . . . These gentlemen possess apparently an intermittent, terminable, geographical churchmanship, which they have disgorged in the Channel on their way to Dublin. Some air their oratory at Land League meetings, or consort with ecclesiastical agitators who are under the condemnation of the Pope. . . . These people, who desire to be acephalous Catholics, and to start churches in Dublin under no bishop, are not witnesses who should tell greatly against us."

If this address, in parts, was not very dignified, that which followed was both dignified and dull throughout. Discursive in method, and for the most part irrelevant in matter, Dean Howson's prelection fell very flat after the Irish Bishop's picturesque and ardent oratory.

Following it, however, came a dissertation that rewards our study, from the pen of Canon Jellett, of Dublin, Secretary of the Irish Church Synod. The results of disestablishment are very fairly summed up in it from an average Irish Churchman's point of view. Amongst the losses in the process he enumerates:—(1) Loss of property. This, says he, affects the income, the independence, and the status of the clergy. 2. The system of nomination to benefices by the parish, instead of by the diocese as formerly. 3. The lack of special places for a learned clergy, and the consequent decrease of men of culture in the ministry. On the other hand, the gains have been great in many ways:—(1.) Freedom for the Church to manage her own affairs; (2) a more cordial co-operation of clergy and laity; (3) an increased consciousness on the part of the laity that the Church rests on Divine and not on political sanctions; (4) the removal of annoyance arising from disputes about tithes and rents and simoniacal transactions; (5) the interest taken by all classes in the manifold work of the Church. Including £46,250 received from England for poor parishes, the Irish Church, he said, has raised for Church sustentation, since 1870, no less a sum than £2,782,371, in addition to the amount needed for the maintenance of Church

fabrics and all other parochial charges, and over £188,000 contributed to Foreign Missions.* On the whole, Canon Jellett is evidently of opinion that his Church has reaped a clear and substantial gain by its separation from the State; and the judgment of so weighty an authority will no doubt have considerable influence in this country.

Next day the Congress considered "The Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, with special reference to Legislation."

The recommendations of the Commissioners with respect to cases of doctrine and ritual are that there shall be three Courts—a Diocesan Court, a Provincial Court, and a Court of Final Appeal. The proposed Diocesan Court is to consist of the Bishop and two assessors whom he shall choose—the one legal and the other theological. Any one is to be at liberty to prosecute; but, as at present, the Bishop is to have the power to stop the suit at the outset, on the sole condition of recording his reasons. Should he allow the case to go to trial in this Court, and should the verdict pronounced by the Bishop be unsatisfactory to either party, an appeal is to lie from the Diocesan to the Provincial Court, which is to be composed of the Archbishop and the Official Principal, who is to sit with him as assessor. If, instead of hearing the case himself, the Archbishop prefers to let his colleague hear it, the former is to be empowered to appoint any number of theological assessors, not exceeding five, who shall be either Bishops within the Province or Professors, past or present, of one of the English universities. From the Provincial Court, an appeal is to lie to the Crown, which is to exercise its prerogative through an entirely new Court consisting of a permanent body of lay judges, not less than five of whom are to be summoned by the Lord Chancellor, in rotation. Whenever this Final Court varies the sentence of the Court below, it must remit the cause to that Court for execution of judgment.

From this brief summary it will be seen that the Report of the Commissioners opens a wide field of debate; and it is not

* For fuller particulars see an article in this REVIEW for April, 1879, on "The Effects of Disestablishment in Ireland."

surprising that their recommendations, based as they are on a compromise between the two extreme parties in the Church, please neither party. It was well known that the Evangelicals object chiefly to the Bishop's veto, and that the Ritualists are strongly opposed to the composition of the Final Court of Appeal; and it was expected that the papers read would give rise to a scene of excitement similar to that in the Congress of the previous year. The debate, however, was a remarkably calm and temperate one.

The first paper was by Sir R. A. Cross, M.P., who, whilst deprecating litigation, expounded the Report, and defended it against the criticisms of extreme high churchmen. Archdeacon Norris (of Bristol) followed on the same side, laying stress on the fact that the alternative to the acceptance of the Report was the continuance of the *status quo* with all its evils and annoyances. If the clergy once clearly understood its provisions with respect to the Final Court, he thought that they would be unanimous in adopting the lay tribunal as the one most likely to do justice to all parties; and, as to the Bishop's veto, at any rate it might be tried for a time, and if it was abused, the Act could be amended.

Then came Dr. Hatch, of Purleigh, whose Bampton lectures have produced so powerful an impression, with a learned paper in which he blamed the Commissioners for adopting the mediæval procedure as the basis of their Report, instead of going back to primitive times. Amid great amusement, he performed the delicate and difficult task of "taking a bishop to pieces" and showing how he was constituted. In particular he showed how little necessary connection there is between the ministerial and judicial functions of these dignitaries, and traced the latter largely to a feudal origin. "The powers of a bishop in respect of jurisdiction are partly the powers of a feudal lord, partly the powers of the president of a council, and partly the powers of a voluntary arbitrator, which the force of historical circumstances, and not inherent right, has gradually transformed into the powers of a statutory judge."

The theory on which the report proceeds in this matter he maintained to be untenable, and believed that the future would require the substitution for the Bishops' Courts of a "single

court with a simple procedure, with definite principles of law, and with a bench of trained judges."

Prebendary Ainslie urged that there should be legislation without delay on the lines of the report.

Canon Hoare in opening the discussion announced himself as one of a large body who now deeply regretted having signed the Dean of Canterbury's Memorial in favour of a general acceptance of the recommendations of the Commissioners, and ended by expressing a fear that if those recommendations became law, instead of removing the existing anarchy, the result would be "a distrusted clergy, a dissatisfied laity, and a disintegrated Church."

By putting a clear issue before the meeting the President adroitly interpreted the outburst of applause as a confirmation of his own opinion that the great majority were in favour of legislation on the proposed lines, and concluded by offering two counsels: first to be unanimous, "for it is only by unanimity amongst ourselves that we can possibly get legislation in these days" (a remark confirmed by Sir Richard Cross, to whom he appealed), and secondly, "however beautiful and perfect and tempting these new courts may be, let us keep out of them."

"The Results of Recent Historical and Topographical Research upon the Old and New Testament Scriptures" drew together a large and deeply interested audience, the chief attractions being papers by the Bishop of Durham and Professor Hull. Captain Conder and Canon Tristram also contributed papers.

Confining himself to that department of Biblical criticism in which he has won so many honours, Dr. Lightfoot dwelt first upon the discovery made by Mr. Ramsay in Phrygia, in 1883, of an epitaph written for his own tomb by Abercius, Bishop of Hieropolis. The writer was in his 72nd year when he composed this epitaph and must have been born not later than 120 A.D., some 20 years after the death of St. John, who passed the last decades of his life in Ephesus, the capital of Phrygia. The bishop therefore would be reared amid the still fresh traditions of the last surviving apostle. Moreover, he had visited the far West, he tells us, and the far East, and everywhere he had found the same sacraments and substantially the same theology.

"The miraculous incarnation, and the omniscient, omnipresent energy of Christ, the Scripture writings, the two sacraments, the extension and catholicity of the Church—all these stand out upon it in definite outline and vivid colours." Let us hope that these researches in Asia Minor will be multiplied. That region must be teeming with records of priceless value in this age of sceptical criticism. This monument, as Dr. Lightfoot says, is another stubborn protest against certain modern theories: "Each fresh discovery is a fresh nail driven into the coffin of Tübingen speculation."

The second part of the Bishop's paper was devoted to the famous Greek MS. called "The Doctrine of the Apostles," discovered at Constantinople in 1875 by Bryennios, then Bishop of Serræ, and published towards the end of 1883. This work is dated by Dr. Lightfoot, chiefly from internal evidence, somewhere between A.D. 80—110; and this date is the one assigned to it by most English and some German critics. Its critical and theological value, therefore, is considerable. Among other things, it throws light upon the long-disputed question as to the distinction between bishops and presbyters. With commendable candour Dr. Lightfoot says, "When our author wrote, 'bishop' still remained a synonym for 'presbyter,' and the episcopal order did not exist in the district where he lived."

But perhaps the chief value of the document is in the evidence it furnishes of the existence and diffusion at that early date of large portions of the New Testament. "The writer quotes large portions of St. Matthew, sometimes echoes the characteristic language of St. Luke, has slight coincidences with St. John and 1 Peter, and shows an acquaintance with the Epistles to the Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, and 2 Thessalonians." Its evidence also has a negative value. It contains none of the merely traditional sayings of our Lord. "All the Evangelical matter, so far as we can trace it, is found within the four corners of our Canonical Gospels."

The Old Testament department of the subject was treated in most interesting and valuable papers by Capt. Conder, Canon Tristram, and Profesor Hull; but we must reluctantly pass over the first, who dealt with the Siloam inscription mentioned in our article last year, and the great dolman groups beyond

Jordan. Nor can we pause at Canon Tristram's inviting table longer than to extract for our readers a dainty description of a scene he witnessed while exploring the newly discovered land of the Hittites at Carchemish—the very spot, probably, where Abraham, and afterwards Jacob, crossed the Euphrates on their journey to the Promised Land:—

“Probably the friendship of Abraham with the sons of Heth had even an earlier origin than the time of his sojourn at Mamre. Standing not very long ago on the top of the vast mound of Carchemish, overhanging a bend of the Euphrates, I could detect on the south-eastern horizon the outline of the vast and rich plains of Harran, and while there I saw a party of Bedouins cross the river. . . . The Arabs crossed from the other side in a primitive style. Their goats, asses, and cows were tied together in single file. The leader mounted an inflated hide, on which he paddled himself, with the line of animals attached, down stream, till, taking advantage of the bend, he landed his convoy about a mile down the river on my side. Other files followed, with women sitting astride behind them, and children bound round their shoulders. I went to meet them; and inquiring whence they came, was told that they had come across from Harran in quest of fresh pasturage. So crossed Abraham from Harran; so crossed Jacob with wives, wealth, and cattle, doubtless at this very spot. But no one could have made the passage, unless on friendly terms with the holders of the great Hittite city, then the eastern key of Syria.”

We should very much like to summarize the rest of this valuable paper, in which the veteran traveller shows how untenable, in the light of topographical research, are the theories of the destructive critics as to the late origin of the Pentateuch, and how everywhere the very stones cry out against the theory that resolves the men and the events of sacred primitive history into myths and legends. But a little space must be reserved for Professor Hull, of the Palestine Exploration Society, who read a still fresher paper on “Scripture Localities Visited by the Society in 1883-4,” and set himself to illustrate the accuracy of the Bible narrative in respect to (1) The Passage of the Red Sea; (2) The giving of the Law from Mount Sinai; (3) Kadesh Barnea and Mount Hor; (4) The site of Calvary.

Here we must be content, however, with a few isolated jottings. It is now pretty certain that the first encampment of Israel, as they went out of Egypt, was very near the battlefield of Tel-el-Kebir; also that the place where they crossed the

Red Sea was in the neighbourhood of the present town of Suez, which is proved to have been formerly submerged. Jebel Musa, or Moses' Mount, has now been finally fixed upon as the mount from which the Law was given. Special stress is laid upon the position and character of one of its cliffs at its southern end, which reaches an elevation of 6,937 feet, with a front of 2,000 feet rising directly from the plain. This cliff is called Ras Sufsapeh, and nothing could be more graphic than the description of this noble precipitous mass of granite as the mountain which "might be touched." The plain at its foot contains 400 acres of convenient standing ground, and opens out into the wide valley of El Sheikl, which would easily afford camping ground for the people, with their flocks and herds. The theory of the late eminent Astronomer Royal, that the thunderings and lightnings of Sinai were outbursts of volcanic fires, is now exploded: all the mountains of the Sinaitic group consist of granitic and metamorphic rocks of immense geological antiquity, and there are no traces of recent volcanic products. Near Jebel Musa are several perennial springs, and six streams of cool delicious water: one of these streams was probably that into which Moses cast the dust of the golden calf. Passing by the discoveries in the wilderness of the wanderings, we will close our notice of this fascinating portion of the Congress Report by quoting the conclusion of Professor Hull's account of the remarkable discovery of the true site of Calvary:—

"On passing through the Damascus Gate, which leads out from the north side of the city, we turn to the right by the road which follows the course of Agrippa's Wall; and at a distance of about one-fourth of an English mile we find ourselves in front of a platform of limestone, breaking off with a slight scarp in the direction of the City Wall. The face of the scarp is perforated by a cave, known as 'Jeremiah's Grotto,' and seen in a certain direction this prominent knoll has an appearance not unlike that of a skull—hence possibly the name 'Golgotha.' More probably, however, the locality was a place of interment; for it is known that the great cemetery of Jewish times lay to the north side of the city, and therefore in the neighbourhood of the Grotto of Jeremiah. Here, undesecrated by any building, sacred or profane, stands in its native simplicity the natural platform on which was erected the cross of the Saviour. From this position, with outstretched arms, He embraced the city over which

He had wept when first He had visited it from the Mount of Olives. The position of the first and last view are almost exactly opposite each other. As if to place the identification of the spot beyond controversy, an ancient Roman causeway has been discovered stretching in the direction of Herod's Gate, which, passing through Agrippa's Wall, opens out almost in front of the platform, and we can scarcely doubt was that along which the procession moved after leaving the Prætorium towards the place of crucifixion."

The development of the system of Elementary Education in this country (as indeed in all civilized countries) is watched with surpassing interest by all who understand where the roots of power lie; and the phase of the question brought before the Congress this year will be considered by many as the most important of all. Not much that was new was said, but a discussion in such an assembly on "The Religious Side of Elementary Education:—(1) Church Schools; (2) Board Schools," cannot but be of value, if only as showing what are the opinions and wishes and determinations of Churchmen on one of the most pressing questions of the day.

The Rev. J. Nunn, a member of the Manchester School Board, plunged at once *in medias res* by declaring that the Education Act of 1870 had disestablished religion in the elementary education of the country: but, soon pulling up, he made the milder and truer remark that "in the struggle for the means of secular existence, to be won only by secular proficiency, religion was in danger of being thrust aside. This danger was common to both Church Schools and Board Schools; but in matters of religion, the latter were under a special disadvantage. In the School Board system there were *inherent* weaknesses: (1) there was no individual responsibility in them for religious education; (2) the nature and amount of that instruction were open to debate; (3) it was difficult to get religion into such schools at all; (4) religious teaching could only be given by religious men, and the choice of such men could not be assured in Board Schools."

After a paper by Lord Norton had been read by the Secretary, Mr. Herbert Birley (Chairman of the Manchester and Salford Board Schools) commented upon the marked improvement in the religious instruction and the religious tone in Church Schools, as shown by the reports of the Diocesan

Inspectors—an improvement largely due to a more systematic course of lessons and to a less ambitious syllabus. Board Schools, he said, under very unfavourable conditions had done much, and might do more, to impart to the children the principles of the Christian religion. He urged Churchmen to obtain a full representation on School Boards.

In the discussion which followed, the Rev. H. Rowe (Diocesan Inspector for West Somerset) attacked those teachers who, in order to gain the Government grant, took up the time that ought to be devoted to Church teaching.

The Rev. Reginald Heber Starr, from Canada, said that, in his country, there was a marked revulsion of feeling in favour of distinctively religious education. The various religious bodies had conjointly placed their views before the Government, which had promised legislative action.

The only other speech of note was the one by Mr. J. G. Talbot, M.P. The battle of religion, the battle of Christianity, in Europe, he said, was being fought, and would be more and more, on the ground of Elementary Education. If religious education was neglected now, it would be more neglected hereafter, when the working classes, into whose hands political power was passing, became electors. If the laity wished to preserve the religious character of education they must "put their hands into their pockets and their shoulder to the wheel."

In summing up the debate, the President declared his belief that the heart of England was sound on the subject of religious teaching.

Among the comparative failures of the Congress was the session devoted to "England's Religious Duties towards Egypt." Those who took part in the debate evidently felt that it was hardly ripe for discussion. The suggestions made were either very vague or were impracticable. As a sort of compensation for this comparative failure, however, the high expectations that had been formed with respect to the most popular, but at the same time the most perilous, topic of the week were more than realized. At least two papers of the very highest value were read on "The Influence of the Reformation upon England, with special reference to

the Work and Writings of John Wicklif," the first being by Dr. Burrows, Chichele Professor of Modern History at Oxford, and the second by Dr. Mandell Creighton, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge, and author of a *History of the Papacy during the period of the Reformation*.

The Oxford Professor regarded the Reformation as "the culmination of the great anti-Papal struggle going on throughout English history." Its influence on England, he said, could not possibly have been what it had been had it merely sprung from the Tudor brain, and Wicklif's work could never have borne such fruit had he done less than appeal to principles which are common to Christianity, and which, in far earlier times, had already penetrated to the very core of the national life. The Rector of Lutterworth, of whom he spoke as "the representative man of the English ecclesiastical polity," and whom he likened to a prophet of Israel after the separation of the ten tribes, had, he said, called men back to something which had previously been recognized as the law. Implicitly, he represented the earlier period of English life, and explicitly he took up the three cardinal positions which characterized that life—national independence of Rome, freedom from the mediæval corruptions of Rome, and the joint responsibility of clergy and laity in the conservation of the faith. These, said he, are the chief principles of the Reformation. Proceeding to trace the influence of Wicklif before and during the Reformation, Dr. Burrows said :—

"That reactionary age" (the century and a half between Wicklif and the Reformation)—"the period of the ferocious Inquisition, worked through the ecclesiastical courts, of an intolerant priesthood holding the balance between York and Lancaster, and inventing legend upon legend, spectacle upon spectacle, miracle upon miracle, in order to win back the vulgar mind—was also the time when the seed sown by Wicklif was taking sure root and spreading over the land—not without its destined accompaniment of tares devil-sown. . . . The actual Reformation was to wait for the invention of printing, for the ideas of the Renaissance, for the formation and balance of the sovereign States of Europe. It was to be gradual: first a Humanist movement, and a new translation of the Bible from the original; then the gradual enlightenment as to monastic institutions; then the action and reaction produced by the waves of Continental

reform—the fringes of the curling surf which broke upon our island shores. Running along with these went the personal character and acts of Henry VIII. and the grand scheme of Wolsey.”

The Reformation of which Henry laid the deep foundations may, Professor Burrows thinks, be styled the Wicklifian Reformation on three grounds. 1. It was the same reassertion of the rights of the laity which Wicklif had claimed when he appealed to King and Parliament on the question of transubstantiation against the ecclesiastical courts and synods of the day. 2. It was the same reassertion of the national independence of Rome, which could only be secured and made permanent by the suppression of those monastic institutions which were dependent upon Rome, and which Wicklif had led the way in attacking. 3. It was a Reformation in which the Bible was once more the main agent. After tracing the influence of Wicklif on the liturgical reforms of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, the Professor summed up the general influence of the Reformation upon England as having stamped the character of its people with moderation, and of its institutions with permanence, and thus given to a race whose courage is innate its place among the nations, and concluded by saying—

“Just so long as the principles of the Reformation are rigorously conserved, so long will the permanence of the Established Church and, we may add, of our political institutions, be also conserved, and no longer. What has been an essential part of the whole history of England will, when sapped, evacuated, and overthrown, carry away with it many other things. *Absit omen!*”

We much regret that the limits of our space compel us to cancel the outline we had prepared of Professor Crichton’s thoughtful and able paper on the influence of the Reformation on England.

After these two academical essays came a thoroughly Protestant and Evangelical oration by Canon Hoare, on which we must not dwell. Nor can we follow Canon Dixon in his painful attempt to disparage the general work of Wicklif, and to depreciate the influence of the Reformation. We prefer rather to mark the altered temper in which the whole subject was discussed. Not many years ago the bare mention of the Reformation in a mixed meeting of Churchmen would have been the signal for a *mêlée*. This year the question

which contains the very kernel of the differences between the Anglicans and the Evangelicals was discussed in an immense assembly with perfect calmness and serenity. Many of the most advanced Ritualists were conspicuous by their absence, it is true; but this is not sufficient to account for the fact that, when the meeting was thrown open, not one solitary Anglo-Catholic came forward to denounce the English Reformation and its pioneer. Is this another of the numerous signs that the Oxford movement has spent much of its force? *

One of the signs of the times is that this Congress should be asked to consider "The Advantages of an Established Church." The principal readers were the Earl of Carnarvon, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Rev. T. Moore, author of the *Englishman's Brief*; and the most remarkable speaker was Mr. George Harwood, of Bolton, author of *The Coming Democracy*, and once, we believe, a prominent Lancashire Independent, who frankly told the Congress some plain truths about the conduct of the Church towards popular movements in the past, and pointed out the only way in which she could maintain her present position. "The clergy," he said, "talked too much to the people and acted too little with them. They should socially be the leaders of every movement calculated to make the lives of the poor more civilized and joyous, and they should politically always sympathize with the aspirations of the masses after freedom and justice and progress."

The other speeches and papers contained the usual arguments in favour of the Establishment, interspersed with a more than usual number of fallacies, misconceptions, and misstatements. Even the *Guardian*, in a leading article on the subject, after passing in review the principal papers, said: "The discussion has not weakened our conviction that it is not upon such arguments as these that the defence of the Establishment should rest, but upon the thoroughness and energy of the Church's work among the poor, and the impossibility of replacing that when it has been taken away." To which we may add our conviction that if no better arguments

* At a meeting in connection with the Pusey Memorial Fund, held in Carlisle during the Congress, it was announced that only £5,000 had been raised towards the £30,000 required; and after eloquent speeches by the Bishop of Derry and others, the collection only amounted to about £19.

are to be found for an Establishment than such as are based on the assumptions: (1) that the Episcopal Church is only established in the sense that all the other Churches in this country are established, and (2) that when the Church is disendowed there will not be found sufficient wealth and piety and zeal amongst its members to maintain and extend its manifold activities, the Liberation Society will achieve a speedier triumph than many of us think, and than some of us desire.

The one fact which stands out from this Report, not less prominently from those parts of it which we have not, than from those which we have, been able to notice, is that the leaders of the Church of England are setting themselves, intelligently and resolutely, to adapt her constitution and services and operations to the altered conditions and needs of the time. Whether the old skin will be able to bear the strain of the new and swelling life within, remains to be seen. But whether the Church will succeed in winning the vote of the newly enfranchised masses by the concessions she seems preparing to make, and whether she will succeed in moulding those masses to her will so completely as she imagines and desires, or whether she is destined to fail in these great attempts, one thing is clear: the stupendous efforts she is putting forth in all directions can hardly fail to give a healthy stimulus to all the other Churches in all kinds of philanthropic and religious work; and this, we need not say, will be a greater service to those Churches and to the country at large than the repetition of those impossible and undesirable overtures towards organic reunion of which we used to hear so much in meetings of this kind, and which we now so gladly miss. There is ample room, and more than ample work, for all the Churches of the land; and, to use the weighty words of Mr. Curteis in his Bampton lecture—

“That religious communion will, in the long run, most commend itself to Englishmen which displays the greatest efficiency in winning souls to Christ; which proves by a long firm grasp of its spiritual conquests the stability and force of its methods; which makes men ‘men,’ and not merely bigots or spiritual invalids; which shows masterly boldness in grappling with that special characteristic of our time—an ever-widening and ever-deepening knowledge of Nature; and which has vital power and elasticity enough to adapt itself to all sorts and conditions of men, and to the ever-varying necessities of our modern life.”

ART. III.—PRINCE BISMARCK.

1. *Unser Reichskanzler : Studien zu einem Characterbilde.* Von MORITZ BUSCH. Leipzig: F. W. Grunow. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.
2. *Our Chancellor : Sketches for a Historical Picture.* By MORITZ BUSCH. Translated by WILLIAM BEATTY-KINGSTON. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.
3. *Bismarck. Zwölf Jahre deutscher Politik (1871-1883).* Zweite Auflage. Leipzig: Gebhardt & Wilisch. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

THERE is no statesman in Europe to whom our Poet Laureate's words,

"Who seems a promontory of rock,
Tempest-buffeted, citadel-crown'd,"

may be more fittingly applied than to the German Imperial Chancellor. Friends and foes alike acknowledge the force of will and wonder at the success which has marked Prince Bismarck's administration since he was recalled from Paris in 1862 to assist King William in the angry struggle with the Prussian Parliament then raging. The ten years that followed his return to Berlin were full of most critical events; but they closed with the memorable proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles, and Bismarck was everywhere recognized as the statesman whose far-seeing and brilliant diplomacy had at last united the whole of Germany in a compact and powerful empire.

It was a happy inspiration which moved Dr. Busch to play the part of Boswell to the Chancellor, and he has proved himself no unworthy successor of that great biographer. His first book* is full of piquant descriptions of the daily life of Bismarck as he followed the army during that wonderful campaign. We do not hesitate to call it an invaluable book,

* *Bismarck in the Franco-German War.* Macmillan, 1879.

for the life-like pictures which it gives of many aspects of the most fearful military struggle of modern history. About Dr. Busch's new work we cannot speak so favourably. He no longer writes as an eye-witness, but collects his material from speeches and documents. He repeats himself very largely. It seems as though he had exhausted his personal experiences in his former volumes. His most interesting pages were already familiar to readers of the *Franco-German War*, and of that valuable little volume of letters written by Bismarck "to his wife, his sister, and others." * *Our Chancellor* will be most prized by those who wish to study the political career of Prince Bismarck, and to understand the events which led up to the struggles with Austria and France. One chapter, headed "The Chancellor and State Socialism," will commend itself to all who desire to know the relations between the State and working men. Mr. Kington's work is well done, but we scarcely think a translator justified in omitting passages of his author as he has done. To English readers who wish to study the whole subject carefully, such omissions certainly detract from the value of the work.

Twelve Years of German Policy is a heavy book, made up of extracts from newspapers, speeches and official documents ; but its author seems to have had access to some curious private information. He gives an account of a confidential conversation between Prince Bismarck and a distinguished Pole at Varzin. The Chancellor has, however, declared the whole story to be false, and offered 100,000 thalers for the discovery of the writer of this work. The conversation reported turned largely on the relations between Russia and the Poles, and might imply that Bismarck was contemplating the possibility of some action prejudicial to Russia. Hence the Chancellor's resentment.

Otto Edward Leopold von Bismarck was born at Schönhofen on April 8, 1815, a few weeks before the battle of Waterloo. His mother was the daughter of Menken, Frederick William III.'s Cabinet Secretary. She was a woman of great intellect and ambition, who set her heart on seeing

* *Prince Bismarck's Letters*. Translated by F. Maxse. London: Chapman & Hall.

her younger son a diplomatist. Schönhausen, the birthplace of the future Chancellor, is a plain, four-square, massive-looking house, overshadowed by lime-trees and chest-nuts, unpretending both inside and out. Here Bismarck's family had lived for about 300 years. When six years old he was sent to Plahmann's Institute, at Berlin, where his brother Bernhard, five years his senior, was already a pupil. The little country-boy did not take kindly to school life. He pined for home, and could scarcely see a ploughman busy in the fields round the city without tears. Of these years he had nothing but unpleasant recollections. He never got enough to eat, except when he was invited to visit friends, and the food was badly cooked as well as meagre. After the boarding-school he was sent to the Frederick William Gymnasium; then, for a time, he and his brother studied at home under the care of tutors. Languages and history were the boy's favourite studies, but neither in Berlin nor at the University of Göttingen, to which he went in 1832, did he make much progress in learning. At Göttingen, freed from parental control, his overflowing spirits led him into constant mischief. He was seldom seen at lectures, and in the first three terms of residence he had fought more than twenty duels. It is by his duels, in fact, that the German Chancellor was best known in these University days. He was indeed a man of war from his youth. He fought his first duel in Berlin with a young Jew called Wolf, cutting off his adversary's spectacles and himself receiving a wound in the leg. At Göttingen, though he fought twenty-eight duels, he received no wound, except once when his opponent's sword broke and left a scar on Bismarck's cheek which remains to this day. In dwelling on this wild University life, it must be remembered, however, that he was only seventeen years old when he went to Göttingen and that he left it when he was twenty. Prince Bismarck has himself told a story of his early days at Berlin which is too characteristic to be omitted. He and some of his young friends often went to balls given by one of the ambassadors, where they danced till three o'clock, but had nothing to eat. At last the young dancers rebelled. One night when it was getting late they took some bread-and-butter

from their pockets and began to eat it. The result was all that could be desired save in one material point. Refreshments were served at the next ball, but the young people who had brought about the much-needed reform were never invited again.

After his University course Bismarck returned to Berlin, and lived with his brother in chambers, while he prepared for the civil service examination. In 1835, he was appointed Auscultator, or Referendary, to one of the minor Berlin Courts, and afterwards served in the same capacity at Aix-la-Chapelle and at Potsdam. As yet he gave no promise of his future eminence. All that we can say about these years is, that the daring spirit which marks them afterwards won for Bismarck his greatest political results. The young civil servant was called from his public duty in 1836, to assist in the management of the family estates. By the death of a cousin in the year after Bismarck's birth his father succeeded to the estates of Kniephof, Jarchlin and Kurz. Serious embarrassments had now arisen, from the father's inability to manage four estates. Bismarck threw himself into his task with his accustomed energy, and under this vigorous *régime* prosperity soon returned. As his burden lightened his eccentricities increased. His overflowing spirits led him to indulge in all kinds of practical jokes, which terrified his neighbours, and gained him the name of "mad Bismarck," among the country families round Kniephof. But amid all the orgies of this wild time, the "Sturm und Drang" period of his life, Bismarck was also swayed by far different impulses. He seems, indeed, to have lived two lives. He was not entirely given up to revelry. He spent many nights in study, mastered Spinoza, visited France and England, where he improved his knowledge of the languages, and as soon as family affairs would allow he secured his reappointment to Potsdam. He did not continue long in office. Disgusted with his chief's conduct in keeping him waiting an hour for an audience, he resigned his post and returned to the country.

In 1851, when he could calmly review these boisterous years, Bismarck wrote to his wife :—"The day before yesterday I was at Wiesbaden and contemplated the scene of former

follies with mingled melancholy and precocious wisdom. May it now please God to fill this vessel—where the champagne at twenty-one uselessly frothed, leaving only empty dregs—with His own clear and strengthening wine."

His happy marriage, in 1847, with Johanna von Puttkamer, was the beginning of a more worthy and more happy life. This young lady was the only daughter of a pious family, associated with the Moravians, and when she confessed her attachment to Bismarck, her father said, "It seemed as if I had been felled with an axe." The engagement was permitted, however, and Bismarck's marriage has had no cloud. It has brought lasting happiness to all parties. Any one who reads Bismarck's letters to his only sister Malvine, twelve years younger than himself, will see that he had a loving and generous nature, which just needed some firm mooring to make its influence felt on his whole life.

In the year of his marriage Bismarck was chosen a member of the Saxon or Provincial Diet, and next year entered the General Diet. This was the first important step in Bismarck's career. His brother had told him, in 1846, that his bent and capabilities pointed to State service, and that sooner or later he would find there his true sphere. That forecast Bismarck himself scarcely understood, for in quoting it he says: "I should like to know what he is aiming at." It was soon, however, to be abundantly confirmed. "Nobody," he once said, "would ever have heard anything of me, living as I did in rural retirement, if I had not by chance become a member of the United Diet in 1847." Bismarck entered the Diet with all the prejudices of an old High Tory family. He believed in the divine right of kings, in the sacredness of hereditary privileges, and in the claims of the aristocracy to guide the common people. He was also ardently devoted to the reigning dynasty.

The future founder of the German Empire made his *début* in the Provincial Diet by a speech on the excessive consumption of tallow in the poor-house. It was no wonder that he found the sittings frightfully tedious. The General Diet gave him greater scope. He was appointed to it in the following year, as a delegate from the Provincial Diet, and signaled

himself by his stout opposition to the extreme views of the democratic party, who claimed a more liberal constitution. Bismarck did not take high rank as an orator. He already felt that contempt for fine speaking which he has so forcibly expressed in later years. His vehement outspoken convictions, however, attracted considerable attention. He soon became the leading spirit of the Conservative party, and was one of the most trusted advisers of Frederic William IV., the reigning monarch, to whom he had been introduced at Venice, on his wedding tour. He maintained in two speeches, now historic, that the Prussian kings held their throne by Divine right, not by the will of the people, and that all concessions they made were a free gift. In opposing the Bill for the removal of the civil disabilities of the Jews, he upheld the religious foundation of the State, saying: "If I should see a Jew a representative of the King's sacred Majesty, I should feel deeply humiliated."

But the speech which made Bismarck's fortune was connected with one of the bitterest humiliations of Prussian statesmanship. Radowitz felt that the rivalry between Austria and Prussia, the two great German powers, must be fought out sooner or later, and was anxious to bring the struggle to a crisis. Lord Palmerston's moral support was alone wanting to secure the success of this war policy. This, however, he refused to give, and the policy was overruled. Manteuffel, the President of the Prussian Council, then proposed a friendly conference with Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Minister, and at Olmütz, on November 29, 1850, he concluded a treaty, the terms of which were so mortifying to Prussia that they raised a storm of indignation before which Manteuffel quailed. The Chamber cheered vociferously when one of its leading members concluded a violent philippic with the words, "Down with the Minister!" Only one voice was raised in defence of the treaty, and, such is the irony of fate, that voice was Bismarck's. Some words of his show, however, that he supported the Government at this time from patriotic motives, though he felt the humiliation as keenly as any one. "A true patriot will least desert his king when he suffers humiliation." He boldly maintained that, having got into

the wrong groove, the Minister had acted rightly in getting out of it in the only possible way, and that no German federation was possible without Austria. It is a curious fact that the statesman who afterwards humbled Austria so deeply thus stood alone in defence of the treaty of Olmütz.

It was natural that the man who had so practically commended himself to Austria should be appointed Prussian representative in the Bund at Frankfort. In the interview which Bismarck had with the king about his new duties, the monarch reminded him of the great importance of the post. Bismarck felt confident that he only needed a fair field, and answered: "Your Majesty can surely try me; if I prove a failure, I can be recalled in six months, or even sooner."

The new diplomatist was well received at Frankfort. His fine house and profuse hospitality, shown not merely to the nobility, but to artists, musicians, and men of letters, who were not generally recognized in such circles at that time, won him wide influence. As years passed on he was summoned more frequently to attend the Court and the Cabinet in Berlin, and one year made fifteen journeys, by special command, between Frankfort and Berlin.

The eight years Bismarck spent in Frankfort convinced him that it was impossible to maintain friendly relations with Vienna. Metternich's conciliatory policy, which had drawn the two great German powers together, leaving Prussia a large share in home administration while Austria guided the foreign policy of the Bund, was followed by the irritating policy of Schwarzenberg, who used the numerical strength of the smaller States to outvote Prussia, and tried by every means to weaken her influence in the Bund. His declared purpose was to humble Prussia and then to overthrow her.

Bismarck found himself in an atmosphere of "mutual mistrust and espionage." He had to remind his wife that her letters to him were read by all sorts of post-spies, and that when she railed against any one it was repeated to that person and set down to his account. "No one," he says in another letter, "not even the most malicious democrat, can form a conception of the charlatanism and self-importance of our

assembled diplomacy." He got on comfortably with Thun, the first Austrian envoy at Frankfort, and with his successor, Rechberg, who, though violent, was honourable ; but Prokesch, who followed them, had brought from the East a spirit of intrigue which made it quite impossible to act with him. Truth was a matter of absolute indifference to Prokesch. Once, in a large company, reference was made to some Austrian statement which did not square with the facts. Prokesch raised his voice, looked Bismarck full in the face, and said, "If that were not true I should have been *lying* in the name of the Imperial-Royal Government." Bismarck returned his gaze, and said quietly, "Quite so, your Excellency." Prokesch was evidently shocked by this straightforward reply, but when he looked round on the company and perceived that the eyes of all were turned down amid general silence, which meant that the Prussian envoy was in the right, he turned on his heel and went into the dining-room, where covers were laid. After dinner he walked over to Bismarck with a full glass, saying, "Come, now, let us be friends." "Why not?" said Bismarck ; "but the protocol must of *course* be altered." "You are incorrigible," he replied, with a smile ; but the protocol was altered.

The famous cigar-story is an amusing illustration of Bismarck's off-hand treatment of old customs. At the sittings of the military commission in Frankfort only the Austrian representative smoked. When Bismarck succeeded Rochow he wanted a cigar. "I asked," he says, "the Power in the President's chair to give me a light, which seemed to give him and the other gentlemen both astonishment and displeasure. It was evidently an event for them. That time only Austria and Prussia smoked. But the other gentlemen obviously thought the matter so serious that they reported it to their respective Courts. The question required mature deliberation, and for half a year only the two Great Powers smoked. Then Schrenkh, the Bavarian envoy, asserted the dignity of his position by smoking. Nostitz, the Saxon, had certainly also a great wish to do so, but had not received authority from his master. When, however, he saw Bothner, the Hanoverian, indulging himself, at the next sitting, he must—for he was

intensely Austrian, having sons in the army—have come to some understanding with Rechberg; for he also took out a cigar from his case and puffed away. Only Würtemberg and Darmstadt were left, and they did not smoke themselves. But the honour and dignity of their States imperatively required it, so that next time we met Würtemberg produced a cigar—I see it now; it was a long, thin, light, yellow thing—and smoked at least half of it, as a burnt-offering for the Fatherland.”

Bismarck left Frankfort in 1859, on his appointment as Prussian ambassador at St. Petersburg. His eyes were now fully opened to Austria's schemes. He had learned by many painful experiences during those eight years that the arrangements of the Bund formed “an oppressive, and, in critical times, a perilous tie,” for Prussia, without affording her the advantages which Austria enjoyed, and without allowing Prussia anything like the freedom of separate action that her rival had. In all great questions, such as the reorganization of the Diet, the control of the German navy, legislation respecting trade, the press, the constitution, and the fortresses of the Bund, Bismarck says, “Invariably we found ourselves confronted by the same compact majority, the same demand on Prussia's compliance.” Prussia was, in fact, deprived of her legitimate influence, and kept as far as possible “in a state of tutelage.” The pressure of the situation was already so serious that Bismarck was compelled to say, “I see in our relation with the Bund an error of Prussia's, which, sooner or later, we shall have to repair *ferro et igni*, unless we take advantage betimes of a favourable season to employ a healing remedy against it.”

He greatly desired to remain at Frankfort, until the way opened for his entering the Ministry at Berlin. That goal was already in sight. His repeated journeys to the capital, his growing favour with the Prince Regent, now the German Emperor, and his firm determination to uphold the just claims of Prussia against Austrian aggression, already marked him out for a high place in the Ministry. But Prussia was not yet prepared to break with her rival, and Bismarck's opposition to the current of Austrian policy was so marked, that it

was felt desirable for him to leave Frankfort for St. Petersburg. The opportunity he thus gained of familiarizing himself with the Russian Court and people, proved of great value to him in the work of the next few years.

In St. Petersburg Bismarck was received with special honour by Court and people. He always sought as a diplomatist to gain the goodwill of the Court to which he was accredited, and the relationship between the royal family of Berlin and St. Petersburg, secured him a most favourable reception. His life in the Russian capital was a great contrast to that at Frankfort. He was removed from the strife of German politics, but followed keenly all the turnings of the situation, glad to receive any news of the doings at Frankfort, and feeling, as he read the papers, eager to join in the fray again. He cultivated friendly relations with the imperial house, and busied himself with the quieter duties of the embassy. He writes : " The protection of 200,000 vagabondizing Prussians, one-third of whom live in Russia, and the other two-thirds visit it every year, affords me enough to do not to feel bored." One curious case was that of a Jew with ragged clothes and worn-out boots, who wished to be conveyed to Prussia. When told that he should be taken back, he put in a claim for a pair of new boots, shrieking and using such violent language, that none of the people of the embassy felt safe with the raving fellow. Bismarck himself was called and gave the Jew into the charge of a Russian policeman. He was lodged in prison, and came back next morning a sadder and a wiser man—ready to start at once without the new boots, which he had claimed so stoutly.

Several severe attacks of illness prostrated Bismarck during his residence at St. Petersburg. They were due largely to the unceasing worry and excitement of the eight years at Frankfort. He has never entirely recovered from the strain of that time and suffers frequently from neuralgia and erysipelas. As he himself says, he has lived fast, always doing with his whole heart whatever he had to do, and has paid with health and strength for what he has accomplished.

In the beginning of 1862, Bismarck was appointed ambassador at Paris. He had been uncertain for some time as to

his next post. London was mentioned, and the quiet which it promised was very tempting, as he did not feel equal to much excitement and hard work. There was another alternative. It seemed likely that he would be called to enter the Ministry at Berlin, and engage in the angry parliamentary struggle then raging. At last however, in May, he was ordered to Paris. He presented his credentials to the Emperor on the 1st of June, and passed a few lonely weeks in the French capital, expecting almost every day to be recalled to Berlin. It was anything but a tempting prospect in view of the situation of home affairs. He wrote to his wife:—

“If my opponents only knew what a boon they would confer on me personally by their victory, and how sincerely I wish them it—would then do his best out of malice to get me to Berlin. You cannot have a greater disinclination to the Wilhelmstrasse than myself, and if I am not convinced that it *must be*, I don’t go. To leave the king in the lurch under pretext of illness, I hold to be cowardice and disloyalty. If it is not to be, God will permit the seekers to hunt out another—who will consent to act as a lid to the saucepan; if it is to be, then, ‘*ahead*,’ as our coachmen used to say when they took the reins.”

After he had presented his credentials, Bismarck paid a short visit to London to see the Exhibition; then in the middle of July he set out for Biarritz, where he met the Emperor Napoleon, and in quiet walks with him on the sea-shore laid the foundation of that intercourse which served him so well in the struggle with Austria. Refreshed by his pleasant tour in France, Bismarck was better prepared for the news which now reached him.

As he was returning to Paris he received a telegram at Avignon, summoning him with all speed to Berlin. The long expected crisis had come. The House of Deputies had refused to vote the increased military budget, which the king felt to be essential for the future of Prussia. Frederic the Great used to say that the sky did not rest more firmly on the shoulders of Atlas than the Prussian State on the Prussian army. King William fully endorsed this maxim, and was determined to carry on the work without the consent of Parliament, if they still refused to yield. The Premier declined to spend the money in the teeth of this vote, and

resigned. The king now looked around for a strong man whom he could trust in this grave crisis. He must be thoroughly devoted to the Crown, and able also to inspire respect and carry out his plans, in the face of the strong opposition they would meet. Bismarck was the man to whom he turned in this emergency. He was recalled to Berlin, appointed Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and was soon launched on the angry sea of Prussian politics.

The struggle on which he now entered only ended with Sadowa. The victory won in that wrestle with Austria alone silenced opposition at Berlin. For four years his conflict with the Parliament taxed all Bismarck's powers. He attempted to conciliate the Opposition, and hinted to them that the Government had a grand foreign policy in view in the future. The Liberals, however, would not yield. They wished for a shorter term of military service, and this it was of course impossible to concede under present circumstances. When at last the Lower House voted a reduced budget, Bismarck got the Upper House to reject it, and governed with the budget then in operation, thus acting upon an ingenious theory he had maintained ten years before, that when the Government and the Legislature could not agree on the budget, the last budget would remain in force till an arrangement was concluded.

Conciliation having failed, Bismarck assumed a bold front. It was, in fact, impossible to yield. The king was determined to carry out his plans for the perfect organization of the army, and Bismarck could not desert him. The conflict became more bitter from session to session. Bismarck treated the deputies in a high-handed fashion, which provoked his opponents to firmer resistance. He issued an ordinance for suppressing the liberty of the press, which awoke a general chorus of opposition in the Universities and great cities; he forbade the discussion of political matters by town councils, and instructed the civil authorities to see that no Government official took part in the Liberal opposition. A temperate writer says of these measures employed by the Prussian Minister that, "one such violation of the constitution would have been enough to kindle a revolution in a less cold-blooded people." When Bismarck at last took what seemed a

favourable opportunity of dissolving the Diet, the victory of the Opposition was complete. Only thirty-seven adherents of the Government were elected, and the House at once rejected the order against the press as illegal.

In looking back on these angry debates we feel that Bismarck might have acted in a more conciliatory manner. He bluntly told the deputies that people were too self-willed, too much inclined to individualism, too critical in Germany. But, he added, "Prussia is obliged to collect her forces for a favourable moment, which has already been missed several times. Her frontiers are not favourable for a healthy commonwealth. The great questions of our time are to be decided not by speeches and resolutions, but by blood and iron."

There is no room for doubt now as to the wisdom of this policy. The king had fully made up his mind to carry it out, and Bismarck stood by him without flinching, though he felt the difficulties of the position keenly. He speaks of his "convict life" at Berlin, with its constant anxiety and the vehement attacks to which it subjected him. He would gladly have given up his post, but happily for Germany he was made of too stern stuff to yield, and four years after he became Minister he had his reward in the entire change of feeling caused by the triumphant vindication of his policy at Sadowa.

The Polish Convention of 1863 aroused a general storm of indignation. Bismarck arranged a secret treaty with Gortschakoff, which stipulated that in case of necessity the troops of Russia and Prussia should be allowed to pursue insurgents into each other's territory. France and England protested so vigorously that the Convention was allowed to remain a dead-letter, and angry debates arose in the Prussian Diet, which resolved, by 246 votes against 57, that Prussia's interest required strict neutrality in reference to Polish affairs.

On the death of the King of Denmark in 1863, the question of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein absorbed Bismarck's attention. "That is the diplomatic campaign," he once said, "of which I am proudest." It is acknowledged, on all hands, as Bismarck's masterpiece of diplomacy. He wanted

the Duchies from the first, but all kinds of barriers stood in the way, and it was long before he could succeed.

Briefly, the circumstances were these. The London protocol of 1852 secured the throne of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein to Prince Christian of Gluecksburg on the death of Frederick VII. It stipulated that Schleswig should not be incorporated in the Danish kingdom, but should preserve its provincial constitution. Despite this provision the new king signed a constitution for Denmark and Schleswig, two days after his accession, which incorporated the province. From this position he refused to withdraw, and the Central States of the German Bund now pressed for the formation of a new State under the rule of the Duke of Augustenburg, who regarded himself as heir to Schleswig-Holstein. This would have created another State in the Bund hostile to Prussia, and though it would have been thus far favourable to Austria, other considerations now induced her to form an alliance with her rival. The two great Powers proposed at Frankfort that Holstein should be occupied by federal troops, and Schleswig also, if Denmark still refused to revoke the constitution incorporating that province. The Bund rejected this proposal. Austria and Prussia then took independent action in their capacity of European Powers. The allies entered Holstein and Schleswig. A Conference held in London failed to bring about a settlement, war was resumed, and Denmark at last ceded the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg to Prussia and Austria.

This was in 1864. The question of the disposal of the Duchies now became pressing. Austria wished to refer the claims of the rival princes to the Bund, but Prussia refused. It was then arranged that Austria should take Holstein, and Prussia, Schleswig, without prejudice to the joint rights of both Powers in the Duchies. Manteuffel was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Schleswig, Gablenz of Holstein. Bismarck felt that such an arrangement could only be a breathing-time before more serious complications, and wrote to his wife on the very day it was concluded that it was only "pasting together the cracks in the building." The Duke of Augustenburg had rejected the precautionary measures and limitations to his

sovereignty which Prussia required before it would support his claim to the Duchies, but it was found that the Austrian Lord-Lieutenant was promoting the Augustenburg agitation in Holstein. A mass meeting of associations directed by the prince's councillors, and sanctioned by Austria, was held at Altona, January 23, 1866, and vehemently demanded the convocation of the Schleswig-Holstein estates, with shouts of "Long live our lawful sovereign, Duke Frederick."

The next five months were taken up by endeavours to secure a peaceful solution of the points at issue. Austria was singularly unfortunate in her diplomacy. She had rejected an alliance with France which Prince Metternich sought to bring about in 1863, at the time of the Polish insurrection, and now when Russia, France and England proposed a conference to settle the matters at issue between Austria and Prussia, the Austrian Emperor was persuaded by Count Moritz Esterhazy to make it a previous condition that every solution which would give territorial aggrandisement to any of the parties should be excluded from the discussions. Before this condition the proposal for a conference fell to the ground. Bismarck, meanwhile, had paid a second visit to Biarritz, where he had met the Emperor of the French, and had gathered from conversations with him that he was not likely to interfere in the struggle between the two German Powers. He had also concluded a treaty with Italy which obliged her to attack Venetia as soon as war broke out between Prussia and Austria, and thus secured a division of the Austrian forces.

Bismarck encountered immense opposition to the war at home. It seemed as if he himself would be ruined. The *Times* correspondent says in April, 1866, "M. de Bismarck is tottering to his fall." King William's father had on his deathbed implored him to maintain the union with Russia and Austria, and he shrank from what was almost a civil war. The letters of the Princess Alice show what painful complications between Austria and Prussia this war caused, and the king keenly felt the force of all arguments against war drawn from such circumstances. There was also a large Court party that opposed Bismarck's policy, and scarcely a single Minister in the Cabinet openly ventured to take his part. One of the

leading Berlin papers was especially violent in its attacks upon him. At last, he went to see the editor, but found that he could not move him at all. As he left the room, he said, "I see, my dear doctor, that we shall not come to any understanding; you will continue to attack me, and I shall not change my course. But if you knew what a struggle it has cost me to convince his Majesty that we must fight, you would understand that I obey only the law of necessity. In another half-year I will ask you which of us is right." If such circumstances are borne in mind, we can understand Bismarck's feeling when he said to a friend on starting for the headquarters of the army: "We shall conquer, or I shall fall with the last charge of cavalry."

The Prussian army did conquer. Moltke and Von Roon were comparatively inexperienced men; the Austrian General, Benedick, was believed to be an abler commander than any Prussia had; but in a week the power of Austria was broken, and the battle of Sadowa, on July 3, left Prussia master of the situation. Bismarck shared in all the perils of the campaign. He says he felt as if he "could hug our fellows" for their brave, patient conduct at Sadowa. At Königgrätz he was thirteen hours on his large chestnut horse, which was not startled by firing (or corpses), ate corn-ears and plum-tree leaves with gusto at the most serious moments, and seemed less tired than his master at the end of the day. That night Bismarck could find no quarters in Horsitz, and lay down under the arcades of the market-place on a couple of carriage cushions, making a pillow of a third. By-and-by some one awoke him with news that the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg had a bed for him. He found that it was a child's bed, and, putting a chair at the end of it, lay down and fell asleep. In the morning he could scarcely stand. He had been lying all night with his knees on the chair-back.

The terms fixed by the victors were harsh, but it was an indispensable condition of any lasting peace that Prussia's supremacy in Germany should be secured. Bismarck, who had encountered such fierce opposition to the war, now had the ungrateful task of lowering the demands of the victors who were quite intoxicated with their success. "Our enemies," he

says, "we can manage, but our friends! they almost all of them wear blinkers, and see only one spot in the world." Austria had made an overture for peace a day or two after Sadowa by surrendering Venetia to France. She lost no other territory by the war. She was, however, compelled to relinquish all federal connection with the German States. Two new confederacies replaced the old League. North of the Maine Prussia exercised military and diplomatic control, while Southern Germany was prohibited from forming any political connection with Austria. Saxony was allowed to retain a qualified independence. Secret treaties were formed with Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, in order to strengthen Prussia's military position. The Elbe Duchies had already been occupied by Prussian troops at the beginning of the war.

Bismarck conducted the peace negotiations with masterly skill. He modified the Emperor's demands, withstood every encroachment of France, and gained terms which brought to a happy issue the question of German unity, and paved the way for the Empire. In Berlin his popularity rose at a bound to a kind of hero-worship. The people forgot the outrage done to constitutional rights and public liberty, and seemed proud to be governed by a Minister who had shown himself the greatest diplomatist in Europe. Bismarck met the House of Deputies in a conciliatory spirit, and secured its approval of all that had been done for army organization. The House now, at last, recognized the wisdom of the military policy of the past few years, and respected the motives which made the King and his Minister honour the constitution by seeking this indorsement of their measures. Peace at home and abroad thus crowned the first years of Bismarck's administration.

He was made Chancellor of the North German Confederation, which was now formed with twenty-two States and twenty-nine millions of population. He was also appointed President of the Federal Council, and set himself to develop the resources of the new confederation, and to promote liberal measures in Prussia. The Cabinet received a more popular element, and one after another the Ministers who had made themselves

hated during the late parliamentary conflict, were replaced by statesmen who were acceptable to the country. In 1868, the Chancellor's activities were interrupted by serious illness. He lay on his back for months at his country-seat at Varzin, unable to talk to any one on business, or even to open a letter. Happily, by this time his work was somewhat consolidated, and in October his vigorous constitution rallied, so that he was able to resume work in Berlin.

Four years after Sadowa, on July 31, 1870, Bismarck left Berlin for the seat of war once more. France had long been jealous of the growing power of Germany, and the Emperor Napoleon hoped that a successful campaign would establish his dynasty. He was assured by the Minister of War that the army was in the highest state of efficiency, and the Duc de Gramont, a pliant courtier, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs, informed him that universal dislike of Prussia was felt at the minor German Courts, and that they would be eager to cast themselves on the protection of France. Instead of testing these statements, as a prudent man was bound to do, the Emperor eagerly accepted views that were so much to his mind. In the beginning of July the Spanish Ministers announced that they intended to propose Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern in the Cortes as a candidate for the Spanish throne. The prince was a Prussian subject, but not related to the royal family. The Duc de Gramont, however, announced that if Prussia accepted the nomination, France would declare war. The prince's name was withdrawn. France was anxious for war, and now demanded that the King of Prussia should promise that he would not sanction Prince Leopold's candidature at any future time.

When Prussia refused to bind herself thus, France declared war. M. Ollivier, the head of the Government, announced that he began the struggle "with a light heart," and all France exulted in the prospect of a brilliant march on Berlin. But the campaign on which the Emperor and his Ministers entered with light hearts brought to an end Napoleon's dynasty. Within a month after the Prince Imperial received his "baptism of fire" at Saarbrück, the Emperor was a German prisoner, the disaster of Sedan had led to the surrender of a Marshal of France

with 100,000 men, and the only regular army which was not beleaguered, had capitulated to the German troops. Four or five days later the Prussian king, at the head of the Crown Prince's army, began an unopposed march upon Paris.

Herr Busch, who accompanied Prince Bismarck during the campaign to prepare Government telegrams and articles for the press, has given us a graphic history of Bismarck's life during these memorable days. The Chancellor conducted all the negotiations with Favre and Thiers with the same skill that he had shown after Sadowa. Germany won Alsace and Metz with the exception of Belfort and its environs, with the part of German Lorraine which lay between the fortress and the former frontier. The war indemnity was fixed at £200,000,000. Meanwhile, Bismarck was engaged with the great question of a German Empire. At last the King of Bavaria proposed, in the name of all the German princes, that the Prussian king should adopt for himself and his successors the title of Emperor of Germany, and on January 18, 1871, King William was formally proclaimed Emperor with military pomp in the royal palace at Versailles. All Germany was thus united in one great empire. In war the command of all the German armies is vested in the Emperor, but in peace Bavaria has the control of her own troops, on condition that she conforms with the uniform organization of the German army. The constitution of the North German Confederation was extended, with some slight changes, to the new Empire. The sovereigns were to be represented in a Federal Council, and legislation was vested in a Diet elected by universal suffrage.

Bismarck, who had been created a Count in 1865, was appointed Imperial Chancellor in the same month that the Empire was proclaimed, and next month was made "Prince" Bismarck. He had found the involved negotiations wearisome and perplexing. "It is very annoying," he said, "that every plan I have must be first talked over with five or six persons who understand very little about the matter, and yet whose objections I must listen to and meet patiently. Thus I have lately had to give up three whole days to settle a matter which under other circumstances I could have finished in three minutes."

Since the close of the Franco-German war the Chancellor has been busily engaged in shaping the home and foreign policy of the new Empire. The reality of his often-expressed horror of war has been proved by his consistent endeavour to avert hostilities. In gloomy moods he has said : " But for me, three great wars would not have been fought ; 80,000 men would not have perished ; parents, brothers, sisters, and widows would not be bereaved and plunged into mourning." Since the Franco-German war the Chancellor's policy has been eminently pacific. He has done much to assure the permanent peace of Europe, by forming a league with Austria and Italy, and all his conduct proves that he regards war as a terrible evil, only to be justified as the means for securing permanent peace.

Soon after the war with France, Bismarck was involved in a struggle with Ultramontanism. This " Culturkampf " was not directed against the freedom or the existence of the Roman Catholic Church in Prussia, but against the intrigues of a party in that Church, which sought, with the influence of the Pope, to invade the freedom of the State and to banish free-thought with its perilous consequences from society and the schools. Bismarck set himself to defeat this policy with characteristic energy, but as soon as he saw that the new Pope was of a conciliatory disposition, he modified these stringent measures. When Deputy Virchow reproached him with drawing back from this contest after prosecuting it so long, the Chancellor explained that his end in all struggles was peace, and that if he saw the chance of securing this by establishing a *modus vivendi*, or even only an armistice, like those heretofore established with Rome, he should not be doing his duty unless he closed with such an arrangement.

Up to 1877, Prince Bismarck's hands were fully occupied with foreign affairs. Since that time he has come forward in a new character, and has applied himself to domestic legislation with the same force and courage that he had shown in foreign affairs. The motives which prompted this effort may be gathered from a statement made by him in Parliament, to the effect that he hoped the Government would be able in a few years to show progress in the social improvement and

pacification of the masses, and would thus provide against the dangers which threatened society, before it again caught sight of blood, petroleum and dynamite.

His domestic policy included a reform of the tariff intended to protect German industry, which he considered to have suffered from extreme free-trade principles. This he carried, by the help of the clerical party in the House. He has also succeeded in inaugurating a system of working men's insurance, to provide help for workmen in case of accident or old age, which, by showing that the State cared for the people, would rob Socialism of its grievance. The result of this experiment will be carefully watched by all students of social science.

The struggle over Bismarck's home policy has been prolonged and angry. It has taken on more and more the appearance of a contest as to the rights of the Crown and the Parliament. During the course of the struggle Bismarck has administered some sharp reproofs to the Social-Democratic leaders. He told them in one of his recent speeches that he expected opposition from them, because they would lose their power over the misguided masses if legislation redressed these wrongs. "Parliament," he said, "had the exclusive right of vetoing laws, but if it was to do nothing but exercise this right, what then? He was by no means in favour of an Absolutist *régime* (sarcastic cheers on the Left). He held that parliamentary co-operation, rightly exercised, was as useful and necessary as parliamentary supremacy was impossible and noxious. A Parliament could do a great many salutary things, but rule, *meine Herren*, that it cannot, and must not.'

Such has been the spirit of Bismarck's domestic policy. It has been marked by the same diplomatic genius, the same outspoken, hard-hitting style that has characterized his foreign policy. The anonymous sketches of Berlin society which appeared in *La Nouvelle Revue*, and awakened such indignation in the German capital, do ample justice to Bismarck's power to manœuvre amid all the intricacies of German political life, and to dominate all parties by his overwhelming force of purpose and strength of character.

The late Herr Lasker was one of the German politicians who sought to measure lances with the Chancellor. A man

of rare eloquence and cultivated taste, tender in his feelings and unalterable in his convictions, he wielded great influence for a time. In 1873, people pointed to him in the streets as he went by, and said, "That is Lasker." He and Herr von Bennigsen were the founders of the National Liberal party, and were the great agents in the domestic unification of Germany. To Lasker the work of codifying the criminal law and general procedure was entrusted after the French war. Bismarck's protectionist policy alienated Lasker, who had previously been an active ally of the Chancellor. He then went openly into opposition, attacked Bismarck's policy on every opportunity, and formed a new party, to which he gave the ominous name of Secessionist. Lasker's popularity was soon lost when the financial crisis came, and his work was done before he went to America to die. The Chancellor's quarrel with Count Arnim in 1874 is too well known to need much notice here. Bismarck was harsh, and the Count insubordinate. Diplomacy such as Bismarck's needs unquestioning submission. Arnim fell because he would not conform to that law.

The Chancellor is a daring hunter, a bold swimmer who won his first decoration for saving the life of his soldier-servant under circumstances of great peril, and a passionate lover of the country. His wife once said, "He likes a turnip better than all your politics." His home-life is singularly happy. His only daughter Marie, who is said to inherit her father's gifts, is married to the Count de Rantzau; his eldest son, Count Herbert, of whom the highest hopes are entertained, is in the public service; Count Bill, who showed great bravery in the Franco-German war, and won the Iron Cross, has devoted himself to the legal profession.

Herr Busch relates many instances of Bismarck's superstition, which might seem to show that he will not sit down to table when the company numbers thirteen persons, and that he regards Friday as an unlucky day for business; but all such stories are fables. The Chancellor is too strong-minded to care for such things. He says, "I will make one of thirteen at dinner as often as you please; and I transact the most important and critical business on Friday, if necessary."

Bismarck is a sincere Christian, though he is a bad church-[No. CXXVI.]—NEW SERIES, VOL. III. NO. II.

goer. In his boisterous youth "Rousseau-like sophisms" gained some hold on his mind, but it was not deep, and his marriage into the Puttkamer family brought him into intimate relations with Christian people whose influence over him has been highly beneficial. He is a constant student of the New Testament, a firm believer in God and in a future life. "It is incomprehensible to me," he said in 1851, "how any human being, who thinks about himself at all, and who is ignorant, or chooses to remain ignorant, of God, can live under his load of self-contempt and *ennui*. I do not know how I bore it formerly. If I had to live now as I did then—without God, without yourself, without the children—I really do not know why I should not throw off this life like a dirty shirt."

Society in Berlin has scarcely a good word for the Imperial Chancellor. It represents him as a selfish, unscrupulous tyrant. "The great secret of his force," it says, "consists in the facility with which he changes his opinion, abandons his friends, courts his enemies, profits by the spite of one, the hate of another, the egoism of all." It says that he hinders the Emperor from paying the least attention to State affairs, and jealously labours to secure unlimited power for himself. It predicts that on the day when he disappears he will drag his work with him into the tomb. "He crushes all who might continue his work, and when he disappears Europe will be avenged by the collapse which must follow."

It is no wonder that the Berlin Foreign Office has done all it could to detect the writer of these sketches. Madame Adam, who has since written a series of souvenirs of Hungary in *La Nouvelle Revue*, has confessed to a subordinate share in their preparation. The picture of Berlin society which they give is dismal enough, and no doubt there is truth in it, but the bitterness shown to the Chancellor is evidently due to personal rancour. No one can dispute the patriotism of Prince Bismarck. If he has co-operated with almost every party in the German Parliament in turn, it is simply due to the fact that he is a practical statesman, and has accepted all help that would enable him to carry his measures. How he has managed this in a Diet where only 81 out of 397 members are supporters of his policy is one of the won-

ders of contemporary politics. Bismarck knows England well, and acknowledges the high tone of her press and her parliamentary life, but he stoutly resists all endeavours to introduce into German political life English methods which would, he thinks, weaken the power of the Crown and make Parliament the ruler of the nation. His policy has recently caused some uneasiness in this country, but the feeling is already dying away, and there is no reason for apprehension in this matter so far as we can judge. Bismarck's manner may be overbearing, but his policy has won Germany her laurels. In its military aspect the Emperor himself inaugurated this policy and called Bismarck from Paris to uphold it. When some one was depreciating the Prince in his presence, the Emperor of Austria replied, "Ah! if I had but him!" Whatever others may think and feel, the German Emperor has invariably shown his warm appreciation of his Chancellor's services. Bismarck is honoured with the Emperor's fullest confidence, and serves him with the loyalty which has marked his High Tory ancestry for generations.

Prince Bismarck has expressed a strong desire to resign certain offices into other hands. In this he has shown his wisdom, though his purpose is for the present overruled. The revival of the Staatsrath, whose functions have been in abeyance for a considerable number of years, is a step in the right direction. It is somewhat like our Privy Council. The Crown Prince is president, Bismarck vice-president, and its seventy-one members are chosen from all departments of the State. It consists of forty-one high Government officials, twelve landed proprietors, four clergymen, including the Catholic bishops of Fulda and Ermeland. Such a council will probably do much to secure permanence to the work of the statesman who has created the German Empire. On the eve of the Austrian war, Bismarck said, "Unless we can be sure of Germany, our position, geographically speaking, is more hazardous than that of any other European State." Since these words were spoken the Chancellor has seen two great campaigns which have given the country a strong frontier, and bid fair to secure lasting peace for Europe.

The Chancellor has had some harsh critics, but they have

generally forgotten to allow for the circumstances of his work. We are well aware how repugnant some of his high-handed methods are to our English notions. But enough has been said to show that Bismarck has been the man for the times. We have no wish to transplant him into our own soil, though we may now and then long for some portion of his spirit. We have reached a more advanced stage of national and parliamentary life, and certainly we are not without "the defects of our qualities." But we cannot refrain from expressing our admiration of the patriotism, the courage, and the diplomatic genius of the man whom Thomas Carlyle once described as "the strongest force in Europe."

ART. IV.—THE LITERATURE OF THE HEALTH EXHIBITION.*

THE Health Exhibition has paid its expenses and has been visited by more than four millions of people. Fault-finders, however, are already complaining that it is a great opportunity wasted. "Health and education and matters connected therewith" were its objects; and they ask how have these been subserved by this bringing together a mass of "exhibits" in no way differing from the staple of an ordinary "World's Fair." "Siberian mares and model houses" exactly expresses, we are told, the character of the show. That mysterious announcement over one of the side doors of the central avenue put the tasting of mare's milk by those who cared to indulge in it on a level with an inquiry into the best form of house-building with a view to health. Another complaint is that the Exhibition has been made so little of as a teaching place. To have kept it open for a week after it had been closed to paying visitors, and to have brought to it in detachments the elder children from the London Voluntary and Board Schools, would not have cost much, while the effect on some of the young minds would

* Official Handbooks Issued by Authority: Clowes & Son.

have been incalculable. A walk round under competent guidance, supplemented by a dinner in the Vegetarian or Duval restaurant, and by a glimpse before leaving at the illuminated waterworks and at that still grander illumination the long avenue with the twelve rows of electric lights along its roof, would have impressed itself for life on the memory of an intelligent child; and something of this kind might, it is said, have been fairly expected from an enterprise which was placed under royal patronage, and presided over by the Prince of Wales. Such an Exhibition ought not merely to have aimed at but to have ensured something more than commercial success; and it is certain that private benevolence would gladly have found the funds if some such arrangement as that which we have indicated had been in contemplation. We should like to have watched the children's delight at those coloured fountains which their travelled elders thought poor and lacking invention. We would fain have shown them "Old London" by night, when the roar of the electric-dynamos seemed so strange amid the dreamlike unreality of the scene, shadowy, reminding us of Virgil's *inania regna* of the nether world. We can only hope that, large as must always be the percentage of mere sightseers and pleasure-seekers, many of the visitors were led to look below the surface, not merely, for instance, to enjoy the collections of costumes, but really to reflect on the influence of dress on health and also on personal character; not merely to taste the food provided in such abundant variety, but to learn something of the relation of food to health. For those who did come to learn there was abundant provision, though a few lectures on the spot—in addition to the "Conferences" held at the Mansion House, the Society of Arts, the Royal Institute of Architects, and elsewhere—would have been a great help to learning. Thus, even one who came with the best intentions might miss the point of the lessons inculcated in the juxtaposition of the house drained and ventilated on right principles and that drained (or rather not drained) in defiance of them. The educational appliances specially needed the living voice. We so longed to see that very complete Kindergarten in the Belgian Court, with its

tissage and *tressage* and "demonstrations" for knitting and crochet really demonstrated by capable hands. And it is because of the shortcomings in this respect, because a good many of the exhibits, *e.g.*, the Italian shell-jewellery and Indian ironwork had as little to do with health as had the quaint industries outside—the "lizards, all alive!" and "climbing jackos," and so forth—that we looked all the more eagerly for the *Healtheries* literature. That of the Fisheries was quite a library, including valuable monographs on several subjects till then hardly brought before the general reader. This year the number of handbooks is fewer and their value more unequal. Some we may dismiss with a word. The whole question of healthy and unhealthy houses, for instance, resolves itself into keeping the drains well trapped and cutting off all possible communication between them and the water supply. A house-builder may profitably study Messrs. Eassie and Field; an intending tenant can only wish that Mr. Eassie's suggested system of house registration was compulsory. He may also wish that Mrs. Gladstone, who admits that "probably no work throughout the kingdom is so badly done as work in drains and pipes, which is out of sight," would get her husband to appeal to the honour of the British workman and try to persuade him that "scamping" is unworthy of a man with a vote. More under our own control is our furniture; and those who glanced at Mr. Edis's exhibits of "combination" (we may say common sense) furniture will be glad to see the subject treated at length in his handbook. Mr. Manley on Salt reminds us of the preacher who made a telling sermon on Malt. He has, on that short text, written one of the longest books of the series. The picture of the state of things at Nantwich, where a grocer's shop is now above his bedroom, his house having sunk to the rooftree, is not new; but new to most readers will be the explanation of "Durham mustard." Why Durham?—because an old woman of that city bethought her in 1720 that mustard might be ground instead of being coarsely pounded in a mortar, as till then it had been from time immemorial. Dr. Attfield's pamphlet on water rises to the dignity of a philosophic treatise; Mr. Scott on cleansing the streets is a manual for vestrymen of metropolitan

parishes. Mr. Lakeman shows how needful it is for the State to interpose against needless risk from unwholesome employments. Mr. Blyth upsets all recent beliefs by assuring us that, though whole meal bread is richer in nitrogen than "best white," the nitrogen is contained in a form which we cannot assimilate, the bread, *i.e.*, is *indigestible*, and not the reverse. The elaborateness of Dr. Gamgee's Lectures leads us to ask if this and other handbooks will be adopted as textbooks for competitive examinations. If we say nothing of Dr. Duclaux on Fermentation, and of the Public Health Laboratory work by Dr. Corfield and his colleagues, it is because this whole matter of germs and spores has been again and again before the public, in the disputes between M. Pasteur (of whose preparations there was a series in the Exhibition) and Prof. Tyndall. It is well to remind the reader that once boiling is not enough to kill out bacilli, bacteria, and other such creatures in water. It kills what are hatched; the spores generally resist it. Boil again a day after, and for safety a third time, is Prof. Tyndall's advice. The part played by these creatures in the transmission of disease is very clearly shown in Mr. Murphy's little treatise; and, if his readers are led to think that life under such supervision—over dairy farms, laundries, rivers, &c., as he suggests—would be hardly worth living, the facts which he adduces of the extraordinary vitality of infection germs surely bear him out in his suggestions. Equally valuable are Mr. Acland's *Health in the Village*, Mr. C. E. Paget's *Healthy Schools*, and Dr. Poore's *Duty of the Individual* in a community where every fact of hygiene illustrates the truth that "no man liveth to himself," that our disregard of the laws of health is almost sure to injure the community, either directly or through deteriorating the race. Surgeon-Major Evatt and Mr. Cantlie supply in a very clear and practical way all that a modern Knight or Sister of St. John can need. Mr. Cantlie insists, with a good deal of humour, on the need of attending to a broken limb *on the spot*, not even carrying a man to the pavement in case he is run over in the road. His picture of Surgeon Pott (the name-father of "Pott's Fracture") breaking his leg on London Bridge, and, "knowing the consequences of allowing the unskilful to touch it, dragging himself

along till he had set his back against the parapet, whence with his stick he kept off good Samaritans till a stretcher and skilled hands were brought from the Hospital," is delightful. As to Sanitary Law, Messrs. Duff and Cohen have done their best to bring order into chaos; had they succeeded their book would indeed be cheap at the price. A word here on a point which we noted last year—the excessive price of these handbooks. It savours of the commercial spirit which has too much pervaded the whole concern. Surely a great educational enterprise, fostered by royalty, ought to have been so arranged that Captain Galton on Stoves and Lamps should not have cost the absurd sum of 2s.

So much for the handbooks in general. Two or three claim a somewhat longer notice—the history of Art schools, because of the high place which art takes in the education of the day—and we must not forget that half the object of the *Healtheries* was professedly educational; and the treatises on athletics, because the subject directly affects not the health of one class, but of all. Mistakes have come from "over-doing the thing," from wrong views as to the way in which brain work and muscle work can usefully co-operate. Above all, because the topic is so universally discussed, the public has been led to think that the practice penetrates much lower down than it really does. On the contrary, we shall see that in the opinion of good judges the masses take little or no interest in it; and that this should be so is not well. Athletics offer a means of bridging over that gulf which we are told is widening between rich and poor; and to leave the masses without interest in them is to foster what may become a grave national danger.

What makes Mr. Sparkes's book on Schools of Art one of the most interesting of the series is the fact that the writer has played by no means an insignificant part in the story which he tells. When Master of the Lambeth Art School, close to Messrs. Doulton's works, he thought his students might as well make their designs in enamelled colours on the clay used for tiles as in water colours upon paper. He felt that this would add interest to the work, but had no conception of the industry to which the experiment would lead. That was in

1865 ; the Doulton pavilion, one of the most striking features of this Exhibition, and the similar artistic pottery from Messrs. Wilcocks, of Leeds, Messrs. Cliff, and others, show how fruitful his idea has been. "It is a truly national production and at the same time a local one, the direct outcome of the proper co-operation that ought to exist between Schools of Art and local manufacturers." Mr. Sparkes combats the idea that the English are an inartistic people. He quotes Mr. Gladstone to the effect that "the sense of beauty is like the sense of music ; the original capacity lies in the nature ; that capacity is modified from generation to generation, and the cultivation of it affects the capabilities with which children are born into the world." He shows that good goldsmiths' work was made in England all through what we call the Middle Ages ; while tapestry, which was very flourishing in the reign of Edward III., lasted on at Mortlake till the beginning of the eighteenth century, almost, in fact, till its place was taken by the tapestry works now thriving at Windsor. Still, we think, he fails to show any general spontaneousness in English art. Our noble church architecture was due to the monkish builders, or "freemasons," who stamped their individuality on so much of the building all over Western Europe ; and we may note that, with few exceptions, it is most artistically developed in those parts which were most open to Continental influences. As for the associated arts, it is on record that many of our finest brasses, and much of our best stained glass, came direct from abroad,* while there is no evidence to show that our tapestry works were not wholly founded by successive colonies of Flemish artisans.

State encouragement, for which Mr. Sparkes pleads as necessary to establish and to maintain a high standard of excellence, was, till the eighteenth century, limited to the individual patronage of a few of our monarchs, such as Henry VIII. and Charles I. In 1727 a board of trustees for the encouragement of manufactures was formed in Scotland. Four years later, the Dublin Society was founded. To the former

* The famous brass at Lynn, representing the feast given to Edward III. by Robert Braunché, was made in Flanders and sent over, in separate pieces, to the church for which it was destined.

of these "the Scotch school" of painters owes its origin. A Frenchman, De la Croix, was the first master of the academy connected with it, in which Wilkie, W. Allan, and Watson Gordon were fellow-students; while Mr. Skene says there is scarcely a name eminent in Scottish art which is unconnected with the institution. The same board made an effort in the direction of Design by founding early in this century a branch school at Dunfermline for the express purpose of teaching pattern drawing for diapers, &c. This school did good service for some years, but was closed in 1834 for want of local support.

The Dublin Society's work belongs to that period to which Home Rulers look back with such longing, when the Irish nobility lived in their own capital, and adorned the mansions now turned into tenement houses with handsome staircases and stuccoed ceilings, and other artistic decoration.

The London Society of Arts began in 1754, though it was not incorporated till more than ninety years after. Its first offshoot was a School of Design which, beginning in a small way in Rawthmell's coffee-house, developed into the Royal Academy.

That all three institutions fostered little save painting and sculpture and engraving was owing to the very different position of the designer in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Abroad, the highest talent was always at the service of the manufacturer, and the artist was often himself not only a designer, but a craftsman. Every one remembers how Cellini was both; it was much the same with Michael Angelo; and Raphael's cartoons were prepared as working copies for the tapestry weavers. The foundation of royal works like Meissen, near Dresden, and Sèvres, and the Gobelins, helped to keep up this tradition. No artist, however famous, was too proud to draw for them; whereas in England the private adventurers to whom our manufactories are due were glad to get their designs at the smallest cost, no matter from whom. Mr. Redgrave, who, in 1835, pleaded the cause of artistic design before Mr. Ewart's Select Committee of the House, finds another reason for the difference in the fact that among us the great manufacturing seats are far from the metropolis, to which great artists are inevitably attracted; while abroad it is other-

wise. Paris, for instance, is not only the seat of art, but largely also of art manufactures. However this may be, the gulf between English artists and manufacturers grew wider and wider, whereas abroad artists found the highest class of instructed workmen close at hand, and could watch their creations grow up under the hands of the craftsmen. Mr. Dyce's report, in 1840, again drew attention to our shortcomings in this respect, which were accentuated by a petition from the Coventry workmen for a school of design in connection with the ribbon trade. Mr. Dyce enlarged on the degraded position of pattern designers among us: "They are mere draughtsmen and copyists, the manufacturer undertaking to find the pattern. In France, on the contrary, their position is such as to secure among them men of high artistic powers. . . . In Lyons the commercial value of taste is reckoned so high that, when a young man displays remarkable powers, a house will admit him to partnership in order to completely monopolize his services." He cited the case of a French wall-paper maker who came to London, bringing a skilful designer. His English workmen struck the moment the artist began, as is the rule in France, to superintend the carrying out of his pattern. They had been used to make up their tints in large quantities; they were not going to give in to the whims of a Frenchman who thought there are as many colours as there are days in the year, and who insisted on minute variations of tint that were not used in the trade.

From their foundation, in 1840, the Schools of Design had to struggle against the indifference or dislike of manufacturers. Very few, except Mr. Minton at the Potteries, could "see any good" in drawing-schools. At Sheffield a leading manufacturer, who employed a Frenchman to give him florid Louis XIV. designs for teapots, &c., used to save expense by turning a design upside down, except, of course, the base and top. In some places, as at Norwich, the manufacturers looked to the schools to furnish cheaper designs, and therefore roused the suspicions of the designers. A Scotch manufacturer's evidence was, that "He always found it a losing concern when he attempted anything natural." The Exhibition of 1851, by forcing us to recognize our deficiencies, gave an immense impetus

to the arts of Design. It brought to the front Mr. (now Sir H.) Cole, on whom the *Saturday Review* used periodically to make its vitriolic attacks, and, by substituting Schools of Art for the original Schools of Design, it silenced the complaint that the Art Department's work was not practical enough. Now that we have Whitworth scholarships, and abundant technical teaching under the patronage of the City Companies, and National Art Scholarships, and a whole feeding organization for the National Art Training School, it is difficult to conceive how England could so long have left these matters wholly in abeyance. When once we began, our patterns soon became appreciated on the Continent. In 1868 a French firm bought a number of designs for cretonnes, &c., from the South Kensington students; and Sir R. Owen lately mentioned that a prizeman at an Art School had been taken up by a Paris firm, at a salary of £400 a year. Our designs for textile fabrics have wonderfully improved since the days of "Parsley Peel;" and the lace-designers, whose salaries range from £500 to £700 a year, have largely helped in the enormous development of the Nottingham trade. These Schools of Art made a very creditable display in the Health Exhibition; and, large as was the number of exhibits, it did not include a third of those sent in. We were specially struck with the designs for wall-paper, including that by Mr. Poynter, R.A., "The Martyrdom of St. Stephen," intended for a church at Sydenham. The change is indeed marvellous since a collection was exhibited at Marlborough House (the catalogue of which is a model of caustic humour) of what to avoid in design, the condemned exhibits being, in most cases, those which the manufacturers found the most paying.

Enough on a subject only indirectly connected with hygiene, though associated with it from the fact that men like Mr. Edis have endeavoured to make their "healthy house fittings" artistic.

But, great as is the change of national feeling in regard to Art, the change with regard to athletics is even greater. It does not, perhaps, descend so low in the social scale; for, in the case of articles in general use, supply rules demand. People, for instance, must have jugs, and think they must have chim-

ney ornaments. If, then, only Art-ornaments and jugs of artistic shape are manufactured, the old monstrosities will perforce disappear. This has largely been the case, thanks to Schools of Design ; but because athletics have become a necessary part of the life of one class, it does not follow that they would be adopted by another. Neither have they been ; nevertheless, the grand movement made within the last twenty years is one of the most rapid which, perhaps, the world ever witnessed. We have still our strange absurdities in the way of dress, but, at first sight, it seems as if our men, from the lower middle class upwards, are in a fair way of becoming a nation of athletes ; and the other sex, too, goes in largely for exercises which even our mothers would have stigmatized as unfeminine. Of all sports Mr. Cobbe gives the palm to cycling, and in the hope of spreading yet more the taste for it he writes like a special pleader. It helps to keep the City clerk out of the club and music hall. If he takes his morning ride (when, according to some enthusiasts, "there is an odour of new-mown hay round St. Paul's") he must go to bed early ; while, if he prefers doing his quantum of miles over the smooth asphalt of the City streets, after the traffic has left them, he is equally out of the way of temptation. Moreover, Mr. Cobbe remarks that there is no air so fresh as what you breathe on a cycle. You make little or no dust, and you have no steaming horse between you and the wind that blows against you.

Mr. Cobbe sees in cycling a corrective, if not a cure, for that tendency to mass human beings in great centres which is so strong in this "age of huge cities ;" for, though railways with workmen's trains do a good deal, roads will always be more numerous than railways, so that the cyclist will have a wider choice at a lower rent. To country folk, too, he thinks the cycle will be as useful as to dwellers in big towns ; "by its means the lads of neighbouring villages can be brought more easily together ; 'society' becomes possible in country places, the village alehouse will cease to be the one attractive thought for rustic minds." And, speaking of the evils of constant intermarrying in villages, Mr. Cobbe is glad to find labourers are already going courting on cycles, while the "carrier tricycle" enables them to take to market much produce which it would

not pay to send by rail. He would, therefore, have cycling taught to both sexes at Board Schools. He would have two or three trains, like the "hunting trains," on which, at least on Saturdays, cycles should be carried for sixpence instead of for the present minimum shilling. For foreign travel, too, he thinks cycling invaluable, if you wish to see something of the people through whose country you pass; while for touring at home it is equally suitable, leaving the mid-day hours free for any object, from butterfly hunting to photography, in which the cyclist pleases to indulge, provided, that is, he adopts Mr. Cobbe's rule of never breakfasting in the place where he slept. How admirably cycling brings out "nerve" and cultivates presence of mind, and how effectually it exercises not only the legs, but the whole body, are such self-evident truths as scarcely to need Mr. Cobbe's emphatic enforcement. We quite agree with him, too, that—

"Change of air for hygienic purposes can generally be obtained within a much smaller distance than is often imagined. A day's quiet ramble on wheels in a district which it will only take the cyclist an hour to reach, and at the end of which he will have his own home comforts to return to, may often prove more efficacious as well as more economical than a week at a fashionable watering-place."

If Mr. Cobbe is no mere optimist in regard to cycling, inasmuch as every one can see that it has taken a real hold on the affections of the people, what shall we say of the Hon. E. Lyttelton's rather melancholy view of our attitude in regard to games? The idea that we are fast becoming a nation of athletes he holds to be illusive; and no doubt to a great extent he is right—the amount that is talked and written about our athletics makes us over-estimate *their real proportion to the population*. Adopting Dr. Channing's definition, "health is that which makes the soul take delight in her mansion, sporting herself at the casements of your eyes," he says that, despite the vast growth of football, cricket, &c., *we do not, as a nation, understand the value of games*. Even at our national games not more than one per cent. between 20 and 40 years old can be said to play, and as for the lower classes, "play" is almost unknown among them. Lawn tennis is not spreading downwards; and, since even in public schools it is necessary

to "start" games, we cannot expect them to flourish in Board Schools unless they are cultivated. For this cultivation he pleads most earnestly: "What sense is there in packing children into noisome rooms, filled with the reek of corduroys and hair oil, and ramming into their heads for three or four consecutive hours the Bill of Rights, and the exact position of Hong Kong, without so much as giving a thought to their games? . . . How absurd to think that because a few dozen aristocrats play cricket to excess, therefore all boys and girls will provide games for themselves, make time to play, and space to play in." There is some exaggeration in this; for very few schools nowadays have absolutely no playgrounds; but Mr. Lyttelton's remarks on the immense value of exercise, how the want of it lowers tone and makes us do our work more slowly; how sweating is a "chucker out" of what the system ought to throw off, and how, of all forms of exercise, a game gives the healthiest stimulus, are excellent, and despite frequent repetition are still too much needed. As he says: "this is a case in which it seems to do no good to prove your point; just as in the allied case of unhealthy fashions, tight lacing, high heels, &c., all the outcry has no effect; indeed, it seems that though heels in the centre of the foot are less common than they were, ladies' boots are worn tighter than ever." At any rate we are more awake than our fathers were to the value of flannel, and to the need of playing in flannels and changing directly after. Twenty years ago, at Eton and Harrow, only the players picked out for Lord's were indulged in flannel suits; and later still at high class preparatory schools, the children had to play football in the clothes in which they were to appear at dinner, seldom being allowed even to take off their jackets. Mr. Lyttelton is great on the subject of "diaphragmatic breathing," in regard to which he refers his readers to Dr. Lennox Browne's "Voice, Song, and Speech." He does not think that brain work, unless very monotonous or done against time, ever injured a healthy man. Even a cricketer in full play may get a better score through studying from two to three hours in the morning; "his head work if interesting will help his cricket." The mind (he reminds us) has a wondrous power of self-defence against intellectual over-exertion, far exceeding that possessed

by the body.* On all these points, moreover, he speaks with authority; he has proved, for instance, the virtue of "not taking exercise in one's ordinary garments" by having kept himself for six and a-half consecutive years without a cold in the head. On athletics for girls he says a few weighty words: "If women knew that a free circulation is as precious a boon for them as for men, they would revolutionize society; and yet, what a wonderfully simple truth it is." And then in reference to the miserable state of such a large proportion of our villages, where the boys must play in the street, and the lads can only manage a little cricket now and then by the favour of some farmer, he asks: "What is the use of his vote to the county householder, if he will not insist on securing room for cricket and football?" "But," say the objectors, "the Germans are the first people in Europe in learning, industry, and military power; and yet they have little or no athletics." "Yes," says Mr. Lyttelton, "they have a great deal, though not exactly of our kind. Military service, where recruits march thirty miles a day in full equipment, ensures some opening of the pores; gymnastics are enforced by State regulations, and 'authority' is trying to introduce football and other English games headlong into their schools, forgetful of the fact that the thing cannot be 'done to order.'" The rapture of a scrimmage is an acquired taste, though a real one; at Wellington College games hung fire at first. The present Archbishop, we believe, had actually to take off his coat and play cricket with no one to join but his fellow-masters until the elder boys were gradually induced to come in and take a hand. Walking tours, for instance, are even more than with us an institution in Germany. The artisan has his *Wanderjahr*, the student his vacation-walk; but the nation certainly has not taken to athletics with that spontaneousness with which some

* For the very few who, even in this age of competitive examinations, are really under an intellectual strain, violent exercise is of course bad, inasmuch as both brain and muscle are fed from the same reserve of nerve-force. For them there is lawn tennis or fives. But far the greater part of what is called "mental work," office work in general, &c., is deadening to the nerves rather than exciting; and therefore calls for the corrective of violent games. *Of course* there is such a thing as overdoing it; "the heart will go on when the brain would strike." *Tours de force* are always dangerous, and a word in season will often save from years of pain or ill-health.

classes at any rate among us are doing so. From the battle of Jena onwards a great effort was made to organize gymnastics; Turner societies (athletic clubs) were formed, met, practised, *sang*. But the movement did not last; perhaps because for ages they had been over-governed the Germans as a nation did not respond; and the *Turn* languished until it got to be adopted as part of the State drill. We shall, probably, need something of the same kind, if athletics are to have much influence on the lower strata of our population; and the first step in this direction has been taken by the introduction into Board Schools of the Swedish "Ling" system of exercises. Of this many of our readers doubtless saw Miss Bergman's "demonstrations" in the East Central gallery. When a generation has been trained up in them, we shall expect to see fewer people with wholly undeveloped, or absolutely ill-developed, powers (like Kingsley's famous *Nausicaa in London*), but we shall be as far as ever from being able to rebut Mr. Lyttelton's charge that "*as a nation we do not care for games.*" In fact, from the experience of our own and other countries it would not be impossible to support the paradox that systematized gymnastics and *games* are mutually destructive. Whatever way we look at the matter, it is unhappily true that our lower orders have much to learn, or to be taught, in regard to games. Strutt long ago said, "Look at their sports if you would learn the character of a people;" and the "sport" of young gutter-London is to a great extent limited to rushing along thoroughfares and knocking down the passers-by with as little ceremony as did the aristocratic "Mohocks" and their successors of two generations ago. "We have put down some games, we are bound, therefore, to foster others," says Mr. Warre; and his hint that cricket grew *upwards*, was originally a game of the people, among whom even in the most favoured districts it has certainly not done more than hold its own, may well remind landowners of the duty of providing ground on which a game that, since it was in 1877 taken up by the Marylebone Club, has become the game of the well-to-do classes, may as of old be played by the poor. Mr. Warre's Eton experience enables him to bring out forcibly the point in which games are superior to athletics—

they are social ; they cultivate self-control, good temper, fairness, unselfishness. M. Taine, though he thinks a football scrimmage in France would be an *émeute*, admits the educational value of our games. The *interne* of a French college he speaks of as "ennuyé, aigre, affiné, précoce et trop précoce ; il est en cage, et son imagination fermente." In a game you can't always be thinking of Me ; you are saved from the selfish individuality which ruined athleticism in Greece, while the equally selfish excitement of the gladiatorial shows destroyed the games in which the old Romans had delighted. Why our islands are the special home of games is a question not to be settled off-hand. There was a great deal of ball-play in France in the Middle Ages ; in Brittany football, once more popular there than ever in the English midlands, still lingers. Indeed, instead of limiting (as Mr. Warre does) this deficiency in games to "the Latin race," we are disposed to look on the love of social games as Celtic. The oldest Irish and Welsh poems are full of references to such games ; while such references, we believe, are wholly wanting in very early English literature.

But, games being pre-eminently English, they ought also to be thoroughly national. Feeling this, both Mr. Warre and Mr. Lyttelton are equally anxious to spread among our lowest classes a taste for those social athletics which, since village games have too generally died out, and the village green has too often been enclosed, have more and more given place to "beer and skittles." It is a difficult matter, for such games need *esprit de corps* ; but then they also create it. Even at public schools it is necessary to make cricket-fagging and football compulsory on the juniors. Games, like other things, have to be taught ; and if they are taught to the masses we may expect something of the same result which has followed from carefully teaching them to the upper ten. The subject is more important than it seems at first sight. If this Exhibition, by leading to the publication of such essays as those on which we have been commenting helps towards its solution, it will have really been promoting the national hygiene. No doubt the minute division of labour which is of the essence of our modern social life is a

bar to such a single-minded devotion to games as obtains among red Indians, public schoolboys, and (shall we add ?) University men. But a great deal may be done in this direction ; and the more practically we recognize that the toilers are our brethren, having an equal right with ourselves to that *corpus sanum* which alone ensures the *mens sana*, the well-balanced mind, the safer shall we be from the fear of social outbreaks. It is the fashion to talk of "the dangerous classes ;" the phrase is a French one, and essentially unchristian. In a Christian community, in which all, beginning with the most enlightened, strove to act on Christian principles, there could be no "dangerous classes." Let the poor see that, though in our very artificial society the highest development of bodily excellence all round must be the privilege of a very few, due care is taken to give them free scope in this direction, as well as in that of technical instruction. And let us hope that since this Exhibition, with all its shortcomings, cannot have failed to impress on all classes the importance of the national health, statesmen, and those by whom statesmen are influenced, will proceed to act on these impressions, and to take care that no class in the community is left without fitting means for keeping its health at its best. Then indeed the Healtneries will have been something more than idle show for the astonishment of country folks and for providing Londoners with outdoor recreation during an exceptionally hot summer.

ART. V.—A NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles : founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., President of the Philological Society, with the assistance of many Scholars and men of Science. Part I., A—ANT. London : Clarendon Press.

THIRTY years ago the history of modern lexicography began with the appearance of the first part of the German Dictionary of the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. The first

complete volume of this work was published in 1854; and, although the vocabulary of German is much smaller than that of English, and the undertaking has been carried on by other hands since the death of these eminent scholars, the whole work is not yet finished. M. Littré's great French Dictionary began to appear in 1863, and was completed in 1872. Without the supplements, it contains 2,566 quarto pages. It is the immediate model of the new English Dictionary. The size of the page is the same in both; they correspond also in general plan, and are similar in other important features: but the execution of the English work far surpasses the French exemplar.

Before the appearance of these great models of lexicography, English Dictionaries stood well in comparison with those of other languages. The national independence of England, and her greater political and religious freedom, favoured intellectual life; learning increased with greater rapidity; and the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue powerfully stimulated its vitality and growth. In no other language did Vocabularies increase so rapidly. There are, in all, about two hundred and fifty English Dictionaries. Passing over those of humbler aim, the first that attempted etymology was John Minshew's, in 1617. Skinner followed with his "Etymologicon," in 1671, and Nathan Bailey, the Stepney schoolmaster, brought out his "Etymological English Dictionary" in 1721. Francis Junius published his "Etymologicum Anglicanum" in 1743. From these beginnings, through the various editions of Johnson, Webster, Richardson, and others, English lexicography has travelled onward to the peerless work now auspiciously begun. Nearly thirty years ago, preparation for the new English Dictionary originated in suggestions made to the Philological Society by Dr. Trench, then Dean of Westminster. During the time that has since elapsed, a multitude of readers have been at work exploring the whole literature of the language, and registering every word it contained. The results of this vast search have been such as to require the erection of a special building for their orderly arrangement and safety. This edifice is known as "The Scriptorium," Mill Hill, London. It is a fire-proof building erected solely for the production of the

Dictionary, and from it Dr. Murray dates his preface. There the editor's seat is, with all the needful appliances for his work. The walls are furnished with pigeon holes, which are receptacles for the three and a-half millions of slips that have been prepared by the readers. Each slip contains a word and a quotation from some author by whom that word is used. Many of the readers have been surprisingly industrious. Some have sent in from ten thousand to a hundred thousand quotations. They came, too, from America, the Colonies, and nearly every country in Europe, as well as from the United Kingdom. Beside those who have read for the Dictionary, there have been numerous sub-editors. Professor March arranged the slips furnished by American readers. Other scholars also have zealously helped, giving even their valuable private collections of words and quotations that, if possible, every word might be registered, and a complete inventory of the language made.

Modern publishers of dictionaries are wont to make it a feature of merit in their respective editions that they contain so many separate words. Up to "Ant," the main words in the new Dictionary number 6,797; and, if the whole vocabulary be reckoned on the scale of Webster's enumeration, it will, when complete, amount to or exceed 200,000 words. The letter A, it is calculated, will occupy about 600 pages. If each of the other letters take up a proportionate space, the entire Dictionary will not fall short of 12,000 pages, or six large quarto volumes. The contract with the Clarendon Press provides that the work shall contain 6,000 to 7,000 large quarto pages, besides a supplement of 2,000 pages, and requires that it shall be called *A Dictionary of the English Language*. The publication of a work of such immense proportions must necessarily proceed slowly. If Dr. Murray could press it forward so as to issue two parts a year of the same size as the part now issued, it would take fully fifteen years to complete the publication.

The aim of the work, the editor tells us, is "to furnish an adequate account of the meaning, origin, and history of English words now in general use, or known to have been in use at any time during the last seven hundred years. It endeavours to show with regard to each individual word, when, how,

in what shape, and with what signification it became English ; what development of form and meaning it has since received ; which of its uses have, in the course of time, become obsolete, and which still survive ; what new uses have since arisen, by what processes, and when : to illustrate these facts by a series of quotations ranging from the first known occurrence of the word to the latest, the word being thus made to exhibit its own history and meaning ; and to treat the etymology of each word on the basis of historical fact, and in accordance with the methods and results of modern philological science." The principles here laid down are in harmony with the *Canones Lexicographici*, or Rules to be observed in Editing the New English Dictionary of the Philological Society. The year 1150 is well chosen as the date behind which it is not proper to go in the selection of words. To go further back would have involved the admission of an immense number of obsolete terms, having obsolete inflexions, and, if dealt with at all, requiring to be dealt with in a manner different from that applicable to words which have survived that date. For the next three centuries and a half the language consisted of dialects, all of which were literary. The words belonging to these, so far as they have been identified, are entitled to admission, but no merely dialectal form occurring after 1500 is admitted, unless it continues the history of a word or sense previously in general use, or affords valuable help towards illustrating the pedigree of others still surviving in the language. Speaking of the vocabulary as a whole, Dr. Murray says, "It will be found to be, even in its modern words, much more extensive than that of any existing Dictionary"; but, extensive as it is, the work is not allowed to widen into a cyclopædia. Dictionaries, vocabularies, and cyclopædias are distinctly different in their way, and are consulted for different purposes. A vocabulary is a mere word-book ; a cyclopædia describes things ; a dictionary explains words. Still, a dictionary may easily err on the side of excess, and include words that have no claim to a place in any vocabulary other than a list strictly technical. In the preface to the New Dictionary, Dr. Murray says : "In scientific and technical terminology the aim has been to include *all words English in form*, except those of which

the explanation would be unintelligible to any but the specialist ; and such words, not English in form, as either are in general use, like *Hippopotamus*, *Geranium*, *Aluminium*, *Focus*, *Stratum*, *Bronchitis*, or belong to the more familiar language of science, as *Mammalia*, *Lepidoptera*, *Invertebrata*." Judged by this standard *acroteria* would be inadmissible ; indeed it is expressly denied the right to a place in a dictionary by Dr. Trench himself,* as he also denies the right to *ægilops*. In like manner, on Dr. Murray's own principles, it seems hard to justify the insertion of *amphiarthrosis*, to which fifteen lines are devoted ; and of *æcidium*, on which nine lines are expended. Of course, these words are given in Chambers' Cyclopædia, they are also given in dictionaries like the *Imperial* ; but the reasons for admitting them to the New Dictionary hold equally well for the admission of many more of the same kind, which the Editor has disallowed in accordance with the excellent principles enunciated in the preface. On the other hand, some words properly vouched for are omitted, such as "aban" (Jewell), "aergie" (Andrews), "ambasiate" (North's Plutarch), and others. With regard to scientific words originally taken from Arabic it seems capricious to have admitted "alidada" and excluded "almugia." A similar remark applies to "abigevis ;" it had as good a right to a place in the New Dictionary as "abactor ;" at least, when the latter word was inserted, the former ought to have been mentioned in connection with it as a synonym, for each means "a thief who hath stolen cattle." "Abocchement" is another word left out which deserved insertion. It occurs in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, and is given in Cassell's *Encyclopædic Dictionary*. Of the 1798 obsolete words in this part of the New Dictionary no one had better title to notice. The Philological Society seems to have accepted Dr. Trench's essay on *Some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries* as its manifesto. In that work, the writer claims a place in the projected dictionary for words which have been used by their inventors only. Apparently Dr. Murray takes the same view ; for he has given space to "albumean" by Charles Lamb, "alienigenate"

* *Deficiencies in English Dictionaries*, p. 58.

by Winthrop, and "anapaganize" by Southey. In support of this course it has been said that, as a Greek lexicon should give the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of Aristophanes or of Lycophron, the English dictionary should give every word in our literature even though the maker of the word be its only user. But the cases are not quite parallel. The student of a dead language needs a complete vocabulary to its works; in a living language distinction should be made between words coined and words current. A vocable does not become English by being the coinage of one, but by the acceptance of many. It is not the coining but the currency that makes it English and gives it a title to a place in the Dictionary. However interesting solitary specimens may be to a collector of verbal curiosities, lack of suffrage must be held to carry with it lack of title. The proper place for dealing with such words is a foot-note to the page of the book in which they occur, or a glossary at the end of it. A single writer having coined a word which no one ever used but himself is not to be made immortal by having that word permanently bound up in the English Dictionary.

After this necessarily brief review of the vocabulary, the next thing to consider is its treatment. Etymology furnishes the true key to the primary significations of words, and history is the only trustworthy guide to the process by which successive meanings were developed. Taken together, they supply the date for determining definitions, and the order in which those should be arranged in the Dictionary. Recent lexicographers have here a great advantage over their predecessors. During the last half-century or so comparative philology has opened up almost a new world. With the knowledge that followed the discovery of Sanscrit, and of the laws which rule in families of speech, especially with the help yielded by the study of phonetics, etymology has been lifted out of the region of guesswork and conducted on principles entitling it to rank as a branch of exact science. Dr. Murray, and the experts that assist him, have fully entered into the benefit of this advance in linguistic knowledge, and it is not too much to say, that every page of the New Dictionary is enriched with its precious fruit. In estimating the extent to which this great work surpasses its predecessors, it is needless to compare it, so far as

etymology is concerned, with either Bailey's or Johnson's. Bailey, it is true, rendered valuable service to the science of language by bringing etymology out of the books in which it had been specially treated, and making it for the first time in English an integral part of the practical Dictionary. Johnson's etymologies are on the same level with Bailey's. His own account of them to Boswell is enough: "Sir, here is a shelf with Junius, and Skinner, and others; and there is a Welsh gentleman who has published a collection of proverbs, who will help me with the Welsh." But the real superiority of the New Dictionary is best seen by comparing it with the dictionaries of Richardson, Wedgwood, and Skeat. Richardson's ideal was too high for his learning. He had not the knowledge of Aryan speech requisite to trace words back to their root-forms, and therefore in strictly etymological investigation his work was unsuccessful. His excellence and failure arose from the same cause—an inordinate dependence on Horne Tooke. The principle common to both was the employment of English to explain English. Within certain limits this principle was valuable, but beyond these it made failure inevitable. Richardson's quotations often correct his etymological errors. They furnish historical materials of very great and permanent importance, and will seldom disappoint a student that knows how to join their links. But in this, which constituted the chief excellence of his work, the New Dictionary is immensely superior. Its ladder of accurately *dated* quotations realizes a perfection which, to English lexicographers, has been hitherto only an ideal. Richardson was right in holding "that a word has one meaning, and one only; that from it all usages must spring and be derived; and that in the etymology of each word must be found this single intrinsic meaning, and the cause of the application in those usages." But Dr. Murray has been the first to reach the primary meaning through strictly scientific etymology, and, at the same time, exhibit historically the development of subsequent usages.

The Dictionary of English Etymology by Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood, and the *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* by Prof. Skeat, are very meritorious works. But

they are, properly speaking, philological treatises, and serve rather to aid scholars in the discussion of evidence, than the purposes of an English dictionary. In Mr. Wedgwood's dictionary the principle of *onomatopæia* is pressed much too far, and, as a consequence, the utility of the work is greatly lessened, but, at the same time, it is a valuable contribution to historical philology. Professor Skeat states the canons of etymology better than any previous writer of an English Dictionary. His great merit consists in the true appreciation of phonology as essential to sound etymology, and in enlightened recognition of the importance of Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic as linguistic aids to the knowledge of English. Before his dictionary was published there was no really trustworthy spelling of words quoted from these languages by English lexicographers, nor was there any uniform and strictly scientific account of the genesis of words within our language itself. In this department of etymology Prof. Skeat has greatly excelled. His knowledge of Aryan sounds, and his discriminating application of the doctrine of vowel equivalents, has enabled him to illumine the structure of English words, to clear up their genealogies, and to present in a light at once natural and logical what had been often regarded as arbitrary or conjectural. He has taught students of English that they cannot, for example, derive "doom" from "deem," or "food" from "feed;" that the laws of phonology require them to reverse the process, and derive "deem" from "doom" and "feed" from "food." Dr. Murray has advanced on the same path with brilliant progress; and highly satisfactory as his wider etymology mostly is, it is within the limits of English itself that his best work is done. The articles on "a," "a-," "-a," "about," "above," "against," "all," and many others, are exceedingly good. Never before, and nowhere else, have the same pains been taken with terminal syllables, such as, "-acy," "-age," "-al," "-ance," "-ary," "-ate." Correct and most useful discrimination is shown between the endings "-ac," "-acal," and "-ic," "-ical." In actual derivations also the new Dictionary often excels Prof. Skeat's. "Acrostic," Dr. Murray shows, occurs in the Latin form as late as 1642, and according to etymology should be spelled *acrostich*. Prof.

Skeat does not mention the Latin form, although usually he is liberal enough in exhibiting allied forms. Under "Amerce," the New Dictionary says, "to be amerced was originally to be at the mercy of any one as to amount of fine." Prof. Skeat goes off on a different line altogether, explaining the connection of "amerce" with the Latin *merces*, as though the derivation were through the sense of reward, wages, "and so easily passing into the sense of fine." But his view is quite untenable, and his article much less satisfactory on other grounds than that of Dr. Murray. The judicious reserve which refrains from speculation is exemplified by Dr. Murray's article on "Andiron." With Prof. Skeat he derives the word from the old French *andier*, but wisely refuses to encumber his pages by a reference to the Spanish *andas*, a hand-barrow for relics, or to the Italian *andare*. Prof. Skeat's endeavour to trace "andiron" to these words as its sources is, to say the least, no gain to students of English. A similar restraint is firmly maintained as to the extent to which cognate words are given in the process of etymology. It is worse than useless, it is the gratuitous admission of a stumbling-block, to draft within the direct lineal descent of a word a list of terms none of which belongs to its ancestry. Thus, in Webster's dictionary, under "course" is given "Fr. *cours*, *course*; Prov. *cors*, *corsa*; Ital. *corso*, *corsa*; Span. and Port. *curso*; Latin, *cursus*," &c. Here all between the French and Latin words is useless in an English dictionary. In a treatise on Comparative Philology such a profusion of linguistic examples may serve a useful purpose, but in an English dictionary no word should be introduced as a link in the chain of derivation unless it really belongs to the genealogy. If cognate forms in other languages exemplify orthographic changes, or if their analogies help to illustrate the genesis of forms in English, it is right to quote them. In such cases, as under "acre" and "again," Dr. Murray freely quotes the cognate words, and usually gives such assistance as may be needful to enable a student to see the analogies with his own eyes. In the case of related words, it is a maxim of etymology that the simplest form occurring in the family is the original one. The maxim is

right, but in English when a word was wanted it was taken from the source nearest to the hand of those that needed it, and therefore it is no uncommon thing to have allied or kindred words from wholly different sources. In these cases the New Dictionary never fails us. It shows, for example, that "absent" came from the French, and at an early date; whereas "absentation" came from Latin direct, and is of much more recent origin. In like manner the substantive "act" is derived from the French *acte*, but the verb "act" is from the Latin *act-*, past participle stem of *ag-ere*. The first use of the former "act" given in the New Dictionary is found in Chaucer about 1384, but the earliest use of the latter "act" is about 1475.

Never before in the history of English lexicography has this kind of work been done. It has been executed by Dr. Murray not only in a manner without parallel, but also without precedent. The etymology of obsolete words is another department of lexicography which the present work is the first to occupy. In numbers of books, and mostly in the form of notes, what was known of the genesis of obsolete terms lay hidden out of ordinary sight. Dr. Murray has brought this valuable information into full view, and in so doing has rendered important service to all requiring a thorough acquaintance with the vocabulary of the language. The extent of the contribution made under this head to English philology will be understood when it is remembered that the obsolete words in this first part of the New Dictionary amount to 1,998, or about twenty-nine per cent. of the entire vocabulary.

Next to etymology, which yields the primary sense, comes the historical development of the different meanings that words have acquired. Johnson, whose excellence in definition no single man has ever equalled, laid it down in his Plan that "it seems necessary to sort the several senses of each word, and to exhibit first its natural and primitive signification." But he often intentionally set aside his own rule, and sacrificed historical order for the sake of what he deemed relative importance in the meaning. Thus, for the word "coal" he gives two significations: 1, "the common fossil fuel;" 2, "the cinder of scorched wood, charcoal." No one

knew better than Johnson that "coal" had the second meaning before it had the first, that it meant wood-coal generations before it meant stone-coal; but to the chronology he paid no heed, judging that the meaning which was of greatest practical importance should stand first in order. A perfect lexicographer would not only follow the chronological order but would also observe the logical; and in the New Dictionary the development of the various meanings of words used in more than one sense is both historically and logically exemplified. The definitions have been framed anew upon a study of all the quotations for each word collected for this work, of which those printed form only a small part, and in this, "the most successfully cultivated department of English lexicography," the present work not only eclipses the excellence of Johnson, but quite outshines in splendour the felicitous achievements of M. Littré. The editor has attained unparalleled success, not by becoming a legislator, but by allowing the language to legislate for itself. He has codified the results by careful, historical combination, and at the same time traced the logical development of the several meanings. All this has been done by means of quotations for which name, place, and date are given. A reference to the word "absolute" will supply a typical illustration of the painstaking accuracy and completeness of Dr. Murray's work. The fifteen uses of that word are explained by quotations ranging from Chaucer to Huxley, the title of the books quoted, and the number of the page being given in every case.

It is easy to see that such thorough work as this brings out distinctions in the significations of words with authority as well as precision, and constitutes the New Dictionary a "*Thesaurus Linguae Anglicanae*" of something like national importance. To say that in no case has there been any mistake or imperfection would be to claim for it a character belonging to nothing that is human; but it is certainly right to say that of actual error there is the least possible. Perhaps the word "ambassador" is not defined with sufficient exactness, although its etymology is carried into a region which is more a philologist's than an English lexicographer's domain. Of the four separate meanings assigned to

"ambassador," the second is: "A minister at a foreign court, of the highest rank, who there permanently represents his sovereign or country, and has a right to a personal interview with the sovereign or chief magistrate of the country in which he resides." This definition does not in all respects coincide with the facts. America sends out no "ambassadors," but the American ministers in London, Berlin, and St. Petersburg are entitled to a personal interview with the respective sovereigns. The American minister at Copenhagen is accredited to the King of Denmark, and is received by the king in person. The Congress of Vienna, in 1815, and that of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818, arranged four orders of diplomatic officers, in the following gradations of rank:—Ambassadors, ministers or envoys, residents, and *chargés*. The *chargé* represents one minister to another, ministers or envoys represent sovereign Governments, ambassadors represent sovereign persons as well as Governments. But residents and ministers, as well as ambassadors, are accredited to sovereigns, and entitled to personal interview; so that the definition of "ambassador" in the New Dictionary predicates of that officer a distinction not at all peculiarly his. Dr. Murray seems to have been misled by a quotation from Cory's English History which is given under "ambassador," viz.: "An ambassador, unlike other ministers, has a right to a personal interview with the sovereign of the country in which he resides." The distinction between ordinary and extraordinary ambassadors is also not quite precise. The British Ambassador in Berlin, and the German Ambassador in London, are "ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary;" but the American minister in London is called "envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary," and, in point of fact, all three are the ordinary diplomatic representatives of their respective countries—the title "extraordinary" is complimentary.

In the use which he makes of his predecessors, Dr. Murray does not take much notice of Webster, Worcester, or Ogilvie. He often mentions Nares, Jamieson, and Davies, and frequently Johnson. The edition of Webster's Dictionary in which the etymologies have been written by Dr. Mahn of Berlin is a really good book. The last edition of the Imperial Dictionary is also a work of many merits, and for practical purposes will

seldom be consulted in vain. But the works with which it is most instructive to compare the present Dictionary are the German Dictionary by the brothers Grimm, and the great French Dictionary by M. Littré. These Continental works and the New Dictionary have this in common, that they are based on historic materials; but Dr. Murray's far surpasses the other two in the thoroughness of its historical method. M. Littré does not arrange his quotations according to the historical method, but according to the logical; Dr. Murray, on the other hand, shows the history of words by quotations exactly dated. Grimm's German Dictionary has been, by unreserved acknowledgment, a pattern to all that have come after. But an objectionable feature in it is its usage of giving all verbs in the infinitive, and thus fettering itself with the necessity of perpetuating the fiction of separable verbs—a linguistic sport which originated in an accident of spelling. Besides, the German dictionary subordinates practical ends too much to those of the scholar and philologist, whereas the New English Dictionary makes everything subservient to practical utility. Dr. Murray has also exercised a wise discretion in retaining the old spelling in the quotations. The New Dictionary thus presents to the eye on every page the orthographic and phonetic growth of words, and, it is to be hoped, will thereby powerfully stimulate and advance the study of Middle and Early English. Neglect of this study has been a reproach to English scholarship, an injury to English education, and a great hindrance to the cultivation of sound etymology. Yet it is not difficult; set about in the right way, progress is easy, and the power acquired is simply invaluable. In various other respects this great work will have much influence for good. There is every reason to hope and believe that it will be received universally as the Standard English Dictionary. When the work is complete it will not only be the "*Lexicon totius Anglicitatus*," but the English tongue will have the noblest and most accurate Dictionary of all living languages. Thus, just a century after the death of the great single-handed English Lexicographer, the first instalment has appeared of the Dictionary which must be regarded as the grand completion of that stalwart worker's greatest work.

ART. VI.—THE EARL OF MALMESBURY'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of an Ex-Minister: an Autobiography. By the
RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MALMESBURY, G.C.B. In
Two Volumes. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

NOT merely to the general reader, but also to the careful student of recent history, the Diaries and Journals which of late years have been freely given to the world are as welcome as useful. In them are found the light and colour which often are so conspicuously absent from the formal biographies by "eminent hands." In the unstudied utterances of his journal a man portrays his own character, with his likes and dislikes, in a much more effective manner than they are likely to be traced by another hand, however appreciative and loving. The autobiographer delights to trot out his hobbies, to record his little pleasantries, to touch on the peculiarities of friend and foe. The biographer, on the other hand, when striving to depict the luxuriant tree of his admiration, lops off a branch here and there, and clips and trims and refashions the foliage, till he produces a quaint, formal, and utterly unnatural shape. An amusing illustration of this lopping system may be found in a recent Life of Cobden, where one of the most striking incidents of his public career—to wit, his famous demonstration of the way in which Russia might be "crumpled up" as easily as a piece of paper—is totally omitted, although a reference to the newspapers of the time and the pages of *Hansard* will show what importance was for years attached, both in and out of Parliament, to this remarkable utterance made at a London Tavern Peace meeting. Perchance Cobden's philosophic biographer thought the matter below the dignity of history, or found it out of harmony with his own ideal of his subject; whereas, if the great Free Trade man had left the world a diary, this incident and the criticisms on it would have held a prominent position in it, and a truer insight would have been afforded into Cobden's character and genius than can be gained

from the pale reflex shed from the mind of a too cautious friend.

The very defects in form, which seem to place diaries and other autobiographical fragments on a lower level than the *teres atque rotunda* biography, are in reality marks of their superiority. The facts of life, its hard knocks and unpleasant rubs, alternating with its mirthful oddities and kindly courtesies, are thrown before us in a natural, unsorted jumble, not chopped into chapters, nor "improved" till all the savour is stewed out of them.

From this point of view the volumes before us strongly commend themselves to us. Remarkable as they are for literary power, they are totally deficient of the art and mystery of bookmaking. They contain many items and notes of events which we did not want to know, and omit information on topics about which we should gladly have been enlightened. But the very absence of the niceties of workmanlike proportion attests their genuineness; and if what interests us most is sometimes imbedded in a mass of other matter, the work of digging out the gold from the sand has a charm far beyond the perusal of nine-tenths of our modern lives of pattern men.

Rarely, however, do we find such a nice combination of the faculties of the statesman and the scribe as shall produce a readable book of the diaristic class. Seldom does the active politician possess the resolute orderliness—to say nothing of the spare time—which is essential to the persistent entering up of the private journal, and on which depends so much of the photographic clearness and truth of its details. Hence good historic diaries come upon us as a surprise, emanating from unexpected sources. A Derby may have been too luxuriously easy-going, a Gladstone may be too multifariously busy, to give us, with exquisite finish and classical taste, portraits of the "men whom they have met" in their distinguished careers. All the more welcome are the volumes in which able and trusty lieutenants fill up the literary gaps left by their chiefs; and our special thanks are due to a statesman who occupies the leisure of his retreat from public life in the revision and presentation of his notes on the men

and events of the last fifty years, living over again the by-gone days, recalling their sunshine and beauty, as well as their storm and gloom, and presenting materials for a fairer estimate of political leaders and movements than we have hitherto been able to obtain.

This is precisely what has been done in these volumes by the Earl of Malmesbury, a statesman whose name does not enter into the party contests of the present day, but was prominent as that of our Foreign Minister in some of the stormy days following close upon the French Revolution of 1848 and ushering in the Empire of Napoleon III., and again in the excitements of 1858-9; who took office as Lord Privy Seal in 1866, and again in 1874, and was for several years the leader of the House of Lords. His public life comprised periods of foreign difficulty and home perturbation, in comparison with which our present troubles and dangers seem but small and easily surmountable. Indeed, one of the main uses of a book like this is, that it compels the reader to leave the turmoil of actual politics and "hark back" to the perplexities of our forefathers. History marvellously repeats itself; and there is substantial consolation to a man of foreboding temperament in the discovery that there has been scarcely any complication of disasters, or entanglement of policy, in our own day, which has not been paralleled in former times. Many are the points presented by a book like this for comparison, both in our foreign relations and our native manners. Taking, as extremely *à propos*, the Reform agitation of 1831, we find that Lord Malmesbury—then Lord Fitzharris—and his young wife were treated in the following manner:

"When the Reform Bill was thrown out by the Peers in 1831, Lord Tankerville—his father-in-law—"voted against it. My wife and I accompanied him on his journey to Chillingham, which at that time took four days to accomplish, being 330 miles, although posting with four horses. When we got to Darlington, we halted for luncheon, and perceived a large crowd at the door of the hotel examining the crest on the panels and apparently quiet, but we were hardly reseated in the family coach when a storm of stones assailed it, and a furious mob tried to stop us. The postboys behaved well, and ran the gauntlet at full gallop till we cleared the town—but in what a condition! The coach was full of stones of all sizes, the front part of it was smashed and the panels stove in, yet we all escaped with a few scratches. When I saw what was coming, I pulled my wife under the seat, which saved her from a large paving-stone that

struck the place where she had been sitting. When some miles from Darlington, we stopped at a village inn till dark, as our battered condition would have invited another pelting, out of mere mischief. This outrage was committed deliberately and with preparation, for the first peer who passed Darlington after having voted against the Reform Bill. The stones stood in heaps ready, piled like ammunition, and the victims were to be thrown into the river. The feelings of these ferocious politicians may be imagined, as the presence of two women, my wife and her maid, in our carriage did not prevent their murderous attempt. This was but one of many similar acts of violence all over England and Scotland connected with the progress of the Reform Bill."

As a people, have we improved in our manners and behaviour since that date? Some of our readers can recall those early times, and can testify to the roughness of the operatives, when, in the larger towns, it was unsafe for a decently dressed child to traverse the streets alone in open day; and when in many trades an amount of drinking was performed by the "hands" which is now happily so out of date as to be almost incredible. Spite of the lingering roughness of certain districts, and notwithstanding the curious parallel to the act of brutality recorded above which Dumfries has recently presented, we hold that the bulk of the population has made marked advance in its manners and bearing in the last fifty years, and the benign influence of education on the masses becomes more perceptible day by day.

Shall we take as a sign of the morbid taste once prevalent in all classes, that Lord Malmesbury devotes several of his paragraphs to the startling murders and notorious criminals of the days he chronicles—Courvoisier, the Mannings, the Duc de Praslin? One would rather their names should die utterly; yet still there may be some utility in retaining the paragraphs which relate to them, inasmuch as these show the importance which a bygone age attached to such events, and the large space which they occupied in the gossip of the time. Have we quite outgrown this unhealthy *penchant*?

Lord Malmesbury prefaces his extracts from his Diary with a brief and highly interesting account of his early days, beginning with his very *incunabula*. It was on March 25, 1807, that his father, Lord Fitzharris, was sitting alone in his room, anxiously expecting the announcement of the advent of a little stranger, when a knock at the door was followed by the entry of a king's messenger with a letter from Mr. Canning,

appointing him Under Secretary at the Foreign Office. A few minutes after this surprise he was informed of the birth of a son—the present Earl of Malmesbury, who holds himself, under these circumstances, to have been devoted from birth to a career at the Foreign Office, his horoscope evidently pointing to such a fate. In his boyish days England was fighting the French by sea and by land, and the name of Bonaparte was the bugbear with which English mothers and nurses used “to rule their wayward children.” His childhood was passed chiefly at Heron Court, an old family seat near Christchurch, in a neighbourhood which was a stronghold of smugglers, who drove a thriving contraband trade during the war, being, as in many similar cases, smiled on and screened by those who should have known better. At Eton he gained that public school experience which is by some thought so valuable; and in 1825 he went to Oriel College, where Coplestone was the provost, and Dornford and Newman were tutors. For his slight and harmless reminiscences of the latter he has incurred the Cardinal’s grave displeasure—why, it is not easy to say. Going on his travels, he met with many remarkable men and women; amongst the latter, the Countess Guiccioli, “of Byronic memory,” who told him this amusing anecdote of the poet:—

“With all his abuse of England, he insisted on keeping up old customs in small things, such as having hot cross buns on Good Friday and roast goose on Michaelmas Day. This last fancy led to a grotesque result. After buying a goose and fearing it might be too lean, he fed it every day for a month previously, so that the poet and the bird became so mutually attached that when September 29 arrived he could not kill it, but bought another, and had the pet goose swung in a cage under his carriage when he travelled, so that, after four years, he was moving about with four geese.”

At Rome the diarist was introduced to the Duchesse de St. Leu—Queen Hortense—and her son, Louis Napoleon, whose friendship, in warmer or colder condition, he retained through forty subsequent years, with their wonderful vicissitudes.

“He was a wild, harum-scarum youth, or what the French call *un crâne*, riding at full gallop down the streets to the peril of the public, fencing and pistol-shooting, and, apparently, without serious thoughts of any kind, although even then he was possessed with the conviction that he would

some day rule over France. We became friends, but at that time he evinced no remarkable talent or any fixed idea but the one I mention. It grew upon him with his growth, and increased daily, until it ripened into a certainty. He was a very good horseman, and proficient at athletic games, being short, but very active and muscular. His face was grave and dark, redeemed by a singularly bright smile. Such was his personal appearance in 1829, at twenty-one years of age."

In the recollections of these early years we find an account of a visit to Howick, and this graphic sketch of old Earl Grey and his family group:—

"He was one of the most striking figures I ever saw, the very type of a *grand seigneur*, and of an intellectual man. Whilst I was at Howick I was struck with two peculiarities of the family, one of which was that all the sons and daughters called their parents by their Christian names, 'Charles' and 'Mary,' which had a strange effect; the other was the taste of the whole family for argument. They were always in a state of discussion, even as to the distance between Howick and Alnwick, and the shortest road to and from each, which one would suppose they had verified long ago. Lady Georgiana was very agreeable, and played beautifully on the harp, an instrument then much appreciated. As I suppose I was looked upon as a mere boy by the party, politics and future onslaughts on the Tory Government were freely spoken of without *gêne* in my presence; and I remember one day Lord Grey breaking out and declaring that the three greatest rascals in the world were Lord Castlereagh (then dead), Brougham, and Talleyrand; and I recollect this explosion the more, because when he formed his Government three months later, he was obliged to make Brougham his Chancellor, and to receive Talleyrand as the Ambassador of France."

In 1830, Lord Malmesbury married Lady Emma Tankerville—an alliance which brought him much happiness for eight-and-forty years, and to which this tribute is paid on her monument in the Priory Church at Christchurch:

"From her it never was our fate to find
A deed ungentle or a word unkind:
The mildest manners with the bravest mind.—*Iliad*."

The young couple had, of course, the finest opportunities for seeing the world and mixing with notable people; and the Diary, from its commencement in 1832, abounds with incident and anecdote. Thus, they dine at Marshal Sebastiani's, the French Ambassador's, who had married Lady Tankerville's sister, and was very pompous and boastful; and of whom, after he had been beaten at Talavera by the Duke of Wellington, his mother used to say, "*Mons fils ressemble à un de ses tambours—plus il est battu, plus il fait du bruit.*" Enter Mrs. Norton, the lady who in her later years was esteemed

a martyr to evil tongues, but who seems to have been of an exceedingly lively turn in those days. "She talked," we are told, "in a most extraordinary manner, and kicked Lord Melbourne's hat over her head"—no ordinary feat certainly. Well might the *corps diplomatique* be a little "amazed." In an entry made some years later, we find the same lady described as "very agreeable and amusing; but her beauty, her manners, and her conversation are all of the most masculine character—and the latter is often coarser than even a man should use."

The attempt to assassinate Louis Philippe by means of an "infernal machine," in July, 1835, while it left him unharmed, put an end to Marshal Mortier's career; and this reminds Lord Malmesbury that

"Poor Marshal Mortier was once the victim of a clever robbery. He attended some great public dinner in a full marshal's uniform, which was very handsome, being highly embroidered and covered with medals. One of the waiters, apparently by accident, upset the contents of a whole sauceboat over him; upon which another waiter offered, if he retired for a moment and took off his coat, to remedy the mishap. The Marshal did so, waited a long time, but never saw his coat again."

Here is the origin of the distinguished name, "Trollope," as related to Mr. Sidney Herbert by "a son of Mrs. Trollope, the authoress, who was with him at Harrow"—probably poor Anthony, in those purgatorial Harrow days of his—and who

"First told it of his own accord, but used to be made to repeat it by sufficient punchings on the head, as follows: 'Tallyhosier, the Norman, came over to England with William the Conqueror, and being out hunting one day with his Majesty in the New Forest, happened to kill three wolves, and *trois* being the French for "three," *loup* for "wolves," he was called *Troisloup*, which, with many changes and corruptions during countless centuries, became *Trollope*.'"

Dining with Lord Stanley, the father of the present Earl Derby, Lord Malmesbury had an amusing experience of Transatlantic inquisitiveness. The American Minister, Mr. Everett, without waiting to be introduced, asked him how much beer-money he gave his servants, and "seemed to think it was too much. He was dressed in a green coat, not a common colour for a dinner in London." Another American envoy, Mr. Lawrence, was blessed with a thoroughly appreciative wife, who, when speaking of her lord, pronounced him to be "a wonderful man, a very heavy man (meaning clever). When he goes to the east, he tilts over the west."

Under date April 10, 1845, we find that royal personages are liable to the same mishaps as vulgar mortals.

"The Queen has lost her keys, which she dropped out of her pocket as she was riding. As they were those of the Government boxes, the offices were in consternation at the idea of having all the locks altered. The day they were missed I was passing up King's Road, when I saw Colonel Arbuthnot walking slowly in the middle of it, with his eyes fixed on the ground. Behind him was a strong body of police and park rangers drawn in a line across the road and looking down also. The effect was very absurd, and, of course, people amused themselves by giving false intelligence about the keys, and sending them in all directions after supposed finders of the lost treasure."

Here is a rare specimen of matter-of-fact obtuseness. The Queen had been presenting medals to the invalided or wounded officers and men from the Crimea, and after the ceremony,

"Mrs. Norton, talking about it to Lord Panmure, asked, 'Was the Queen touched?' 'Bless my soul, no!' was the reply: 'she had a brass railing before her, and no one could touch her.' Mrs. Norton then said, 'I mean, was she moved?' 'Moved!' answered Lord Panmure, 'she had no occasion to move!' Mrs. Norton then gave it up in despair."

And here is a fine instance of plain speech from a faithful servant of the old school:

"I was fishing in Loch Arkraig, which is fifteen miles long, and having great sport, I exclaimed to John Brenton in my excitement, 'I wish I had this lake at Heron Court!' 'I don't,' cried John, 'as it would drown your miserable estate and half the county besides.'"

An anecdote of the Queen in the lighter-hearted days of her happy married life:

"Lady Ely called, and talked to us of the dinner at the Palace last year" (1857), "where Lords Palmerston, Clarendon, John Russell, Derby and Malmesbury met, and which Lord Derby characterized to Prince Albert as an illustration of a happy family, a joke which amused him and the Queen very much. It looks as if Her Majesty made up the dinner of these discordant materials for fun, and, from the same *malice*, made me take Lady Clarendon to dinner, as it was only two days after I had attacked Lord Clarendon in the House of Lords, and Lady Clarendon would not speak to me at first, but I ended by making her laugh. The Queen, who was opposite, was highly amused, and could hardly help laughing when Lady Clarendon at first would not answer me."

Of Lord Alvanley he tells us:

"He was remarkable for the manner in which he could tell a story; and it amused him sometimes to relate them at dinner with such fun that he drove the servants out of the room, who could not remain for laughing. On one occasion a friend of his came for advice under the following circumstances: 'Mr. — has threatened to kick me whenever he sees me in society. What am I to do if he comes into the room?' 'Sit down,' replied Lord Alvanley."

Tastes differ, and it is pleasant to read of Madame Ristori's appreciation of the pungent odour of the Thames in 1858 :

"The stench is perfectly intolerable; although Madame Ristori, coming back one night from a dinner at Greenwich given by Lord Hardwicke, sniffed the air with delight, saying it reminded her of her 'dear Venice.'"

Such are a few of the amusing passages in these entertaining volumes. But their interest does not consist mainly in *bon mots* and lively anecdotes. They throw much light on party politics, and afford abundant material for the formation of a fair estimate of the leading statesmen of the last forty or fifty years, who pass before us in full dress and undress, and whose characters often receive important illustration from very brief jottings. The stirring days in which the earlier part of the Diary was written saw the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832—the Canadian Rebellion—the formation of the Anti-Corn-Law League—the Afghan and Sikh wars—the Irish famine, and Sir Robert Peel's adoption of Free Trade principles—the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and the consequent break up of the Conservative party into Peelites and Protectionists. Then came 1848, the year of revolution on the Continent and of Chartist riots at home; then 1851, when the Great Exhibition was thought to inaugurate peace, but proved to be the harbinger of great and destructive wars. Early in 1852 Lord John Russell's Ministry was defeated on a Militia Bill, and the Earl of Derby—who in the preceding year had failed in his attempt to form a Ministry, through the "timid conduct of Mr. Henley and Mr. Herries," the former of whom "looked like an old doctor who had just killed a patient," and the latter "like the undertaker who was to bury him"—succeeded in constructing a Cabinet, in which Lord Malmesbury was called to take an important post. Then comes one of the most interesting portions of the work. How his lordship, though new to office, was in a certain measure fitted for it, may be learnt from the following passage :—

"I had published in 1844 the *Diplomatic Journal and Correspondence* of my grandfather, the first Lord Malmesbury, and the experience I gained by reading and collating, with great trouble, the contents of above two thousand letters and despatches from and to him by all the important personages of the period from 1768 to 1800 stood me in good stead at

this trying time. Without this accidental education, I should have been as great a novice in political business as were most of my colleagues. My former personal relations with Louis Napoleon were also a lucky accident, and placed us on a footing which saved much trouble and anxiety to both of us when he proclaimed the Empire in 1852."

Lord Palmerston, being an old friend of the family, and knowing the difficulty attached to such a high and important charge, kindly offered to give him "some advice upon the main principles of our English policy with foreign countries;" and accordingly favoured him with a visit at Whitehall Gardens, when he drew a masterly sketch of the *status quo* in Europe, and imparted some general hints as to his procedure.

"The pith of them was 'to keep well with France;' but adding, that she was ambitious to have the principal influence in the East, and that, in this respect, we were 'like two men in love with the same woman.' He said, 'You have no idea till you know more of your office what a power of *prestige* England possesses abroad, and it will be your first duty to see that it does not wane. All the Foreign Ministers will try at first to get objects which they have been refused by successive Governments; so take care you yield nothing until you have well looked into every side of the question. When the *diplomates* call, do not be too reserved, but preface your observations by stating that what you say is *officious*.'" (Lord Malmesbury elsewhere explains the difference between *officious* and *official* conversation. "The first is the free interchange of opinions between the two Ministers, and compromises neither; the latter would do so, and bind their Governments.") "He said, that, of course, being unaccustomed to this sort of work—namely, reading a number of papers and answering or taking note of them, they must cost me more time and labour than they did him, but that the advantage I had was in having young eyes, as he suffered much from his sight. He recommended me to insist on all correspondence being written in a plain hand, with proper intervals between the lines, and he mentioned some Ministers who were quite illegible. On the subject of appointments abroad, he said, satirically, 'You will be struck with a very curious circumstance—namely, that no climate agrees with an English diplomatist, excepting that of Paris, Florence, or Naples.'"

The new Ministry consisted almost entirely of men new to office, the exceptions being Lords Derby and Lonsdale. The times were none of the quietest. Europe was in that uneasy condition which preludes a great war, and several of the continental States were like slumbering volcanoes, from which a disastrous eruption might almost hourly be expected. England's nearest neighbour had made Louis Napoleon President of its new Republic, simply on the strength of his name; and he, by the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, had made himself master of Paris, and got rid of his Republican rivals and thorns, and was now meditating the fittest time and mode of constituting

himself Emperor. It was a trying era for the *début* of an English Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and many looked with distrust on the untried man who had been put into the post usually occupied by well-seasoned statesmen. But Lord Malmesbury proved himself equal to the task, and by tact and judgment conducted the business of the department in a manner not unworthy of the traditions of the office. His first interview with the Austrian Minister, Count Buol, served as a test of his mettle.

"Rome and Modena had sent notes, suggested by Austria, through Count Buol, demanding the extradition of their refugees, which Lord Granville met by throwing them after him when he went out of the room; and this was my first diplomatic interview with Buol, who was raving against England and Granville. He behaved in the most coarse and insolent manner when I refused to receive the notes which he presented, and to such a degree, that I, at last, asked him if he was accustomed to speak to English Ministers in that style; because I must tell him at once that I would not bear it, and should inform his Court of his violence. He at once left the room."

By this time there had arisen, both in the Court and other circles, a strong distrust of Louis Napoleon, accompanied with that fear of invasion which for many subsequent years troubled England, swelling now and then to the dimensions of a panic. Lord Malmesbury, however, seems to have formed a wonderfully correct estimate of the man, even at this early period of his public career. He had known him in his raw youth at Rome; had witnessed his pluck at Geneva in jumping off a bridge into the Rhone; had visited him while a prisoner in the fortress of Ham, and had seen how by regular study and work he had kept his mental powers intact in that trying confinement. We regret that our space will not allow us to quote a letter which Lord Malmesbury wrote on March 29, 1852, to Sir Hamilton Seymour, since it shows admirable insight into the character and aims of the President—his imperial ambitions, his "obstinacy of intentions," and the hold which a territorial redistribution had upon his brain. Knowing him to be neither a fool nor a coward, and that he had a kindly feeling to the land which had been to him as a mother in his exile, he was not troubled with an insane dread of him, any more than he was lulled by old friendship into carelessness as to his plots and plans.

Since Louis Napoleon had already possessed himself of the reality of imperial power, using the popular vote as his implement of elevation, it was really immaterial to neighbouring States what particular title he assumed; and, looking back to these far-away days, it seems absurd for crowned heads and grave senators to have troubled themselves as to what numeral—if any—he was going to add to the Imperial name they were sure he was about to assume. However, this trifling matter, which appears to have perplexed the Emperor himself, is said to have been settled in this amusing manner:

“The Prefect of Bourges, where he slept the first night of his progress, had given instructions that the people were to shout ‘Vive Napoléon!’ but he wrote, ‘Vive Napoléon!!!’ The people took the three notes of interjection as a numeral. The President, on hearing it, sent the Duc de Mortemart to the Prefect to know what the cry meant. When the whole thing was explained, the President, tapping the Duke on the shoulder, said: ‘Je ne savais pas que j’avais un Préfet Machiavelliste.’”

The old landmarks of English party life had been broken down when Sir Robert Peel carried the repeal of the Corn Laws. While the great body of his followers adhered for a time to the doctrine of Protection, a few of the ablest broke away from it, and formed a shifting third party, neither Whig nor Tory, but able to throw its weight into either scale—now seemingly on the point of joining Lord Derby, and now taking office with Lords Palmerston and Russell. We may not follow the kaleidoscopic changes of those days, when these sparkling atoms were attracted first towards one and then towards another centre. Much light is thrown in these volumes upon the various movements of the slightly differing parties, and many important letters from leading statesmen are now first given to the public. From the whole the reader gains the impression that in those times at least, however the Opposition might storm at the Ministerial benches, and *vice versa*, the policy of the country followed the same main lines, “whatsoever king might reign,” or Premier hold the keys of office. It is pleasing to note how often and how persistently England has acted the part of peace-maker—how she would, if she could, have stopped the very beginnings of the wars between Denmark and the German Powers, between Austria and Italy and France, between Prussia and Austria. To this policy

the Russian war was a considerable exception; but there the fault of the quarrel lay in great measure with France, and England, then in close alliance with that excitable nation, simply acted the part of a faithful comrade, and did the greater part of the fighting, while the other claimed the glory. Under date of March 29, 1853, we have a glimpse of the little cloud which as yet was but as a man's hand.

"Lavalette is just recalled from the Embassy at Constantinople, where his zeal involved France in the question of the Holy Places. He intimated to me that he had 'been thrown over.' He is anti-English; abused Lord Stratford's temper. The fact is that the Emperor Louis Napoleon does not realize that upon the subject of the Holy Shrines Nicholas (who is Pope and Head of the Greek Church) cannot possibly give way, and encouraged Lavalette in preposterous demands and language to the Sultan, and is now obliged to draw back and recall him."

But, long ere this, Lord Derby's first Ministry had come to an end, having lasted only ten months. Then came Lord Aberdeen and the "drifting" into the Crimean war. It was not till February, 1858, that Lord Derby resumed the reins of power, and Lord Malmesbury took up again his old post at the Foreign Office. This time their tenure lasted some sixteen months, and ended in a way which was rather mortifying to the Foreign Secretary. Lord John Russell having carried an amendment to the Derby Reform Bill, a dissolution had taken place; and on a new Parliament assembling, Ministers were defeated on an amendment to the Address—a defeat which, in all probability, would not have taken place, had Mr. Disraeli previously laid on the table the Italian and French correspondence with the Foreign Office.

"Why he chose not to do so I never knew, nor did he ever explain it to me; but I presented it to the House of Lords at the last moment when I found he would not give it to the House of Commons, and at least twelve or fourteen Members of Parliament who voted against us in the fatal division came out of their way at different times and places to assure me that, had they read that correspondence before the debate, they never would have voted for an amendment which, as far as our conduct respecting the war was concerned, was thoroughly undeserved, we having done everything that was possible to maintain peace. Mr. Cobden was one of these, and expressed himself most strongly to me on the subject."

Of the leading statesmen of that period many traits are noticed by Lord Malmesbury. Thus of Mr. Gladstone, as he appeared forty years ago—November, 1844—he gives us this slight sketch:

"Dined with the Cannings, and met Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Phillimore. We were curious to see the former, as he is much spoken of as one who will come to the front. We were disappointed at his appearance, which is that of a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, but he is very agreeable."

Eight years later he could not "make out Gladstone," who seemed to him "a dark horse." Still later—July, 1860—we find the versatile genius "quite enthusiastic about Negro melodies, singing them with the greatest spirit and enjoyment, never leaving out a verse, and evidently preferring such as 'Camp Down Races.'" To the same effect, Henry Greville, in the Second Series of Leaves from his Diary, writes: "He (Gladstone) has a melodious voice in speaking, but I was not prepared to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer warble a sentimental ballad, accompanied by his wife."

Naturally we have a fuller sketch of the late Lord Derby, with whom our "ex-Minister" was closely associated in public life. Endued with noble qualities—a scholar, an orator, a well-bred gentleman—Earl Derby was in many respects excellently fitted to be the leader of a great party. With settled principles, high courage, youthful dash and fire in debate, genial and witty in converse, he commanded the admiration and attachment of his followers. But, on the other hand, his love for his pleasant seat at Knowsley, his utter indifference to the glory and sweetness of office, his frequent attacks of gout, combined with his want of perception of the power of the press, and his habit of "attending to one thing at a time"—a habit very good in its way, but carried far beyond its proper limits when it led him to devote his attention for days to matters of the turf, to the exclusion of affairs of State—were of signal disadvantage to his party, and, at times, annoyed even so devoted an ally as Lord Malmesbury. But he gives a finely appreciative summary of his career, and tells us that in him he lost his "greatest friend, and the country a most brilliant and accomplished statesman."

Of another great party leader, Mr. Disraeli, we do not see quite so much in these volumes. For much of the time which they cover, the brilliant man of the pen, who fought his way up to the leadership of both Houses, was scarcely in accord with the bulk of the party which was shattered by

Sir Robert Peel's adoption of Free Trade in corn. Lord Malmesbury is always fair to him, and notes from time to time the absurd dislike in which the man of genius was held by the men of acres. Who can tell the long agony of Disraeli's spirit, while he gallantly fought the battle of men who could as little understand his policy as they could estimate his ability? Conscious of his high powers, devoting himself heart and soul to an unthankful service, placing himself in the very front of the sullen array which could neither appreciate nor spare his generalship, he was the most accomplished of leaders, and finally marshalled to victory a party which had despaired of ever regaining power with a good working majority. We have no space to quote passages which show that, wonderfully as he could control his feelings in Parliament, and listen to violent tirades with unmoved features, he had really the strong susceptibility of a highly imaginative mind, and suffered alternations of pain and pleasure unknown in their intensity to duller mortals.

Lord John Russell figures on several of these pages. His was a character to which scant justice was done in his lifetime. What was said of St. Paul by envious critics would have well applied to his lordship; for "his bodily presence" was "weak, and his speech contemptible," or "of no account." Yet the small body contained a large soul, whose sympathies were ever with the progress of the race; and very much of our freedom and educational advance is due to "little Lord John." Foreign politics probably he considered to be his *forte*; but his plain, well-meant lectures to misguided potentates were not always appreciated aright. We can only quote one of his tersest *mots*:—

"Rumours of Lord John's and Gladstone's resignation continue (June, 1860). Some of the Whigs signed the round-robin blaming the former for his foreign policy, and asking him to resign. His only remark was, 'Blackguards!'"

Lord Palmerston, the Minister who enjoyed the longest term of general popularity of any statesman of the present century, is very often mentioned. Though mostly they were found on opposite sides of the House, and though Lord Malmesbury often finds fault with his proceedings, he does full

justice to his noble qualities, and, on occasion of his death, pays him this brief, but discriminating, tribute :—

“ As a Minister, although I often differed from him, I looked upon him as one of our greatest, especially in his knowledge of foreigners and their character. He was clear-headed, always knew what he wanted, and was determined to carry it out, with great moral and physical courage. We shall be long ere we see his like again. He was *English* to the backbone.”

And here we must take leave of our author, without touching on many points to which we should like to have called attention. We have barely indicated the riches to be found in these comely volumes. Lord Malmesbury has his prejudices, and does not always look at things from the same point as ourselves ; yet the book is distinguished by a manly fairness of spirit, which, in combination with its literary ability, must insure it a prominent place on the shelves and in the esteem of a great number of readers. If he is a fair average specimen from the ranks of the Upper House, then that assembly has little to fear from the attacks of assailants whom one of its most recent and illustrious members dares to designate as—

“ Men lond against all forms of power—
Unfurnished brows, tempestuous tongues—
Expecting all things in an hour—
Brass mouths and iron lungs.”

ART. VII.—THE PRESENT PHASE OF SOUTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

“ **W**HERE no oxen are the crib is clean : but much increase is by the strength of the ox.” So runs the ancient proverb, and the statesman as well as the husbandman can bear witness to the truth. It would, without doubt, save much care and perplexity if Great Britain were without its colonies : and yet its colonies are a chief source of its glory and wealth. Among the occasions of difficulty in the management of colonial affairs, the native question is almost everywhere present. It has acquired a painful pre-eminence in those of South Africa, and at this moment presents a phase which is peculiarly threatening.

In connection with the Cape Colony, trouble of this sort is not new. A history of Kaffir wars would extend over many years. The trouble of to-day is not confined to any one locality. Basutos, Pondos, Zulus, Swazis are all more or less disturbed, and they all have their special questions to be considered and settled. And yet the most pressing question does not concern any of these. The area within which it has been raised, and must be settled, is to the south-west of the Transvaal. It is the remnant of what was once a much more extensive tract of country, known as Bechuanaland. The occasion of the difficulty is the action of certain European settlers, chiefly Boers, from the Transvaal itself.

Some persons, perhaps, will be ready at once to turn away from the subject, supposing that it is only the old story of the conflict between civilization and barbarism. It is not so. There have been many instances in other lands where the advancing settler taking possession of unoccupied lands has been attacked by a savage horde or a wandering tribe, and where self-defence has compelled the use of measures which have been fatal to the native. In Bechuanaland this has not been the case. These tribes, and especially the Barolong, under their chief Montsion, are given to the culture of the land and to the rearing of cattle. They were living thus in actual use of their broad acres when they were attacked by freebooters who have gradually despoiled them of their best territory, and now threaten to destroy them utterly.

Nor were these tribes when thus assailed merely quiet untutored barbarians. For the greater part of this century they have been in contact with the Gospel. For sixty-two years the Wesleyan Missionary Society has had its representatives among them. As for the London Missionary Society, it was here that the Rev. Dr. Moffat so long lived and laboured. Amid the violence and wrong of the last four years, mission schools and chapels erected and maintained by native zeal and Christian love have been wrecked and destroyed by men themselves professed believers in the same faith. Whilst conflict was all around, and when shut up within their stronghold of Mafeking, the Christian warriors held their Sabbath services morning, noon, and night. Their weekly

meetings for prayer and fellowship were never omitted, except when fighting was actually going on. The old chieftain, Montsioa, is a man who fears God so far that he promotes the mental and religious welfare of his people. There are many, we know, who smile at the Christianity of Barolongs, and quote the accounts given of their atrocities in war. Supposing that those accounts were true, Englishmen can scarcely afford to quote them in proof that in Bechuanaland there is neither religion nor civilization. Every one who has read the details of the Peninsular war, and remembers what excesses were perpetrated by British soldiers within the present century, will pause before he admits an argument that would condemn the England of yesterday as unchristian and uncivilized. There have been not a few men among the Barolong warriors of the last few years as truly and consistently godly, though not so highly educated, as any that give character to the British army. Barolongs have much to learn in things human and divine; but they have learned much, and, if righteously judged, have not disgraced their teachers, however imperfectly they may have practised their lesson.

The responsibility of England for the protection of these tribes has been shown beyond reasonable doubt. The South African Committee in London has repeatedly furnished evidence on the subject. The Wesleyan Missionary Society has published a statement of the case which is clear and convincing. If more is needed, the official documents, presented to Parliament in various Blue-books, will surely be sufficient. It might be argued that a moral responsibility has existed from the day when first a powerful, civilized, and professedly Christian country came into contact with ignorance, suffering, and degradation. At present, however, we are speaking of political obligations voluntarily undertaken and repeatedly recognized, although never fulfilled. No lengthened review of British rule in South Africa is needed; for all the events with which we are now concerned have occurred within the last fifteen years. A summary of these must be given; and it will then appear how uncertain and fickle the policy of the British Government has been. It will also be seen that the

policy of the Boers has been steady and consistent, often defiant and not seldom marked by an undisguised contempt, in its opposition to England.

In 1836, the ancestors of the Transvaal Boers emigrated from British territory, and forcibly took possession of lands to the north of the river Vaal. Sixteen years later the Sand River Convention was concluded between them and the British Government. Under the terms of this convention they have ever since claimed unlimited freedom to work their will from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean. The violence of these settlers and of others, their companions in adventure, awakened the energy of the native tribes, who clearly saw that success for the Boers meant destruction for themselves. The British Government was at length called upon to intervene. Questions at issue between the natives and the Transvaal Boers were submitted to arbitration, and Lieutenant-Governor Keate, of Natal, was the accepted umpire. His award, given in 1871, defined the south-western boundary of the Transvaal, and allotted to Mankoroane and Montsaioa, chiefs whose names are now familiar, the lands thenceforth known as the Keate Award. On the withdrawal of the British authorities, the Boers, as soon as strength and opportunity permitted, resumed the work of spoliation; but the native tribes were more than a match for them. Sekkukuni, a Kafir chief, defeated them; whilst Ketchwayo, the then powerful king of the Zulus, threatened them from another quarter. The Transvaal Republic, in danger of destruction from without, was internally in a state of collapse. Its revenue was uncollected, its treasury was empty, and its credit was gone. Factions were rife, and civil war was within the view. Such was the state of affairs when, in 1877, the Transvaal was annexed by the British Government. Sekkukuni was subdued by force of arms, and was deposed, Mampoe being set up in his stead. Immediately afterwards British authority was asserted throughout Bechuanaland, and the High Commissioner asserted the right of the British Crown to legislate "as protector of the native tribes." Up to that time these tribes had shown that they could protect themselves, obtaining weapons of defence in the open market. Their British protectors at once passed and enforced a law

which closed the markets against them. The sale of arms and ammunition to natives was prohibited under heavy penalties. Such legislation could not be justified, unless the protectorate thus forcibly established was to be effectual and abiding. It is beyond question that this was then the intention of the British Government. Official assurances were given without stint. Sir Garnet Wolseley declared, "in order to remove any doubt," that the Transvaal would continue to be an integral portion of Her Majesty's dominions; Mr. Gladstone then, as now, Prime Minister, told the Boers that the annexation could not be rescinded; and Lord Kimberley, in order to allay doubts raised by Boer agitation, telegraphed that "under no circumstances could Her Majesty's dominion over the Transvaal be relinquished." These assurances were accepted by Englishmen and others, who were thereby led to invest large sums of money in the lands and the trade of the country. It cannot therefore be surprising that less informed, though scarcely less intelligent, natives, both chiefs and liegemen, relied with equal confidence on British truth and valour. When the Boer insurrection began, the Bechuana chiefs Mankoroane and Montsioa, recognized at the time of the Keate award, continued faithful to the British Crown. Montsioa gave shelter to loyal Boers and Europeans, who, because of their loyalty, were unsafe in the Transvaal. He collected three thousand men, and gave notice to the Boer commander of the district that, if those who had taken refuge with him were injured, he would advance with his whole force. He also made an offer of active aid to the British authorities. In reply, he was encouraged to persevere in his defence of the persons and property of the refugees, and was assured that his services thus rendered would not be forgotten. Mankoroane was likewise assured that, if he remained loyal to the British Government, he might rely on receiving every reasonable support. These pledges so given were thankfully accepted. They were guaranteed by the power and honour of England.

The scene soon changed. Disasters befell the British troops; but General Roberts was sent out, and found himself in command of a force which could have made short work of the opposition. It was at this juncture that a change of

Ministry took place at home and a change of policy abroad. General Roberts was recalled, and a peace was negotiated. The basis of negotiation included the surrender of the Transvaal into the hands of those Boers who had identified themselves with the resistance of British authority. None but these had any voice in the settlement. The result was the Pretoria Convention. How far did England, when accepting the terms of this Convention, remember and fulfil her oft-repeated pledges to her trustful native friends and allies?

The official documents make it very plain that in the Pretoria Convention, England neither fulfilled her promises nor repudiated her responsibilities. Montsioa and Mankoroane, instead of being rewarded for their services, were despoiled of a large part of their territory. The spoil was handed over to the men whom they, in the service of England, had dared and defied. Nevertheless, England, in the Pretoria Convention, and especially in Article XVIII., still poses as the protector of the native tribes. The British Crown had reserved for itself the rights of suzerainty within the Transvaal. Similar rights in the districts beyond were not "reserved," for they were taken as unquestioned. The local representative of the Suzerain was to be a British Resident, appointed by the Crown; and his duties and functions were defined in the Article before-mentioned. Of the natives within the Transvaal he was to be the guardian and adviser, always observing the laws of the land, but regularly reporting to his superiors "as to the working and observance of the provisions of this Convention." "In regard to natives not residing in the Transvaal, (a) he will report to the High Commissioner and the Transvaal Government any encroachments reported to him as having been made by Transvaal residents upon the land of such natives, and in case of disagreement between the Transvaal Government and the British Resident as to whether an encroachment had been made, the decision of the Suzerain will be final; (b) the British Resident will be the medium of communication with native chiefs outside the Transvaal and, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner as representing the Suzerain, he will control the conclusion of treaties with them; and (c) he will arbitrate upon every dispute

between Transvaal residents and natives outside the Transvaal (as to acts committed beyond the boundaries of the Transvaal) which may be referred to him by the parties interested." It is difficult to suggest any words by which the British Crown could have more effectually declared its guardianship of the rights and property of the natives, especially of those beyond the Transvaal.

If anything could add force to this voluntary renewal of promise and responsibility, it would be a consideration of the circumstances in which it took place. Nearly a million natives, eager for the continuance of British rule, were to be dealt with under the provisions of the Convention. Hundreds of thousands of them within the Transvaal were about to be transferred to the jurisdiction of a few men whom they regarded with utter dislike and even with loathing. Sir Hercules Robinson, then, as now, High Commissioner at the Cape, was also President of the Commission. His reports to the Home Government could not be mistaken. At his call, when all was settled, seventy chiefs with their attendants gathered to hear their fate at his mouth. They were not sooner gathered, because it was not deemed expedient to allow them any hope of influencing the decision. They were not permitted, when thus assembled, to speak in presence of the Commission, lest their uncontrollable indignation should make their new rulers angry. The only consolation afforded them was that of plain speech in presence of the Secretary for Native Affairs. It is well that a faithful report of this interview is on record in the papers presented to the British Parliament. Their utterances varied in form, but in substance they were one, and the protest was unanimous. They protested against being handed over to any Government other than that of the Queen of England; and of all possible Governments they most bitterly resented their abandonment to that of the Boers. It is impossible to read their remonstrances without a sense of shame. "They asked whether it was thought that they had no feelings or hearts, that they were thus treated as a stick or piece of tobacco which could be passed from hand to hand without question." The declaration then made in behalf of the chief Mapoch may suffice for all: "We gave

ourselves and our country to the English Government, but if the English Government is going away, we demand our country back ; we will not submit to the Boers."

To abate the grief and to lessen the distress and anxiety of the sufferers, Sir Hercules Robinson, in his capacity of President of the Royal Commission, delivered an address to the assembled chiefs, and caused to be interpreted to them those articles of the Convention by which they were specially affected. A copy of that speech was sent home for the information of Her Majesty's Ministers, and was officially approved. Its closing words were these :—"The Queen of England desires the good of you all ; and you may rest assured that, although this country is about to be handed back to its former rulers, your interests will never be forgotten or neglected by Her Majesty's Government, or by her representatives in South Africa. You will now return peacefully to your homes and acquaint all your friends with the words which I have spoken to you to-day." The representatives of Mapoch of the Transvaal and of Montsioa of Bechuanaland were there, and with heavy hearts they returned to tell the tidings. After four years of quiet under British rule they were left to the Boer !

But how left ? When England interfered in Bechuanaland and the Transvaal, in 1877, and claimed the right to act as "protector of the native races," it found those natives armed, and able, in the ordinary course of trade, to supply themselves with weapons of defence as occasion might require ; able also to use them with effect against their oppressors. When England, in 1881, surrendered the Transvaal to those same oppressors it placed at their disposal greater resources and strength than they had ever previously possessed, whilst the natives were practically without defence by reason of the legislation of 1877. The fact that they were thus left excluded from military markets by British authority can only be explained by supposing that the suzerainty was to be in every sense a reality.

The ink was not dry, the treaty itself was not yet completely written, before the strife on the south-western border of the Transvaal was renewed ; whilst within the Transvaal pretexts were not wanting for attacks upon those who had

been most faithful in their allegiance to England and most frank in the utterance of their dislike for the Boer. The chief Mapoch was a marked offender. He must have recalled with a strange recognition of its grim irony the promise that his "interests" should "never be forgotten or neglected by Her Majesty's Government," when he heard the boom of cannon which Her Majesty's Government had lent the Boers for his destruction.

As for Montsioa and his allies, they were pursued with a rancour which would not be satisfied. Montsioa appealed to his lawful guardian, the British Resident, and received nothing but counsels of patience. The Pretoria Convention had been signed on August 3, 1881. The Transvaal Volksraad ratified it by resolution on October 25 following. Twelve days previously Montsioa had complained to the British Resident that Moshette had declared war against him, and was allowed by the Boers to organize his forces within the Transvaal territory. Yet, on November 5, the Earl of Kimberley could instruct the High Commissioner that it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to exercise any jurisdiction over the chiefs or people inhabiting the Keate Aard; and he did this in presence of the eighteenth article of the Convention. The freebooters pursued their course without let or hindrance. On January 22, 1883, Sir Hercules Robinson reported to the Colonial Office his opinion that the Transvaal Government was morally responsible for the proceedings in Bechuanaland, and that if the Convention was not to be enforced, its continued existence was a delusion to the suffering natives. On March 1 he further reported to the Earl of Derby that Montsioa and Mankoroane were at that moment "on the point of being exterminated in consequence of their fidelity to the British Government, and because of the assistance they gave to British subjects in the Transvaal war." He pressed for a final and definite reply; for two days previously Lord Derby had instructed him by telegram that as to these chiefs "no action on the part of Her Majesty's Government was possible, and that they had better make the best terms they could with their enemies." Such was the official interpretation of the pledge, not eighteen months old, "Your interests will never

be forgotten or neglected by Her Majesty's Government." The interpretation was confirmed three weeks later when Lord Derby again telegraphed: "Tell Montsioa, tell Mankoroane, that Her Majesty's Government cannot interfere by force for his protection." This was on March 24. On the 27th the message was forwarded to the British Resident in Pretoria. Within a week there appeared a proclamation establishing the Republic of Stellaland within the territories of the plundered and abandoned chiefs; and on the same day the High Commissioner called attention to another, "the robber republic established in Montsioa's country and called the Land of Goshen." We must again recall the promise—"Your interests will never be forgotten or neglected by Her Majesty's Government."

The negligence—the criminal negligence—of England, ever content with words, cannot palliate the conduct of the Transvaal. For all these repeated acts of violence and robbery its Government must be held morally responsible. They were well known and almost silently tolerated. The filibustering bands were organized within its jurisdiction. They went forth from the Transvaal to plunder, and returned thither with their spoil, or fled thither for refuge. This method of extending westward has been practised without let or hindrance from the Transvaal Government. Its policy has been ever the same. In 1871 it submitted to the Keate Award, carefully using its benefits, but not the less prepared, when convenient, to ignore its limitations. Rescued from destruction by the interposition of England in 1877, the country no sooner showed signs of recovery than the old theories were revived. The Pretoria Convention was ratified in form, but with an emphatic declaration that its provisions were not accepted as final or satisfactory. Not one of the most important of those provisions can be said to have been honestly observed, as the foregoing statements clearly show.

In the face of these facts, the Transvaal deputation came to England at the close of 1883, for the purpose of revising the Pretoria Convention. During the negotiations, the depredations of the freebooters were continued; nevertheless the Boers obtained almost everything they had demanded. The

suzerainty of the British Crown was surrendered, and so were the native tribes within the Transvaal. As to the Bechuanachiefs, no attempt was made to secure for them their proper territory. Once more the spoil was left in the hands of the freebooters, and included within the jurisdiction of the Transvaal. It is true that the new republics were not recognized; but the Transvaal boundary was pushed as far to the westward as the money interests of England and of the Cape Colony would allow. The pledges given to Montsioa and Mankoroane were simply ignored, and yet the responsibilities of England were renewed and its authority again asserted. The power of England within the Transvaal was at an end, but the British protectorate was to be the safeguard of the remnant of Bechuanaland. The London Convention was signed on February 27, 1884.

A British Resident Commissioner for Bechuanaland was at once appointed—Mr. John Mackenzie. He had long resided in the country as a tried agent of the London Missionary Society, and, at the request of Mankoroane, had acted as his representative during the negotiations in London. Of Mr. Mackenzie's ability we need not speak. His policy was clearly defined, and by the Home Government was frankly accepted. He went out with a resolution to do justice and to promote the welfare of the Cape Colony and of South Africa in general. To the white settler he offered advance without violence, and to the natives protection within the limits of equity. Unoccupied lands were to be Crown lands, and, as such, available for those who would peacefully cultivate them. The freebooters responded by organizing another raid upon Montsioa. In the following June, Mr. Mackenzie reported: "There can be nothing clearer than that the chief Montsioa is attacked from the Transvaal. His gardens are robbed by armed men from the Transvaal, and the corn is conveyed in waggons to the Transvaal." The base of operations was Rooi Grond, built on the frontier line, partly in the Transvaal and partly in Bechuanaland. Here were the men who murdered Mr. Bethell. It was here that Mr. Wright, the Assistant-Commissioner representing the British Crown at Mafeking, having been deceived by a flag of truce, was imprisoned.

Mr. Mackenzie's appointment was from the first opposed by the Transvaal Government and by the Cape Ministry. They declared that he personally was a chief hindrance in the way of a peaceful adoption of the London Convention. Mr. Mackenzie felt it his duty to retire, and the Hon. Cecil Rhodes, a member of the Cape Legislature, was appointed in his place. He at once visited Rooi Grond for the purpose of restoring order. He was there met by Mr. Joubert, Commandant-General of the Transvaal and its Superintendent of Native Affairs. The object of the meeting, professedly, was to enforce the provisions of the London Convention. During the first night of his visit, a furious attack was made upon Montsioa. Mr. Rhodes demanded a cessation of hostilities for fourteen days. It was refused, except upon terms utterly inadmissible. He therefore left, after warning the freebooters that they were making war against Her Majesty the Queen. Three days after, a treaty, so-called, was made with Montsioa, by which he, a protected British subject, was deprived of all his remaining lands, except 60,000 acres, which he was to hold under the jurisdiction of his destroyers. Mr. Joubert, the Commandant-General of the Transvaal, professedly acting as a mediator, was a party to this violation of the Convention. A few days afterwards, Mr. Krüger, President of the Transvaal, issued a proclamation setting aside the British protectorate, and annexing Montsioa's country to the Transvaal. It is true that a month later this proclamation was withdrawn by another; but in the latter President Krüger took occasion to express his official joy at the course which events on the south-western border had taken. The withdrawal did not alter the real state of affairs. It did not restore to Montsioa his lands; it did not atone for the violation of the British Protectorate; it did not repudiate the part which General Joubert had taken in that violation; it did not negative the approval of the freebooters implied by the issue of the first proclamation.

Thus, during the last few years, and especially since 1880, has the policy of the Transvaal Boers been one of persistent aggression, whilst that of England has been continuous surrender. Treaties have been set aside, promises violated, the

friends of England have been ruined and destroyed ; whilst those who have trusted her have been taunted with their credulity. No opportunity has been lost, if contempt for British authority and power could be expressed. The hanging of Mampoer, the murder of Mr. Bethell, the imprisonment of Mr. Wright, and Mr. Krüger's coarse invectives uttered in the Volksraad against Sir Hercules Robinson and Mr. Mackenzie, are but a few among many instances supplied by the official papers. It cannot be matter of surprise that the native tribes of South Africa are coming to believe that it is better to live by submission to the Boer, than to perish miserably for the sake of a loyalty that has been so continually dishonoured and betrayed.

Nor has the mischief wrought by British fickleness been confined to the native population. Colonists, whether of English or of Dutch descent, who held tenaciously to their traditional allegiance to the British Crown, have been ashamed and disheartened ; whilst those who would foster antagonism to England have become bold and defiant. Men holding high office in the Cape Legislature have not scrupled to avow their sympathy with the banditti of Rooi Grond, and to disregard all principles of justice and humanity when dealing with the suffering Barolongs. Hence the energetic protests of the South African Committee in London met with scant encouragement or sympathy in the Colony. At last, however, even there events have awakened anxiety, and danger has compelled to action. The Cape colonist who may not choose to care for northern tribes, must needs bestir himself for the sake of northern trade. The Boer policy seeks an extension of the " South African Republic " westward towards the Atlantic Ocean. After annexing Bechuanaland, it would pass on to the region known as the Kalahari desert, but which probably is no more " desert " than other fertile and well-peopled districts of Central Africa. Already Bechuanaland has been appropriated by the republics of Stellaland and Goshen. Through these run the only eligible trade routes to the interior. If the Boer policy prevails, or if the freebooters remain in Montsioa's country, the Boer jurisdiction effectually bars the way of all colonial traders seeking the vast population of

Central Africa. What the consequence would be may be gathered from what has already been. The Transvaal Government has levied and enforced a toll equal to 33 per cent. on the cost price of goods passing through its territory. This fact is on record in the Government papers, and has been the subject of remark in the Cape Legislature. Such a scale of duties would be ruinous to the Cape merchant, and therefore to the whole colony. Nor are the merchant and the trader alone. More than twelve millions have already been spent in opening up a system of railways northward as far as Kimberley, and this is looked upon as only the beginning of what must hereafter be. The bondholders see the threatening danger, and share the general apprehension. The questions now raised are not those only which concern African trade or colonial prosperity. Even the interests of native tribes and the responsibilities of British honour no longer occupy the foreground. The integrity and safety of the British Empire are involved in the settlement of existing difficulties. If the Cape Colony is to remain one of the British possessions, then England must continue to be the paramount Power and the prevailing agent in the civilization and development of South Africa. Only thus can the interests of either the Colony or the Empire be conserved.

The importance of the Cape Colony is much greater than many suppose it to be. In the opinion of a few, its loss would not be an intolerable or unmixed evil. In truth, however, the mischiefs thence arising would be more and greater than any reasonable man could contemplate with patience. Even in times of peace there would be a sensible loss to British trade, as the power to regulate dues and customs would pass into other hands. But the world is seldom at peace. There have been great European wars, and it is impossible to rest in the assurance that there will be no more. In times of war the safety of commerce, and the safety of colonies also, depends upon the strength of the navy; and the strength of the navy, in its turn, depends upon the facilities for securing supplies of coal and other necessities, and for effecting repairs. Cape Town is the key to the whole of our naval organization in Africa, India, China, and Australia, and therefore to all our commercial

communications with these countries. At present, nearly, if not quite, one half of the trade passes through the Suez Canal. So long as peace continues and no serious mishap occurs, it may continue to do so. But let there be a European war in which England is involved, and the Canal will cease to be a free and safe highway for our merchant fleet. The Cape route must then be used, and our trade with the East and with Australasia, estimated at little short of two hundred millions sterling, not including the value of the fleet itself, must pass that way.

Along the whole of this route, from Start Point to Singapore or Sydney, there is no station which can be compared with Cape Town and its bays as a harbour of refuge, or as affording facilities for repairs and refit. If this were lost to us, even though it might belong to a neutral Power, and still more if it passed into the hands of an unfriendly Power able from this refuge to attack our passing merchantmen, our commerce would probably be swept from the Southern and Eastern Seas. The days are past for ever when the British fleet sailed almost unchallenged as supreme upon every ocean. Great Britain may still retain a paper superiority. Its number of vessels, its strength of armour, its weight of armament may be greater than can be shown by any other European Power. It may possibly be equal to the combined navies of any two of them. But as no other country has so extensive a colonial system, or commercial interests of so vast an extent, so no country is under the same necessity for maintaining an effective force on so many and so widely-separated stations. Assailants could afford to choose their point of attack : England must be ready everywhere. The British statesman cannot afford to cast off or neglect the colonies which have so long been nurtured by the mother country ; nor can the British merchant afford to risk the loss of markets which are made possible only by colonial extension and development. If Great Britain should abandon that control of commerce which is naturally associated with its widespread possessions, it must to the same degree descend in political rank amongst the nations. The beginning of a policy leading to such results would be as the letting out of water. If the integrity

of the Empire is to be preserved, the Cape Town naval station must be retained, and therefore the Cape Colony must continue to be, as it has been, a British possession, and effectually under British control.

In the presence of such considerations as these, it is not reasonable to question the responsibility of the Imperial Government. Its duty is to care for and promote colonial prosperity, to exercise its supervisional control with a firm and consistent policy, and to secure the legitimate influence of England among all the native tribes within and beyond the limits of the colony. It can scarcely be said that in any one of these particulars the British Government has fulfilled its duty in South Africa. The Cape Colony has been disturbed by native strifes which might easily have been prevented. The possibility of political and commercial development northward has been almost lost. As a natural consequence, the influence of England has been grievously lessened, and is in danger of being destroyed. All this evil has resulted from that fickleness which has made the name of England a by-word among both Boer freebooters and native tribes. This fickleness has been caused by the dread of expense. Time has been spent, opportunity lost, and duty neglected, whilst despatches have passed to and fro discussing the proportions in which the cost of action should be defrayed from imperial and colonial resources. Meanwhile the mischief has been growing, and now the restoration of order must necessarily be immeasurably more difficult than if a timely authority had been duly exercised. Yet the work must be done, if for no other reason, because imperial interests demand it.

It must not be forgotten, however, that by imperial interests we mean the interests of the whole empire; and by imperial responsibility, the responsibility of the whole empire. Of this empire every colony forms a part; and therefore every colony has its share in both the interests and the responsibilities. Hence there is reason in the complaint made by the British tax-payer when the charges of imperial responsibilities are laid almost wholly upon the population of the United Kingdom. What is wanted is some definite arrangement by which these charges may be equitably shared by the

colonies. It cannot be supposed that such an arrangement is impossible, especially if each colony is chargeable only in respect of costs incurred in or on account of its own territory. But responsibilities must not be ignored, nor may common interests be sacrificed, because as yet no such arrangement has been made. Yet this has been one of the terrible blunders characterizing the recent administration of South African affairs. Whilst the Colonial Office and the Cape Ministry have been discussing in huckster fashion the price to be paid, bad has gone to worse, and both colony and empire have been brought into difficulty and peril.

The gravity of the situation cannot be ignored. The evil is great, and the remedy must be effectual, even though it may now be both troublesome and costly. In order to this, the honour of England and the welfare of the colony must be carefully guarded. There is a disposition in some quarters to deal with these as separable matters. For instance, it is possible that an attempt may be made to secure freedom for colonial trade by the annexation of the whole of the Bechuanaland territory to the Cape Colony. To this the freebooters of Stellaland and Goshen and the Transvaal Government might readily assent, and the more readily if thus the British protectorate and native rights were set aside. The men of Goshen might even consent to be transferred to some other district, and thus leave the lands guaranteed by the London Convention in the possession of Montsioa. It would not necessarily follow that England could honourably or safely retire from its position as protector. No settlement can be imperially safe which does not recognize fully and frankly the authority of the British Crown in Bechuanaland; and no transfer of that authority can be made, even to the Cape Colony itself, without securing the permanent freedom of the protected tribes and their enjoyment of the lands assured to them.

There are other and wider questions affecting the condition and treatment of native tribes, both within and beyond the colony, of which we cannot now treat. One fact must be readily acknowledged: whatever may have been the political or social wrongs inflicted upon them, no attempt to prevent their religious instruction is now made either by colonists or by

Boers of the Transvaal. This tends to encourage the hope that existing difficulties may even yet be peacefully settled. Before long the British army will be represented in Montsioa's territory. Help from the Transvaal will then be no longer possible for any who resist the British authority; unless, indeed, the Transvaal elects to assume an attitude of open and avowed hostility. In the districts north of the Vaal there may yet be found room in which the two Governments may exert their power side by side, and with mutual goodwill. If otherwise, the interests of the wide world would require that Great Britain should rule alone.

ART. VIII.—THE RELATION OF THE TWO ADVENTS.

AMONG the terms which describe the second and final manifestation of the Saviour, there are two which stand out from the rest, as being employed emphatically to link the second coming with the first. That gives them a marked importance in dealing with the questions which are raised by the Millennarian controversy. But, apart from controversy, they have much expository interest; and at this Advent season especially our readers will readily go with us in making them a study. The terms appropriated to the second Advent, and used concerning it with more or less definiteness, are mission, coming, parousia, apocalypse, day, appearance, manifestation. Our two terms are the last of these. They are employed, the former by St. Paul, and the latter by St. John, in their respective final references to the subject; and in such a way as distinguishes them from all others employed in the same service. The two words belong to two different families of the same stock. Their common idea is that of becoming or being made manifest. But the one, *ἐπιφαίνειν*, notes rather the effect of the manifestation upon those who behold it; and the other, *φανεροῦν*, notes rather the revelation in its relation to the hidden and unknown behind.

The term Epiphany—as verb and as noun—may be said to be St. Paul's. It takes us to the pastoral epistles, the final

manifesto of his teaching. He had indeed used it once before. At the very commencement, in 2 Thess. ii. 8, he speaks of the "manifestation of His presence" as destroying the lawless one; but after that the word disappears from the apostle's writings until the end. When he does use it, it is plainly with the design to draw the parallel between the first and the second epiphany of the Son of God. In relation to this, it is a circumstance worth noting that, of the two other instances of the occurrence of the word in New Testament phraseology, one refers to the first coming of the Lord "to shine upon them that sit in darkness" (Luke i. 79, *ἐπιφάναι*), and the other to the second coming at "the great and notable day" (Acts ii. 20, *ἐπιφάνῃ*). The laws that regulated the choice of words and phrases by the inspired writers are beyond our reach; but it is obvious that there was some reason why St. Paul should, in writing to Timothy and Titus (to Titus especially), avoid his other elect terms for the revelation of Jesus, and pitch upon that one to which St. Luke had given two applications in his Gospel and in the Acts, uniting them in a most graphic and impressive manner. It is in Titus only that these applications are again united. In 1 Tim. vi. 14, we read of "the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in its own times He shall show;" but the corresponding first appearance is in that epistle the being "manifested in the flesh": *ἐφανερώθη*, a kindred word, of which more hereafter. In the Second Epistle to Timothy the combination of the Epistle to Titus is more distinctly approached. In chap. i. 1-10 we read of "the appearing of our Saviour Christ Jesus," who brought to light life; and in chap. iv. 1 we have the adjuration, "by His appearing and His kingdom," and the expectation of the crown of righteousness by those who "love His appearing." But for some reason or other it was in the little Epistle to Titus that the two epiphanies—the first and the second—were blended: that first note of the Gospel and that first note of the Acts are united in one, and almost in one verse here, at the end of St. Paul's writings. With this combination the word vanishes from the New Testament; in fact, it is St. Paul alone who adopts the word from St. Luke, if it may not rather be said that the word was the common property of

these two writers, like much else that they hold in common. Let us pay our Christmas tribute to the true epiphany, as it is the leading thought in Titus ; and as it divides before our eyes into the first and the second, but only divides in order that the distinct relation of the two to each other may be made manifest.

If we look carefully at the structure of the little epistle, we shall see how large a part the epiphany-word occupies. It is stamped upon the two masses or paragraphs which make up its doctrinal part, and entirely governs their beautiful order. If we read on uninterruptedly from chap. ii. 11 down to chap. iii. 8, we have the whole theological basis of the document, divided into two batches, only because a new set of exhortations intervened. If we can suppose these new exhortations to have been joined on to those which tell servants and masters their relative duties, the repetition of "When the kindness of God our Saviour and His philanthropy appeared," would have been needless. As it is, the repetition gives great force to the strain. It shows that the one great argument by which the apostle enforces every duty of the Christian life is in this final epistle the manifestation of grace in the Saviour's first coming, on the one hand, and the expectation of His coming again in glory, on the other. These two, thus closely linked together, constitute the sole doctrinal basis of the ethics of this document, one of the last that the apostle ever wrote. There is no other example of such simplicity : the double appearing is the only doctrinal element.

But the first coming of the Saviour derives a peculiar characteristic from the word epiphany. That word is never used of the incarnation or of the appearance of the Son in human nature, or of Himself at all in His humbled estate. It is not a term which could well have been used in connection with the humiliation of the Christ. Apocalypse might be said, or manifestation ; but not so appropriately "epiphany." This connotes a certain measure of demonstration and impression on beholders, and influence exerted on the world. In the Old Testament the Septuagint uses it only of imposing exhibitions of the Godhead ; and this more demonstrative meaning is found in the classics. Hence, it is to be observed, the apostle does not, in

selecting it here, refer to the Saviour's first coming at the Nativity, nor of His coming generally in His lowly manifestation on earth. It is not employed to signify the incarnation as such; but the incarnation as a glorious exhibition or evidence among men of the Divine attributes and powers. And it may be said, in passing, that this explains the destiny of the word in ecclesiastical history. The early festival of the Epiphany was only an appendage to the festival of Christmas. In the East it referred to the baptism of Christ, in which the Father manifested Him gloriously to the world; and in the West it degenerated into a celebration of the Lord's exhibition to the wise men after twelve days. To the apostle, however, in the one passage which appropriates the term to the first coming of our Saviour, the Epiphany was the manifestation of the Son incarnate; not, indeed, in His Person, but in the goodness and philanthropy and grace which accompanied Him in the Gospel, which then first were in their fulness displayed to the world: thus marking an epoch the most important in the annals of mankind, a new and brighter sun rising upon the scene of human things.

Taking the two passages of the second and third chapters as one, which they really are, and examining the terms of the former in their order, we find that the first Epiphany was of the grace, the goodness, and the philanthropy of "God our Saviour." Not, indeed, answering in any sense to the angels' doxology at the Nativity, these are yet closely connected with it, and may be framed into a doxology of their own, one worthy to be the final melody of St. Paul's ministry to the Church. It may be variously woven, according to the order in which we take the three words; but however we combine them, we cannot but mark that each of the three notes of the hymn is, in a certain sense, new in this last page of the apostle's teaching, and that they are as combined without any strict parallel.

First, let them be taken apart. "Grace" has here, as always in St. Paul's theology, the pre-eminence; and in this passage the apostle pays it, as it were, the final tribute. The word had been made a part of his "token in every epistle," and the thing recognized by the word had been expounded in his

writings more fully than in any other. It may occur once or twice after this in the form of what may be called official salutation ; but it is in our passage that the apostle takes his farewell of the elect word, so dear to his heart and so familiar to his pen. It is here for the first time and the last, the "grace saving to all men ;" not "saving grace which appeared to all men," as this would mar the symmetry of the several applications of "appeared" in the two chapters. Throughout his epistle, St. Paul draws the most refined distinction between the love and the grace of God ; the former being measured by the value of the gift of His Son, the latter by the unworthiness and impotence of man. Grace is to him no other than the universal love of "God our Saviour," as refracted when passing through our sinful atmosphere to reach the hearts of all men. That is its leading and almost solitary meaning ; though here and there it may seem to be used for an operation of Divine power within our hearts. But its two synonyms, for such we call them, goodness and philanthropy, best illustrate this. As the grace appeared, so also the "kindness," in the coming of Christ. This is a rare and peculiar attribute of the "Saviour God," and one hard to explain ; being, as it is, a human expression for all that is tender, kind, helpful, and benevolent in ourselves, transferred to the Divine nature. We may better understand what St. Paul means by observing the use which he elsewhere makes of the word. That will preserve us, on the one hand, from robbing it of the tender incarnation grace, and, on the other, from giving it too soft a meaning. In the Epistle to the Romans it is made the exact opposite of the Divine wrath and severity. We read of those who despise "the riches of God's goodness" which "leadeth to repentance," and thereby "treasured up wrath to themselves." At the close of that epistle the word returns, and we are bidden to behold the difference between "the goodness and the severity of God." The entirely Pauline word *χρηστότης* is not far from the mainly Pauline word *χάρις*, as we see in Eph. ii. 7, where the apostle sings a rehearsal and earnest of the present song : "That in the ages to come He might show the exceeding riches of His grace in His kindness towards us in Christ

Jesus." But the word philanthropy, or "love toward man," gives a finish and perfection to the whole. It is, as it were, made for the occasion; at least, it has never been used before, and both gives and receives gain from its union with the two others. We have somewhat lowered the term in our modern application, but it can never be spoiled. Here it emphasizes the universality of the grace and goodness. The grace was "saving for all men;" and the goodness was "in Christ," and therefore, as Christ is the Head of the race, universal; but the philanthropy can be only for man as such.

This is a trilogy quite without example in the New Testament; such a combination of synonyms as can hardly be passed without notice by the most careless reader. To one who is solicitous to quicken his ear to the harmonies of the Word of God it is very suggestive. The incarnation is not expressly in them; it is not the manifestation of the Son that is dwelt upon. And yet the apostle's mind is, in these his closing testimonies during the last autumn of his life, going back with joy to the event which had begun time afresh and brightened the whole expanse of men and things. His eye glances from the first to the second advent: the latter is to him the appearance of glory; the former is to him the appearance of grace, loving-kindness and philanthropy; but both are the results of the revelation of the Son of God in flesh. The word which we here study does not introduce the thought of a final revelation slowly reached. That idea, which is the most universal and the most consistently sustained of all the apostle's ideas, has been expressed in the beginning of the epistle. It could hardly have come from his pen if this thought of the slow but sure evolution of the Divine purposes in Christ had been wanting. At the very outset we read: "In hope of eternal life, which God, who cannot lie, promised before the world began; but in His own seasons manifested His word in the preaching which is committed to me according to the commandment of God our Saviour." There we have the word "manifested," which has behind it the background of unrevealed mystery. But the "appeared" of our passage, with the trinity in unity of what has appeared, emphasizes especially the grandeur of the revelation itself.

Yet that other meaning of revelation, that of the final disclosure of a secret long partially hidden, is always presupposed, and here at the last the emphasis of the teaching, and the key-note of the song, is the truth that the light of grace is for all men and the whole earth. The little family of epiphany terms are sacred to the service of the universal Gospel. They always refer to a revelation that overspreads the earth to "make all men see." St. Paul everywhere in his writings gives us the impression that it is a supreme relief to him to burst the restraints of the old economy. Throughout the three final pastoral epistles this deep feeling of his heart finds very strong expression indeed. The sublime allusion to the first advent in the Epistle to Titus gives it ample illustration; and especially when it is regarded as following the words of 1 Tim. ii. 3-7. That passage glides, like this in Titus, from hortatory allusion to all classes of men up to the "God our Saviour, who willeth that all men should be saved." Now let the remainder of the sentence be marked; especially the "one Mediator" who is "Himself man," the "ransom for all;" and St. Paul's glowing apostrophe to himself as "a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth." That "Himself man" is the prelude of the "philanthropy" in Titus; and the "testimony to be borne in its own times" is the prelude of "when the kindness of God our Saviour and His love toward man appeared." And, carrying our thoughts from the advent hymn of St. Paul to that of the angels in the beginning, we find it hard to give up the words of the long-familiar chorus "good-will to men."

And now we turn to the second Epiphany. But before making the transition we must note that the link between them is the death of Christ. The appearance of the grace and goodness and philanthropy of God our Saviour extends in the second chapter from the Nativity onward to the Cross, and in the third chapter to the pentecostal effusion of the Spirit. Christmas and Easter and Pentecost are one as the stages of the manifestation of the Saviour. The first coming of Jesus begins with the Nativity and ends with the departure of the ascended Lord, as demonstrated by the coming of the Spirit. This is the day "which the Lord made"; and concern-

ing which it is said, "This day I have begotten Thee": not the day of the resurrection simply, but the whole period of the historical Christ on the earth. At the evening of this day we hear an apostle say, "We bring you good tidings of the promise made unto the Father," which is strangely like the cry of the angel in the morning, "I bring you tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people." We cannot understand the New Testament doctrine of the first advent unless we remember that it always includes the omega as well as the alpha of the manifestation of Christ. St. Paul in particular never alludes to the birth and incarnation of Jesus without including His passion and death and resurrection. For instance, here His redeeming atonement alone gives its perfect meaning to each of the advent terms. The kindness of God suppressed His holy wrath only at the expense of His Son's atoning sufferings. It is a mistake to think of the first advent as only a festival of joy, "kindness" to mankind was "severity" to the Representative of mankind. The philanthropy of heaven was proved by the mission of One who was made a sacrifice for mankind. Grace "saving to all men," does not put on its perfection at any point from Bethlehem until it speaks from the Redeemer's opened heart. That love which has these three expressions was manifest when the Son became incarnate; but it was with the presupposition that the Infant, with grace already on His lips, would become the Man of Sorrows. And it is only by remembering this that we can discern and appreciate the contrast between the first coming in great humility and the second coming in glory. The deep humility of the Christ's appearance is nowhere really seen until we "see the end."

And now the student of Scripture must observe the pathetic art with which St. Paul goes straight forward from the first appearing of "the saving grace" to the second "appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ." The more carefully we examine the passage the more evident becomes its purposed antithesis. Not that there is any artifice, or even that kind of play on the word which in the earlier epistles abounds, but is almost entirely wanting in these final writings. There is nowhere a more solemn procession of

thought and word than that which we have here before us. But it must be remembered that, so far as the word is concerned, it is the second "appearing" that has the pre-eminence. It is not brought in as an echo of the first, or as suggested by it: rather the first had been suggested to the apostle as an anticipation of the second, which it was his purpose in any case to introduce. In other words, the Epiphany is already pre-engaged for the other advent; and the first advent is so characterized on purpose to introduce the thought which it is our business here to make prominent: namely, that there are two advents closely linked, of which the second is the consummation of the first. That the Epiphany was primarily the final coming of our Lord, will be evident if we mark the two or three other instances in which the apostle (and no other, for it is his own word) employs the term *ἐπιφάνεια* as a substantive. The first time gives us that striking and decisive phrase, "whom the Lord will destroy by the appearing of His presence or coming" (2 Thess. ii. 8). That early word, long unused, the apostle recalls at the end of his ministry, and bids Timothy watch over his own commission most carefully "until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is plain that the word was associated in St. Paul's mind with the great future. Writing to Titus, he makes out of it a verb which links the first coming with the second, and uses it twice in a very emphatic manner. Then, in his second epistle to Timothy, his very last words, he makes that verb into a substantive; and for once speaks of the "appearing" of Jesus in His first coming; but twice afterwards returns to the more prominent reference to His coming in His kingdom as longed for by His saints. With this preliminary settled, let us mark the correspondence between the two Epiphanies.

This will not be found to be made evident or obtruded on us by the apostle himself: that is, he gives no sign of an intention to draw the parallel. It flows as it were naturally and obviously. The sentence is so constructed as almost to prove that the simple theory was that of a first coming which prepares for a second, of a second coming which consummates the first. In this light let the sentence be examined for its evidence.

The Epiphany or appearance is in both cases only indirectly that of the Saviour : at the first coming it is that of the grace, kindness, and philanthropy of God in Him ; at the second coming it is that of His glory, not His " glorious appearing," but the manifestation of His glory, as that of the " great God and our Saviour." A certain contrast between the humiliation of the first and the glory of the second is plainly in the mind of the apostle. But it is not expressed ; indeed, it could not be expressed without much qualification, since even in His first appearance His disciples " beheld His glory ;" which could not be hid even by the darkness of the Cross. The allusion to it is in the solemn words, " Who gave Himself for us ;" and then the glory of the second coming is His appearing to crown His own " peculiar people " with the fulfilment of the hope of " eternal life " (ch. iii. 7). But we have not to do here with the final manifestation of Christ as the " great God," as opposed to His first manifestation as the " God emptied or without reputation." Our point is the link between the two Epiphanies as only two. And concerning that our present passage is the final testimony of St. Paul, and the clearest testimony of all the New Testament.

Every word of the apostle's opening description of the first Epiphany points onward to the second ; and when he returns to the subject afterwards every word points back to it. The " appearing of the glory " is, as it were, the centre around which the whole discussion, it might almost be said the whole epistle, revolves. That epoch stamps the life that goes on before it as " the present world," and that which will follow as " the life eternal." The whole work of the Gospel is now preparation : the advent of the Saviour will finish all. The grace is now " saving for all men," it is the philanthropy of God that cares for the whole race ; when the glory is revealed Christ will claim " the people of His own possession," who will have been disciplined by grace to the renunciation of this world and the practice of those virtues and duties which make meet for the world to come. The whole of religion is condensed into a hope which expects and looks for the return of the Lord. The phrase is a remarkable one, and seems to say : " Grace instructs us here to hope to the end for the one

blessed hope that will crown all." It will be best understood by combining the three "hopes" of the epistle: at its beginning "the hope of eternal life which God promised before the world was;" at the end, "the hope of eternal life" according to which the justified are made sons and heirs; and in the middle, where the second Epiphany is introduced, "the blessed hope" itself made objective in the coming of its object, who is "eternal life." Between the subjective hoping which the first advent kindles, and the objective hope with which the second advent satisfies it, there is no interval or pause. So little room for interval is there, that the apostle represents the Saviour as preparing His own possession, "zealous of good works:" the tone of the whole being that in the present life the good works and the holiness and the hope go on together until the moment of His coming.

As this may be called the last testimony of St. Paul on the subject, it is interesting to observe how consistent that testimony has been from the beginning. In his theology, the advent which the Church awaits is never connected with definite time; it has "its own times," or "His own times," which are not the apostle's to show. Just as life and death, time and eternity, the living and the dead, the present age and the future age, things present and things to come, are the universal counterparts which make up between them the sum of things, without any reference to day or hour, so the first and second advents or epiphanies. There is an epochal note for the first; the *ὥρ* in ch. iii. 4, is the last note of many which mark the fulness of time. But there is none for the second; it is the final vanishing point, while in another sense it is ever present, and over-arches all; having become almost a formula for the indefinite Christian future. The apostle has been consistent in this. He began by announcing that the coming of Christ, and the coming of that awful counterpart of John the Baptist, His antichrist forerunner, would "be revealed in His own season" (2 Thess. ii. 6); and he ends (1 Tim. vi. 15) by announcing that "in His own seasons He shall show" the same appearing. No one can mark attentively St. Paul's use of the plural "season," especially in connection with the "times and seasons" which

he emphatically quotes from his Master, without receiving the conviction that he had from the beginning an evolving perspective before him, longer or shorter, in which times would be gathered up into their seasons, and seasons would begin new times, until the season of the end. Let it not be said that the plural form, "in His own times He shall show," permits the thought of a succession of manifestations of Christ, pre-millennial and post-millennial for instance. The same form is used for the first coming of Christ as the "season" of seasons that consummated many "times." But as that first coming was one, and the most sharply defined event in history, so the second coming will be one, and equally definite. Had the apostle been living, as many suppose, in the expectation of seeing the Lord's return, he would not have spoken of these "times and seasons" in the future. His doctrine, and the doctrine of his brethren, was not what superficial exposition supposes. His eyes were indeed always, like those of the apostles on the Mount of Olives, lifted up to heaven; because Christ is sitting there, and will rise and come back thence. But these were the eyes of his heart; the eyes of his theology looked forward to distant ages and seasons, to end in one, and only one, season of the advent.

And now let us turn from St. Paul's last testimony on this subject to the last testimony of St. John; which is a last testimony in a still more emphatic sense, since it really closes the New Testament teaching. In his first epistle, the evangelist and apostle, who was the preacher of revelation, unites the twofold *φανερώσις* of manifestation almost as closely as St. Paul had united the twofold *ἐπιφάνεια* of appearance. Obviously we have here the same family of expression. St. Paul's word has already given account of itself as peculiarly his; St. John's is more familiar to us as the common term for the incarnation. Before we examine the passage in which he, like St. Paul, blends the manifestations and draws the link between them, we must note certain indications that other writers had prepared the way for this. St. Paul himself, in the Epistles to Timothy, had taught that the Saviour was "manifested in the flesh;" and in a remarkable parallel with the passage in Titus, that "the grace given us in Christ Jesus

before the world began, hath now been manifested by the appearing of our Saviour." But only once, in the Epistle to the Colossians, does he use the word for the second coming. St. Peter, however, in the beginning of his first epistle, speaks of the last "manifestation" of the redeeming Saviour, and at the end of the second "manifestation" of the Chief Shepherd. In the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews there is a striking peculiarity, which must be mentioned, as confirming the great truth we are keeping in view, that there is only one advent after the first. Christ "was manifested" at the end of the ages to put away sin; He will "appear" a second time "to them that wait for Him;" and during the interval He "presents Himself before the face of God for us."

But it was reserved for St. John, at the end of the New Testament, and long after the other writers had borne their witness, to do that for the "manifestation" terms which St. Paul had done for the "appearing" terms. There is a very remarkable parallel between his last testimony and St. Paul's; as if he purposed, like his predecessor, to make it clear that the first coming and the second enfold the entire relation of the Redeemer to mankind. It is or has been very much the fashion to represent St. John's eschatology as different from that of the other writers. It is certainly true that in his Gospel he is commissioned to give the Lord's prophecies of His intermediate coming to His Church and to the hearts of His people. But the epistle, which in some sense was originally the companion document of the Gospel, which is to us, at any rate, its appendix, supplies amply the other side of the doctrine. However he may differ from his brethren in many other presentations of their common truth, in his reference to the second advent he is almost literally one with them. Especially we have to show that he is in harmony with St. Paul in his final testimony to the first coming of the Son of God as preparing for the second coming and consummated by it.

No word has in the epistle a more commanding place than the "manifestation." It has precisely the same influence and effect that "appearance" has in that to Titus. We have seen that in Titus it governs all the doctrine that underlies the precepts, and it is scarcely otherwise in St. John's epistle.

The "manifested" occurs in it very much oftener than in any other document, even the longest; almost as often as in all put together; with one little exception, it is always dedicated either to the first or to the second coming of the Lord; and, once more to suggest the analogy with St. Paul's last epistle, the references to the two comings are so blended and interwoven as to allow no place for a third of any kind.

It was striking to note how much St. Paul sums up as having "appeared" with the coming of Christ. St. John is equally, if not more, abundant; and, without using one of St. Paul's thoughts or terms, he gives in his own way the sum of what had come from the invisible with the incarnate Son. He begins by twice declaring that the life, the life eternal, was brought into the midst of men by the Eternal Word made flesh, and so manifested as to become the actual possession of all believers, the secret of their union and fellowship with God for ever. In due time this life is more fully explained, still in terms of manifestation. "He was manifested," He in whom there is no sin, "to take away our sins:" the last express reference to the atonement in the New Testament answering to the first. John the Baptist led the way, "Behold, the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world;" and John the Evangelist now brings up the rear, making "the sin of the world" "our sins" as individuals saved. But more than that, "the Son of God was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil." Before, He was the Sinless and Impeccable One who, not needing to save Himself, saves us. Now when the great system of evil is to be overturned and as a system brought to nought, the Sinless One becomes the Son of God, the Stronger than the strong man. And, lastly, this is traced up to its eternal source in the love of God: "For this was manifested the love of God in us, that God sent His only-begotten Son into the world that we might live through Him." All these unspeakable mysteries of God's grace and man's inheritance were made manifest, were brought to light, by the first advent; the earnest and pledges of them were in the world before; but their fulness came in Christ. We cannot dilate upon them even with the scanty measure that was meted to St. Paul. But at this season we would commend

to any thoughtful student the wholesome exercise of combining into one all the sayings of the New Testament which dwell upon what the mission of Christ revealed or made plain to mankind. Two effects must be produced by meditating on the long panorama which is unrolled in the book of these manifestations: one the feeling of profound awe in the presence of such unbounded wonders, and the other the feeling of amazement that such pains are taken to assure us that they are made perfectly manifest to all who are taught of God.

In the very heart of the epistle, and in the midst of these "manifestations" that have been made, St. John introduces the manifestation that is yet to be. The subject is too vast for the details of petty symmetry; but one cannot help noticing that there are four references to the future answering to the four references to the past. The first produces on the mind one of the most sudden effects conceivable. When the apostle, at the close of the second chapter, has been dwelling on the "unction from the Holy One" that separates the Saviour's own from the world, teaching them all the truth, and then goes on to exhort them to "abide in Him," the Sanctuary of eternal rest and safety, there is nothing we should less expect to hear than the swift, sharp warning, "that, if He shall be manifested, we may have boldness and not be ashamed from Him at His coming (parousia)." If we let this word "boldness" carry on our thoughts to the last chapter, where this verse is as it were finished, "in the day of judgment" being added, we have a very surprising passage indeed. Three things are here at the close of all St. John's teaching quite new, the "manifestation of Christ," the "parousia," and "the day of judgment." St. Paul to Titus excluded from the last "Epiphany" the lot of the rejected; but St. John includes it, and vividly gives here on the last page of revelation the great alternative. There are those who, in St. Paul's language, scarcely softened, are visited with "eternal destruction from the face of the Lord," and those who "stand before the Son of man" in tranquil fearless consciousness that, "being as He is," He can never reject them. But, having paid his tribute to the dread of the Day, he takes up the same word "manifested," and makes it the watchword of all that is glorious in the future

destiny of the sons of God. The glory of Christian sonship is his theme. What it now is, belongs to the first manifestation, and can be expressed only by exclamation : What manner of love to be called and to be children of God ! But what it will be belongs to the second manifestation, and that itself has to be manifested. The word lingers in the apostle's mind, but not merely as a word. The deep suggestion is that the revelation of what the sons of God shall be will be as new to human conception and enjoyment as the revelation of life in the first coming of the Son to make us sons. But the general impression we receive from the whole is precisely the same as we received from St. Paul's double epiphany, that there are only two great manifestations of the Son of man or the Son of God, and that there is no room for a third. The second is prepared for by the first, and is its issue and consummation. In the first, the sin is taken away, and then those who are pure and righteous "as He is pure" and "as He is righteous," will be like Him and be capable of "seeing Him as He is."

There are other terms, having affinity with these two, which teach the same lesson ; but, as they are not employed in the New Testament to cover both advents, they do not come within our scope. "Apocalypse" is one of these. It is a word of much wider application than those already before us. St. Paul employs it often ; indeed, it is his expression for the first advent of Christ in his own spirit and life : "it pleased God to reveal His Son in me." But neither he nor St. Peter uses it in any such determinate manner as to bring it within our present design. Our Lord who first "gave the word," has given it an indefinite meaning as it respects the future. "The day when the Son of man is revealed," seems at least to include a distinct reference to His coming in the destruction of Jerusalem, and "the revelation of Jesus Christ" at the head of the Apocalypse makes the term include much that precedes the second coming. Another member of the same family may be placed in precisely the same category : "The day of Christ." It is indefinitely employed, and with a wide variety of applications. Taken in connection with the words which describe a second manifestation, it plainly refers to one determinate day in the counsel of God. But, like "apocalypse" and

"parousia" and "mission" and "coming," it does not of itself sustain the argument of one and one only return of our Lord to wind up the economy of human things. Let us look for a moment at these other terms, now first introduced. They are only three: Mission, Coming, and Parousia, which as it were includes the two others. It may seem strange to make these, especially the last two, and still more especially the last, subordinate in this general discussion. But the reason will appear as we go on; it will be seen that they are more indefinite in their application than those already considered.

The application of the term Mission to our subject is of deep interest and importance. As running through the New Testament, the relation to the first advent is plain enough. Our Lord Himself used the term oftener than any other in giving an account of Himself to the world, and St. Paul especially has continued it; whether as the eternal Son or the Son incarnate, the Redeemer is sent or went forth from the Father. But its relation to the second advent is less distinct in the record and less obvious in its doctrinal bearings. It might seem that the subordination of the Mediator, at least such subordination as is implied in His being sent back to earth, had ceased with His session in heaven. But all theological ideas as to the Saviour's state of exaltation must be reconciled with the simple fact that "the heavens have received Him until the 'times' of restoration of all the things that God spoke by mouth of His holy prophets from all time backward;" and that meanwhile under "seasons of refreshment" the penitent people must look for that blessed hope and appearance of the ordained Christ whom "the Lord may send forth." Here there is a singular inversion of the "times" and the "seasons;" but the truth is plain enough that St. Peter was moved to connect the two advents of Christ by one and the same word, ἀποστέλλειν, which we find him expressly using again soon afterwards, "God, having raised up His Servant, sent Him forth to bless you." There is no more remarkable parallel than this. St. Paul's two "Epiphanies" are not more delicately adjusted than St. Peter's two "Missions" or "Sendings forth." And they are only two; for the second mission

from the Head of the redeeming economy is to make "a full settlement of all that had been spoken by the prophets throughout all the whole age of fore-announcement."

The "sending" suggests, of course, the "coming;" and here the material is much more abundant. A casual glance at the current use of this word in the New Testament will show that, while it has many other applications, it is chiefly used to indicate the first and second advent. The incarnate Redeemer was in every sense "He that should come:" come from the bosom of the Father; come after the expectation of ages; "come in the flesh." Jewish phraseology had elected a term for him, "the Coming One;" though when He came; the Jews, alas! still looked, and look still, for another. That first "coming" was ended by a literal "going." "As ye have seen Him go," said the angels, as our Lord Himself had said to the disciples, "I go to the Father;" though speaking to the Father Himself, He sublimely changes the words, "I come to Thee." And at the ascension those angels gave the word for the one expectation of the future: "This same Jesus shall so come as ye have seen Him go into heaven," which defines the one future return to earth, though not to abide on it, with almost the exactitude of a dogmatic definition. The word of the two angels began the history of the ascended Lord with "He shall come." Another word of one of these angels ends the same history at the close of the Apocalypse, "And, lo, I come quickly." Thus the whole inspired record of our Lord's ascended government, as on earth in the Acts, and in heaven in the Apocalypse, is rounded with His coming again. The final note of the history as such is the very voice of the Coming One Himself, and the antiphon of John for every Christian: "Yea, I come quickly. Amen, come, Lord Jesus." It is not to be wondered at that the last word of the history of the exalted Redeemer, which was also the first word, should lay hold of the heart of the Church. That term was at once taken up for the expression of faith in the Creeds, and became the familiar language of all men. Christ's incarnation was the first advent, and His return the second advent. In the Greek writers there is frequent reference, from Irenæus onwards, to the two *ἐλευσείς*.

But the coming suggests the actual arrival, and the consequent *παρουσία*; a word this which is really "coming" with a certain difference. The difference is very obvious in the New Testament, where the Parousia occupies a distinct and peculiar place; not as meaning the presence of Christ simply, according to the literal signification of the word, but the coming which introduces that presence. It may be affirmed that, while the "coming" above referred to always signifies the appearance, the sudden appearance of the Lord, the Parousia connotes with that the permanent abiding afterwards. It cannot, however, be said that it is used of the first and the second advent directly. There is no instance of the term being employed to indicate the Saviour's abode among men. It is entirely appropriated to the final return; and in that meaning is used always with a peculiar solemnity. In St. Matthew's account of our Lord's eschatological discourse, the disciples are represented as asking their Master, "What will be the sign of Thy parousia, and of the end of the world?" The Lord Himself used the term in His reply, connecting it in each case with "The Son of man;" and most certainly with "the end of the world," rather than with any intervening catastrophes. It was that which stamped the word with its great importance. Otherwise it is far from being prominent in the later New Testament. St. Paul uses it occasionally, but almost as often concerning his own coming to his people as concerning the Lord's coming to His. St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, who heard the discourse of Jesus, adopt the word, but do not emphasize it. Yet it became the leading ecclesiastical term soon after the apostles' time; and in our days shares with "the second advent" the function of theologically defining the final coming of the Redeemer. Although, as we have said, this word is not in the New Testament used of both advents in common, it was so used by the Fathers. As early as Justin we find ἡ πρώτη *παρουσία* distinguished from ἡ δεύτερα.

The terms which we have been examining—those of coming and parousia especially—have the almost undisputed pre-eminence in the theological language of eschatology. The parousia has almost become an English term for the second

advent; and the second advent itself is the accepted term, having the advent proper as its Christmas counterpart for the first coming. But it will be obvious to any one who examines the phraseology of Scripture, that neither the word ἐρχέσθαι, coming, nor παρουσία, presence, carries it with the idea of such a second coming and presence as shall exclude a third or some intermediate coming. There are only two terms that are entirely consecrated to the first and the second advent, not used of any intermediate presence of the Lord. It would be a deeply interesting investigation that should collect and classify all the terms in which the New Testament speaks of the Saviour's relations to His people during the long interval. Terms of manifestation would not be found among them. One indeed is found of exceeding interest, which might be forced into something like contradiction to our position. But this exception would really confirm the rule. When our Lord was promising to return again in person hereafter, and meanwhile by His Spirit to be among his disciples and within them, He vouchsafed to assure them, as it were in a sacred parenthesis, that He would never be very far from the disciple who should so love Him as to keep His commandments. And this is what He said: "I will come unto him, and manifest myself unto him:" manifest, ἐμφανίσω, a very peculiar and special word, which, so far as our Lord is concerned, is limited to this and His "appearing before the face of God for us" (Heb. ix. 24). When the Lord assures us that while He is presenting His Person, in the express image of humanity, to the Father for us, He will present Himself to the servant who perfectly loves Him with equal clearness, directness, and assurance. The word has its own unfathomable meaning and unlimited preciousness to those whom it concerns. But it is carefully to be distinguished from that "manifestation" and that "epiphany" of which we have been speaking.

The purpose of these pages is not controversial, especially in an Advent study. But there are errors abroad against which the investigation here indicated, and only indicated, would be a sure safeguard. Between the first Epiphany and the last, St. Paul and St. John have only the preparation of a sanctified people for the Lord's possession and the

destruction of the works of the devil. In their theology, He who appeared with the grace of salvation for the world will appear again to judge all mankind and receive to Himself those who are His. They both dwell much upon the fact that the first appearance introduced the last ages; and that the last ages will end with the second appearance. Their teaching is the teaching of all the writers of the New Testament; and, where expressions seem to indicate intervening events which break the sequence (such as one or two of St. Paul's, and of St. John's in his earlier-written Apocalypse), it is only right that their final sayings should be the arbiter and normal canon of their meaning. Their very last sayings have been hastily but honestly expounded.

In spite, however, of these last sayings, two errors—or rather, two aspects of one and the same error—have been held by some enthusiasts in every age. Both holding that the Lord will appear before the Millennial age, and long before the consummation of all things, one party teach the Christian world to expect that appearance every day and every hour; while the other believes that the second appearance followed almost immediately on the first, and leave the distant consummation unprovided for in revelation. Both go to the Lord's final prophecy, as recorded especially in Matt. xxiv. The latter insist that the long perspective in that chapter terminated in the coming of the Lord to destroy the old age in the destruction of Jerusalem. The latter see in the Saviour's vista a series of comings: one at the Pentecost, another at the ruin of the Jewish state; both these introducing the second coming to set up the kingdom on earth; after which, and beyond the Millennium, the Saviour will come the third time to wind up the economy of human things. The former of these theories is a literary or exegetical question mainly; at any rate, its theological interest is nothing in comparison with its interest as a question of interpretation. The former error meets us at every turn, and was never more demonstrative or aggressive than at the present day.

Those who have surrendered their minds to the fascination of the theory which interprets the second appearance of Christ as a return of the Saviour to carry on the work of His salva-

tion on earth, are not easily induced even to consider the possibility of any other interpretation. The middle distance is rich with historical details of such grandeur and glory and human interest as throw all past history into the shade. Nothing in poetry has ever surpassed or approached the bewildering pictures which this theory presents to hope as really to take place on this earth, with the New Jerusalem as its metropolis. Were these astounding visions of a Christ "after the flesh," reigning "manifest in the flesh," only the gorgeous anticipations of heaven irradiating the scene of a human activity bent on accomplishing all His designs and on "occupying till He come," we might suspect and sigh over them as delusions which the day would disenchant. But they are not so negative and neutral. They exert an unfriendly sway over all the doctrines and ethics and work of the Christian Church. And we know no better way to defend the faith against these misconceptions than to study intently the bearings of the final sayings of our two chief apostles: St. Paul, who makes the result of the first appearance of the Christ a discipline in "this present world" which prepares for "the appearing of the glory of our God and Saviour;" and St. John, who knows only two manifestations of the Son of God—one to "take away our sins," and again one to be seen "as He is" by those who have become "like Him."

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY.

The Kingdom of God Biblically and Historically Considered.
Tenth Cunningham Lecture. By J. S. CANDLISH, D.D.
 Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

It is a noteworthy sign that the prominence of the social question in our day synchronizes with the development of the Biblical idea of the kingdom of God on earth. Augustine's *City of God*, indeed, proves that the subject received early attention, but it has since kept in the background, and is only now beginning to receive the attention it deserves. The truths forming the common-places of theology are those which bear on individual salvation. It is a happy circumstance that the inequality is being redressed, and that Christianity is likely to have a decisive voice in the questions now coming to the front. The question has been largely discussed in German theology, but Professor Candlish's is the first attempt to give it formal treatment in English. His work has thus all the attractiveness belonging to a novel and important subject. It breaks new ground in a field which many look upon as exhausted. The plan of treatment is broad and comprehensive. Each of the six lectures is devoted to a distinct portion of the subject. Each of these divisions, indeed, embraces a wide field, which might justly demand a volume for itself. The lecturer seems to us to have hit the right mean between too much and too little detail. Despite a somewhat cumbrous style, his suggestive sketches can scarcely fail to stimulate and guide thought on a pressing subject.

The first lecture discusses the preparations for the kingdom of God in heathen nations, the growth of society being traced from the family and class through the great Oriental empires up to the Greek and Roman States. The Greek commonwealths justly receive most attention. Less influential practically than the Roman empire, they were far more perfect ideally. Their great deficiency was on the moral side. Beautiful and noble in many respects, they were "of the earth, earthy," and were therefore doomed to decay. Still their influence in paving the way for something better was not simply negative. They expressed certain positive ideas, which have only come to full development in modern days. The moral element was the dominant one in the Jewish theocracy, which stood in striking contrast with heathen conceptions. The Jewish ideal was far in advance of the nation and the age, and became of necessity the hope of the future. In a supplement to the second lecture, the development of the idea in first-canonical Jewish literature is followed out. The third lecture

treats of Christ's teaching respecting the divine kingdom under three heads, its nature, constitution, and king. The nature of the kingdom is expounded to mean that its blessings are spiritual, not external, admission into it is by faith in Christ, not by works of the law, the power acting in it is life, not compulsion. Another supplement gives the teaching of the apostles on the same subject. The following lecture educes from the previous exposition the doctrinal idea of the kingdom, and contains much acute and fresh thought. The ideas of the kingdom and the church, which are often confounded, are carefully distinguished. Some writers have made the kingdom identical with the invisible church. The lecturer puts the difference thus: "The distinction is not that the church is external, and the kingdom of God spiritual, for each has both characters; but that the church describes the disciples of Christ in their character as a religious society, the kingdom of God as a moral society. The special functions of the church are the exercises of worship, and have to do with the relation of men to God; those of the kingdom of God are the fulfilment of the law of love, the doing of the will of God in all departments and relations of human life." The fifth lecture discusses the attempts made in the past to realize God's kingdom. The growth of the hierarchical system is traced with great clearness and fulness; its failure and the leaven of new ideas coming in with the Reformation are more briefly indicated. The extent of ground here traversed is very wide. Our guide, however, has a clear eye and firm tread. He is not afraid to admit that the ideal of the medieval Papacy, however mistaken its means, and mixed its motives, was a noble one, "a state of universal and lasting peace" (p. 262). The last lecture discusses the relation of God's kingdom to modern socialistic ideas, but the lecturer's space is too limited to allow of more than general hints.

The Relations between Religion and Science. The Bampton Lecture for 1884. By the Right Rev. FREDERICK, Lord Bishop of Exeter. London: Macmillan & Co.

The Bishop's apologetic limits itself to three points, the assertion of free-will in the face of the uniformity of nature, of miracles in the face of such uniformity and evolution together, and of creation and revelation in spite of evolution. Or, put negatively, he essays to prove that the modern doctrines of evolution and the uniformity of nature do not interfere with the fundamental positions of religion mentioned. The attitude taken is clearly positive, and the argument is conducted with much acuteness and cogency. The strongest portion of the book is the one in which the lecturer argues that evolution, whether applied to the formation of worlds or of species, does not do away with the argument from design for a Creator, and that it is perfectly consistent with revelation, which in fact is necessarily subject to development. The only effect on

Paley's argument is to make a re-statement necessary, its substance remains the same. The purposing intelligence is merely pushed back to the origin of all things. The fourth, fifth, and sixth lectures, which treat of this question, whether we accept the thesis or not, form a strong, compact argument. It is pleasant also to find so firm a stand made for intuitional truth, as is done in the second lecture, where religious belief is analyzed, although this lecture is somewhat of a digression from the main theme. The only feature of the work we are disposed to find fault with is the persistent effort to minimise the demands on faith. There is an extreme of concession as well as of dogmatism. The line taken on miracles in the seventh lecture is a clear instance of this weakness. The lecturer rightly enough maintains that miracles cannot be eliminated from the structure of the New Testament, that the faith of the early church is built upon them, and that they are even necessary and natural, and then advances the position that they need not be miracles of science, that even if in the progress of knowledge it should be found that they were not supernatural, but natural, Christianity would not be affected. We do not care to quote the strange suggestions on this subject (pp. 196, 197, 201). "Now, it is clear that if this should turn out to be so, though these acts would not be miracles for the purposes of science, they would still be miracles for the purposes of revelation. They would do their work in arresting attention, and still more in accrediting both the message and the messenger. They would separate him from ordinary men. They would prove him to be possessed of credentials worth examining. To the believer it would make no difference whether science called them miracles or not" (p. 202). But is it not just as certain that Christ and the apostles claimed to work real miracles as that they claimed to work miracles at all? If the miracles were only apparent, must it not follow that Christ and the apostles were mistaken? What is the use of such speculations on the hypothesis of what may be discovered hereafter? Will it not be time enough to consider the result when the discovery is made or when there is some probability of its being made?

First Principles of Faith. Rev. Marshall Randles. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Although many excellent works on the theistic argument have lately appeared, Mr. Randles' treatise is by no means superfluous. The former works for the most part discuss simply the philosophy of the argument, and are suited only to ripe students, while the one now before us gives the details of the argument and will serve well as an introduction to the subject. Thoughtfulness and completeness distinguish it throughout. The question at issue is considered in relation to modern difficulties and theories of all kinds. First of all, the law of causality—the pivot of the

theistic proof—is examined on all sides and solidly established. The author holds firmly by the intuitional character of the law, finding in it the three marks of intuitional truth—self-evidence, necessity, and universality. The ground taken certainly seems right, for it would be hard to find these marks in an empirical generalization. The counter theory of causality advanced by Hume, Brown, and the Mill school is refuted at length. The idea of cause thus obtained is then carefully analyzed. Perhaps when speaking of the demand of our nature for something more than second causes (p. 50), the author might have added that we never rest till we get back to an intelligent cause. In the illustration used, the motion of a train is not finally and completely accounted for by a mechanical cause like the engine. The causal principle is then applied in building up the theistic proof. By a process of exhaustion a first cause is reached as the only rational explanation of the universe, and then the various attributes of this cause are demonstrated, its moral character being discussed with special care. The argument, thus completed, is next well vindicated against the objections raised on the side both of science and philosophy. In this part the student will find much safe guidance as to the bearing of evolution and agnostic philosophy so-called on religious faith. This bare outline is enough to show that the work well deserves the attention of thoughtful students in these days of doubt, and to them we earnestly commend it.

The Gospel and the Age. Sermons on Special Occasions. By
W. C. MAGEE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Peterborough.
London: Isbister.

These sermons are characterized, as might be expected, by broad and strong sympathies, keen insight into the tendencies of passing movements, immense directness and vigour, and sometimes by startling outspokenness. The preacher's antipathies are no less declared than his sympathies. The sermons are eminently those of a prince of the church. Every sentence is instinct with authority. The reader is almost compelled to believe. We do not mean it as a fault when we say that everything is sharply defined in white or black, there are no half-lights or neutral tints. We wish to add that as the subjects are admirably suited for "the age" and handled with consummate ability, the volume cannot fail to do great good.

Considered simply as specimens of the preacher's art, as the productions of a finished natural orator of the highest class, the sermons have no mean value. On the most casual reading they divide into two classes. Those preached to general audiences at St. Paul's and elsewhere are specimens of popular address of a very high order. We cannot, however,

think that the line taken in "Christianity a Gospel of the Poor" is as happy and effective as it might be. We agree with all that is said about infidelity and science alone having no gospel for the poor. But it is a mistake to make what Christianity offers to them consist principally in spiritual and future recompense. Surely Christianity has something more to say about the present condition of the poor, especially when on the same page (215) that condition is declared to contain much that is unnatural. Besides giving a right to protest against wrong and claim pity (p. 218), it must also have something to say of the rights the poor may claim. In this class of sermons will be found many passages of wonderful vigour and effectiveness. The other class of sermons, preached to university and similar congregations, are of a different and higher type, as solid and finished as the preacher can make them, which implies a great deal. The sermons on "The Final Overthrow of Evil, The Victor Manifest in the Flesh, The Christian Theory of the Origin of Life, Knowledge without Love, The Ethics of Forgiveness," are as fine, as it seems to us, as sermons of the kind can be. The third in the list mentioned, preached before the British Association at Norwich, is truly admirable in conception and execution, and unanswerable. The Christian life in the world is presented as a fact, which nothing but the Christian theory adequately accounts for. We congratulate the Bishop on his recovery from a long and severe illness. The volume was put together during the time of convalescence. We do not wish the Bishop to be ill again, but we hope he will give the world other discourses of the same calibre.

The Universal Mission of the Church of Christ. The Fernley Lecture of 1884. By BENJAMIN HELLIER. London: T. Woolmer.

The new Fernley Lecture is a welcome addition to the increasing missionary literature of the day. If it does nothing else, it will render good service in preserving the purity of missionary aim and motive. We do not object to references to the effects of missions in extending trade and civilization, provided these are kept in a subordinate place; but this is not always done. We have heard able speeches on missionary platforms which rested the whole duty and worth of Christian missions on essentially selfish considerations. Such motives never gave rise to and can never permanently sustain Christian missions, which can only be justified by a divine command, and carried on by the costliest sacrifices. Missionaries will not live and die to extend commerce. We are thankful that the lecture before us moves in a far purer atmosphere. Christian duty and Scripture truth are the only authorities appealed to. The first part shows by a careful induction of the teaching of the New Testament that the purpose of Christ was nothing less than universal, the second

indicates some causes of the slow and partial accomplishment of this purpose, while the third sketches the extent of the field and the varied agencies at work, and also mentions some considerations which encourage the hope of greatly accelerated progress in the future. The missionary bibliography and statistics at the end are not the least interesting and useful parts of the lecture. If readers can only be induced to consult the works here mentioned, the missionary spirit will be both increased and instructed. Such works as the lives of Wilson and Duff, and Dr. Smith's *Short History of Missions*, as well as the translations of Dr. Warneck's books, cannot fail to be most useful.

A Year's Ministry. First Series. By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D. London: "Christian Commonwealth" Office.

These twenty-six sermons represent half a year of Dr. Maclaren's ministry. They are not sermons prepared for special occasions, but just such as are heard from his pulpit every Sunday the year round. Accordingly they have all the freedom and spontaneity of direct, extempore address. The reader is just as far as possible in the position of hearer, although we must allow this is scarcely possible in the present case. We confess that we are more impressed by the quality of ordinary sermons, such as this volume contains, than by the greatness of special ones. All the preacher's well-known characteristics are present—affluence of thought, mastery of expression, power of poetic illustration, breadth of culture, all his piercing earnestness and whole-hearted fidelity to Gospel truth. We can imagine no better devotional reading than this volume supplies. It will furnish food for much profitable reflection. The character of the volume is well indicated in some of the titles of the sermons:—"The Bridal of the Earth and Sky, Luther, a Stone on the Cairn, What the World Called the Church and What the Church Called Itself, How to Sweeten the Life of Great Cities, The Triple Rays which Make the White Light of Heaven, Salt without Savour, The Gradual Healing of the Blind Man, The Name above Every Name." The Revised Version is often used. One sermon, "The Last Beatitude of the Ascended Christ," is on the new reading of Rev. xii. 14, "Blessed are they that wash their robes," &c. We somewhat regret the decided way in which the preacher only allows a memorial character to the Lord's Supper, a memorial, indeed, of unique meaning, but still no more, "a memorial rite, and as far as I know, nothing more whatsoever." Is not this one extreme as the Papal theory is the other? If this is all, was not the idea of the Jewish Passover richer in meaning? Of course Dr. Maclaren emphasises the fact that the service is a memorial of a sacrifice for sin. "Forms of Christianity which have let go the Incarnation and the Atonement do not know what to make of the Lord's Supper. There is no reason for it amongst them, and practically you will find that such forms of Chris-

tianity have relegated it to a corner, and have almost disused it. They who do not feel that Christ's death is their peace, do not feel that the rite which commemorates the broken Body and the shed Blood is the centre of Christian worship."

Sermons. By DAVID SWING, Pastor Fourth Presbyterian Church. London : Dickinson.

The title is vague, and the contents correspond to it. "Sermons" may mean various things, and so may the contents of the present book. We have failed to detect the presence of any distinctively Christian doctrine beyond the existence of a God in some sense. Here again the titles of the sermons very well represent the book: "A Divine Philosophy, A Temporary Creed, Moral Aesthetics, A Symmetrical Life, Equality in Variety," &c. There seems to be an attempt at fine thought and fine writing in lieu of discarded theology, but the attempt is a sad failure. "It is much to the credit of modern philosophy that, whether it is inculcated by Stuart Mill, or Harriet Martineau, or Herbert Spencer, it seeks the immediate welfare of the multitude" (p. 106.) To the preacher, then, these names represent "modern philosophy!" We can only explain the book by supposing that its author has read these writers, who come in for most praise, until he has lost mental balance and all certainty about religious truth. The last sentence in the book runs, "God is on the heights, and all those minds in this lower world which love the higher life are steadily walking up the slope of this range, hidden now perhaps by mist, but covered with light beyond the clouds." "Mist and cloud" fill the book. That such "sermons" should be preached and printed is a wonder and a sign.

Studies in the Forty Days between Christ's Resurrection and Ascension. By A. A. LIPSCOMB, D.D., LL.D. Nashville, Tennessee.

The history of the Forty Days scarcely supplies material for twenty studies and a volume of 363 pages. The work has evidently been a labour of love, it contains much that is interesting, but the proper subject is buried under additions which are at least unnecessary. Thus, the first sixty pages are given to the educative influence of an engraving of Raphael's cartoon *Feed My Sheep*, hanging in the author's study. The connection of this disquisition with the subject of the book is very slight. So with much else. We fear that the mistake of the author has been in writing the work four times. It is evident that in the process much that is irrelevant has crept in. Perhaps we might discern the relevance on a fourth reading, but the stress of English life will not allow this. Reduced to half the size, the book would be welcome.

Like Christ: Thoughts on the Blessed Life of Conformity to the Son of God. A Sequel to "Abide in Christ." By ANDREW MURRAY. London: Nisbet & Co.

The author of this excellent little book is a minister at the Cape, and the work seems to have appeared first in Dutch. The subjects of the meditations comprise all the features of character which are or ought to be common to the head and the members. The meditations form a complete course for a month. We are struck by their sober, thoughtful, spiritual tone, as well as by the simplicity and purity of the language in which they are expressed. To each one an appropriate prayer is added. There are a few notes, chiefly referring to Thomas À Kempis. With the exception, perhaps, of a speculative note on p. 223, in which the author is feeling his way to a theory of the Lord's Supper between the Lutheran and Zwinglian, the work is highly to be recommended to all, and happily they are many, who are interested in the subject of Christian holiness. It must tend to the deepening of Christian life.

The Atonement: A Clerical Symposium. By Various Writers. London: Nisbet & Co.

It seems strange at first sight that no theory of the Atonement has been formulated and adopted in the Church as was done in reference to the Trinity and Incarnation. The explanation is to be found partly in the universal agreement as to the fact. That Christ's work, and his death specifically, is the objective ground of forgiveness has never from the first been seriously questioned within the church. In the case of the other two doctrines theories were advanced incompatible with the facts, and had to be met by theories which explained or at least harmonized the facts. In the case of the Atonement no such impossible theories have gained any following. Hence the church as a whole has remained content with the central truth taught in Scripture. Particular churches, indeed, have adopted or favoured different theories, Protestant churches avowing one, the Roman Church and those who lean to it favouring another. Yet every one feels that these theories are imperfect at best, simply putting into the foreground the most essential elements, and leaving others in the shade. No theory that does equal justice to all the data has yet been arrived at. It is one of the problems of the future. These differences are very well represented in the volume before us. The fourteen contributors speak for the whole religious community, including Unitarians and Jews. Some communities are privileged to speak through several representatives.

The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures : Being the Additions to the Old Testament Canon which were included in the ancient Greek and Latin Versions, the English Text of the Authorized Version, together with the Additional Matter found in the Vulgate and other Ancient Versions ; Introductions to the several books and fragments ; Marginal Notes and References ; and a General Introduction to the Apocrypha. By the Rev. W. R. Churton, B.D. London : J. Whitaker. 1884.

Mr. Whitaker has conferred a signal boon on theological students by the publication of this beautiful and most instructive volume : a volume which is by no means a merely popular edition, but one fitted to be the textbook on the subject for all classes. The only questionable thing in the whole is the title "Scriptures:" which we hardly accept even after the apologetic explanation of the Preface. The whole of the title-page we have given as our best recommendation of the labours of the able and learned editor. No book in our list do we more cordially recommend.

Laws of Christ for Common Life. By R. W. DALE, LL.D. London : Hodder & Stoughton.

If a writer is always at his best when dealing with subjects which he has made his own, this should be one of Dr. Dale's best books. His mission has been both by precept and example to vindicate for Christian ethics a larger place in evangelical teaching than has hitherto been accorded to it, and nobly has he discharged the mission. In all his writings there is a moral purity and nobility of tone of the most elevating kind. The papers in this volume on such topics as "Sympathy, Courtesy, Family Life, Judging Others, Forgiveness of Injuries," rank with his best works in his favourite field. The first paper on "Every-day Business and Divine Callings," gives the key-note of the whole. The author would break down the distinction between sacred and secular by claiming the whole breadth of human life for God and thus making all alike sacred. The merchant is as divinely called to his trade and the student to his desk as the preacher to his pulpit. Dr. Dale's pure, strong English is refreshing to read. We hope that his special mission will greatly help to bring about the "Ethical Revival" for which he pleads so eloquently.

Miracles : An Argument and a Challenge. By SAMUEL COX, D.D.

In three brief chapters Dr. Cox states the argument for miracles with much succinctness and force. The statement, though brief, is singularly

complete. We do not remember a single point that is omitted. The author argues conclusively against the ill-judged attempt to eliminate the miraculous from Scripture. "The miracles of the Bible cannot possibly be disentangled from its teaching." His argument also to show that evolution, even if established, does not cancel the necessity for creation and design, is very convincingly put. The first chapter indeed is full of good points. Dr. Cox is quite an adept in the excellent art of putting points well. The other two chapters, "The Problem Stated and The Problem Solved," are equally good, the second being particularly comprehensive. The book can scarcely fail to be helpful to all thoughtful inquirers.

The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels in the Text of the Revised Version. By E. A. ABBOTT, D.D., and W. G. RUSHBROOKE, M.L.

This is a translation of the first part of Mr. Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, adapting the contents of that elaborate and costly work to the means and needs of young students. By arranging the Synoptic Gospels in parallel columns the common and distinctive portions are seen at a glance type. The thick type represents the common parts of the Synoptics, and, read continuously in any one of the three, it gives a sort of continuous narrative. On p. xxvi. of the Introduction it is shown how by a few simple devices other interesting results may be obtained. The first column gives the portions peculiar to Mark. We need not commit ourselves to all the opinions expressed in Dr. Abbott's Introduction in recognizing the high value of the work, which may be said to be indispensable to any one who would know the Gospels thoroughly. The grounds on which Mark is held to represent the original form of the Gospel tradition, or more correctly to come nearest the original tradition, are ably explained in the Introduction. So much of the argument may be accepted apart from other opinions expressed. For example, "We are led to truth through illusion," p. xxiv, is most objectionable for reasons too many to give here.

Heart Fellowship with Christ: Meditations and Prayers for each Sunday in the Year, Including Chapters on Christ in the Christian's Life. By Rev. W. POOLE BALFERN. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Each weekly meditation and its accompanying prayer relate to the person or work of Christ. The author's object is to glorify Christ in the Christian's life. The work combines a fervour and unction of spirit which reminds of Bernard or Rutherford with much culture and gracefulness of diction. The remainder of the book is marked by the same peculiarity of exclusive reference to Christ. The want of variety will

not be felt by those who read the book in portions as intended by the authors.

Comfort in Trouble. By Rev. SAMUEL MARTIN. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

These discourses are called "Sermons and Outlines," but they are much more the latter than the former, and scarcely do justice to the finished style of the former pastor of Westminster Chapel. Completed in his way, they would have been full of comfort for troubled hearts.

Indirect Evidences in the New Testament for the Personal Divinity of Christ, with Appendices. By F. R. YOUNG, D.D. London: W. Stewart & Co.

Leaving aside the principal proofs of the doctrine of our Lord's Divinity in the New Testament, this little book gathers passages from the Gospels Acts and Epistles in which the doctrine is implied. This branch of evidence has always appeared to us very impressive, and its separate treatment is quite justified. The remarks on each passage are not meant by the author as exhaustive. The Appendices consist chiefly of quotations from other writers in support of the thesis of the book. By the "personal" divinity is meant proper divinity in distinction from the quasi-divinity which allows only a difference of degree between Christ and prophets. A remarkable feature is the affectionate dedication by the author "a Protestant of Protestants" to a Roman-Catholic Canon.

Infidel Objections to the Scriptures Considered and Refuted. By Rev. F. B. WHITMORE, B.A. London: J. Nisbet & Co.

Mr. Whitmore has evidently kept his eye on the course of the secularist movement, and done good service in exposing the sort of arguments that form the capital of its advocates. The quotations from Messrs. Holyoake and Bradlaugh are not a little instructive. The ignorance of some writers on that side, may be gauged by an article in the *National Reformer*, Nov. 30, 1873, which spoke of Matthew as a "dispenser of liquors." Mr. Whitmore's replies are lively and telling. He uses plain language. His volume contains much useful matter.

Rock versus Sand: or, The Foundations of the Christian Faith. By J. MUNRO GIBSON, D.D. London: J. Nisbet & Co.

A weighty, original little treatise on the three foundation-truths of Christianity—God, Christ, Scripture. The author puts the argument in his own way, with much directness and force. The views of Clifford, Spencer, Mill, Huxley, are noticed and met. This book well deserves a thoughtful reading.

The Atonement viewed in the Light of certain Modern Difficulties, being the Hulsean Lectures for 1883, 1884. By the Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A.

This work belongs to the unsatisfactory class of books which unsettle more than they settle. Negatively, its main drift is against the theory of vicarious satisfaction. Quite unnecessarily the author proves that this theory is only a theory, not an express doctrine of Scripture, and that it does not cover all the elements of the case. Those who hold the theory never asserted anything else. Their position is that it is required as a rationale of the statements of Scripture, and Mr. Lias admits again and again that it is a permissible explanation; only he contends that it is not the only possible one. We cannot say whether his own explanation of crucial facts (pp. 26, 31) is preferable, for we cannot find that he has given any. Positively, the lecturer seems strongly to favour McLeod Campbell's strange theory (p. 77). Of course this is only a theory, nor is it pretended that it is complete. It can only be held on similar grounds to those on which the theory of vicarious satisfaction is held. That it satisfies or explains the facts of Scripture we see no proof in the lecturer's pages. On p. 73 we read, "Christ suffered that He might reveal the true relation of God to sin. The sinless Son of God himself dies to vindicate God's justice." How is this possible apart from some special connection of Christ with sin? We repudiate, as contrary to every instinct of justice, to every right view of God's character, the notion of the "sinless" Son of God suffering apart from some legal relation that made it right. So again we are told (p. 76) of "the sufferings of Jesus Christ being the plainest and clearest manifestations possible of the love of God." But love is not shown in wanton sacrifice and needless suffering. What was the practical end in the realizing of which the love was shown? The only sense in which the author applies "penal" and "vicarious" to the sufferings of Christ would apply equally to others (p. 66). It is strange that in the first lecture the examples given of those to whom the theory objected to causes offence are Socinus, Priestley, Carpenter, W. R. Grey, Maurice, Jowett! Does the author suppose that his own theory would be a whit more satisfactory to such writers than the one disclaimed? We think that these writers would reply, "The latter we at least understand, but not the former."

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. General Editor, J. J. S. PEROWNE, D.D., Dean of Peterborough.

The commentaries on Job by Dr. Davidson, on Joshua by Dr. Maclean, on Micah by Dr. Cheyne, on St. Matthew by Mr. Carr, on St. Luke by Cannon Farrar, on Romans by Mr. Moule, on St. James by Dr. Plumptre, lie before us; of these the works on Job and on Romans are all that we have been able to examine with any care: the others we have

somewhat hastily glanced over. Dr. Davidson's is a masterly work, but its introduction closes with a parallel between Job and the servant of God, which is distressing to us by reason of its negation and omission. It is a model of scholarly execution; often rasping our susceptibilities, but never insulting them, and very seldom wounding them deeply. Mr. Moule's is near perfection as an evangelical commentary. The series may be recommended to students and ministers with much confidence, so far as concerns their admirable apparatus of introductions, excursus, and dissertations. We know no commentary so full in this respect. We cannot speak with equal confidence as to the theological soundness of the writer; and, therefore, hesitate to commend the whole for schools. Moreover, the general style is above the level of any but trained intellects.

The Messages to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor: An Exposition of the First Three Chapters of the Book of Revelation. By the Rev. ANDREW TAIT, LL.D., F.R.S.E., Canon of St. Mary's Cathedral, Tuam, and Rector of Moylough, Co. Galway. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

We have only space now to refer to this commentary: decidedly the best that we have seen on the Lord's Epistles to the Churches. The introduction is exhaustive; and the commentary on the Greek text—the presence of which is an immense advantage—and a careful English translation, is all that could be wished. If here and there a little too diffuse, and occasionally lapsing into dulness, it never fails to keep up the dignity of an exposition of this most precious portion of the Saviour's own scripture. We hope to refer to this work again.

Recent Discoveries on the Temple Hill at Jerusalem. By Rev. J. KING, M.A. London: Religious Tract Society.

A clear, intelligent account of the results obtained by the excavations on Temple Hill during the last twenty years, with the help of maps, plans, and illustrations, taken from the journal of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The details, we need scarcely say, are of surpassing interest to Bible-readers. One result of the information thus freely communicated will, we hope, be increased support to the Society to bring to light the buried history of Palestine.

The Story of Joseph Read in the Light of the Son of Man. A Popular Exposition. By A. M. LYMINGTON, D.D. London: Religious Tract Society.

A beautiful presentation of the most beautiful of stories. In narrative and comment there is nothing strained or feeble. The chapters are models of what addresses to the young might be.

Sermons on Neglected Texts. C. S. ROBINSON, D.D. London :
R. D. Dickinson.

We cannot find anything either in the selection or handling of the texts to lift these sermons above a very ordinary average.

Creation, or the Biblical Cosmogony in the Light of Modern Science. By ARNOLD GUYOT, LL.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1884.

For more than thirty years this able vindication of Genesis has been well-known in America; and has been approved by some of the most eminent authorities, scientific and otherwise. Messrs. Clark have done everything to make it attractive in its present dress. The little book has given us much pleasure; its line of thought is undeniably the right one, and we heartily recommend it as a basis on which to build up the results of a wider investigation.

PHILOSOPHY.

Progressive Morality: An Essay in Ethics. By THOMAS FOWLER, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A. President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London : Macmillan & Co.

"These pages represent an attempt to exhibit a scientific conception of morality in a popular form, and with a view to practical applications rather than the discussion of theoretical difficulties. For this purpose it has been necessary to study brevity and avoid controversy." These opening words of the Preface explain the difficulty of deciding at first whether the writer is to be classed with Intuitionists or Utilitarians. The drift of the argument favours the latter alternative. Thus, the author discards the terms "conscience" and "moral sense," preferring "moral sentiment or sanction." On p. 47 we read, "What are the classes of acts, under their most general aspect, which elicit the feelings of moral approbation and disapprobation? They are such as promote, or tend to promote, the good either of ourselves or others." Of course it is only a slip of the pen on the part of the acute author that has made such acts elicit feelings of moral *disapprobation*. And in ch. iv. it is argued at length that the test of moral actions is their tendency to promote the "welfare" of the persons they concern, "welfare" being accepted as equivalent to "pleasure" or "perfection of character" rightly understood. True, it is only said *test*, not *ground*; but as nothing is said of ground, we are left to infer that the two are identical. Also the way in which the origin and development of the moral sentiment are traced is quite on utilitarian lines (p. 102). The justification of the test advocated is based (p. 130) indeed "on the very make and constitution of our

nature;" but such language would be used by either of the two opposite schools.

Having indicated the standpoint of the author, we do not propose to criticise it. Utilitarianism never gets beyond what it is expedient for us to do, beyond interests more or less selfish. It cannot give us duty and obligation. On p. 110 we are told that the moral reformer who seeks to educate and raise the moral sentiment appeals and can appeal to nothing but considerations of interest. We would put it to the respected author whether the greatest and most successful reformers the world has seen have really taken this ground. Nor do we quite see the consistency of the sole test of moral conduct with what is said (p. 53) about self-sacrifice being the criterion of good acts, as self-indulgence is of evil acts. True, the language is qualified, "some amount of sacrifice." Still no other criterion is given. We should therefore conclude that the more thoroughgoing and perfect the sacrifice, the higher the morality of the act. It would be a work of some difficulty, then, to adjust this criterion to the test proposed, and still more difficult to explain on the author's ground that self-sacrificing action is the only right action. For the rest, that, accepting the theory, anything written by Professor Fowler is lucid in thought and expression and deserves attention, need not be said.

The Man versus the State. Containing "The New Toryism," "The Coming Slavery," "The Sins of Legislators," and "The Great Political Superstition." By HERBERT SPENCER. Reprinted from *The Contemporary Review*. With a Postscript. Williams & Norgate. 1884.

Mr. Mill's "Liberty" produced a profound and a wide impression, little as our would-be leaders of social legislation pay heed to it to-day. But these Essays of Mr. Spencer's will hardly produce a similar impression. Mr. Mill was not merely a theorist or a *doctrinaire*, he was also a man of a constructive and practical mind. He was accordingly restrained from pushing his individualism, except at a point here and there, to impracticable extremes. Mr. Spencer, on the contrary, loses sight of surrounding and counteractive necessities—principles of sympathy and combination, needs of society as such—which cannot but limit and condition merely individual claims and capacities; and this, too, in favour, on the whole, of the higher resulting development of the individual. Hence he has set forth protests, demands, and anticipations, most of which are incompatible with the present and pressing requirements of our complex modern life. We have little sympathy with the advanced forms of State Socialism which give point to his protests and sarcasms, and almost lend plausibility to his theories. But his extreme is one to which no practical man can give his adhesion; and, in his postscript he virtually admits that this is the case. These Essays, in fact, propound a Utopia of abstract principles.

A Philosophical Catechism. For Beginners. By ST. GEORGE MIVART, Ph.D., M.D., F.R.S., &c. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

Mr. Mivart is a Roman Catholic, but he is a Christian philosopher, of great accomplishments and of profound religious faith. In this catechism there is absolutely nothing but high theistic faith and close and deep philosophic thinking. It is intended as a safeguard against the sceptical falsely-scientific teachings of the day. It is searching, subtle, and deep. It is more radically anti-agnostic than any recent book we have seen. So far Mr. Mivart is allied with that profound metaphysician, Dr. Ward, in opposition to the mordant scepticism which underlies the teaching of Dr. Newman's *Grammar of Assent*. According to Dr. Newman, we should all have to be agnostics or sceptics but for "the Church" and its authority and testimony. Mr. Mivart finds a foundation for faith and for a firm theism in nature, in science, in consciousness. This cheap little book is full of matter.

Our Modern Philosophers, Darwin, Bain, and Spencer, or the Descent of Man, Mind, and Body. A Rhyme, with Reasons, Essays, Notes, and Quotations, By "PSYCHOSIS." London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1884.

This book is neither prose nor poetry. It is philosophical criticism done into rhyme. Smart it is, no doubt, and learned, but to us at least unreadable. Even a reviewer, in these busy days, must set some value upon his time. The subject is one which no cleverness or learning can make either delightful or amusing, or of serious and permanent value, in the form in which it is here presented.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Samuel Sharpe, Egyptologist and Translator of the Bible. By P. W. CLAYDEN. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1883.

Greatly as we differ from Mr. Sharpe and his biographer on many points of vital interest, we have read this book with much admiration for a noble character and a devoted life. Samuel Sharpe's mother, sister of Rogers, the poet and banker, died when her youngest child was only a fortnight old, and five months later her husband followed her. The six young children were left, in greatly reduced circumstances, to the care of their half-sister, Catherine Sharpe, the only child of the father's first marriage. This young lady was called at twenty-three years of age to take charge of the six orphans. No picture of devotion to duty under sore trial can be finer than the history of her life for more than twenty years. She kept a home for the orphans, and arranged everything with

a view to make them love it, and find there that which might fill their leisure hours with charm when they were fairly launched on business life. Her reward was the constant love and gratitude they bore her, and the high success which all of them won in life.

Samuel, the second son, was born in March 1799, and died in July 1881, in his eighty-third year. Before he was sixteen he became a clerk in his uncle's banking house in Clement's Lane, Lombard Street. An exemplary man of business, he commanded confidence in the house, and was taken into partnership nine years later. His marriage to his cousin Sarah Sharpe gave him a peculiarly happy home. When business was over in the City he found in this home congenial society and warm interest in all his studies. For society in the ordinary sense he was too busy to care, though the company of men famous in any branch of knowledge was always a source of great pleasure to him. He took an active part in the efforts to secure the great measures of Reform which followed the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. In a magazine article, entitled "Who Paid for the London Mansion House," he told that strange story of civic injustice. In the reign of George II. a shrewd lawyer thought he could enrich the city purse by working two Acts of Parliament; one of which required every person who took office under the Corporation to receive the Communion according to the rites of the Established Church, under a penalty of £500; the other required any one who declined the office of sheriff to pay a fine £400. Accordingly a Dissenter was elected sheriff. He could not conscientiously take the Sacrament in the prescribed way, so he declined to serve, and paid the fine of £400. The process was repeated till forty-five Dissenters had been fleeced in this shameful fashion. The forty-sixth had more spirit. He refused either to pay or to serve, and after a long trial won his cause. The City kept the £18,000, however, and voted it towards the building fund of the Mansion House. Such abuses made Samuel Sharpe a zealous worker in the cause of Reform.

He had been brought up as a regular attendant at the Established Church, but most of his friends were Unitarians, and at last he cast in his lot with them, and attended the ministry of the Rev. W. J. Fox, in South Place, Finsbury. Throughout life he remained faithful to the Unitarian cause, giving both his influence and his wealth to support and extend its work in every way. Mr. Sharpe's Unitarianism was very different from the cold agnosticism which is creeping into some Unitarian Churches. His reverence for the Bible, his love of God, his admiration of Christian character and work, are very fine. No one who reads this book can fail to feel that he was pre-eminently a reverent and godly man. He maintained, indeed, that he was a true apostolic Christian. The biographer says: "He was warmly attached to the Christian name, and though to the end of his life he retained his objection to Baptism and the Communion service, he was an earnest disciple of apostolic Christianity, a careful student and zealous defender of the Old and New

Testament, and held in generous scorn the pretensions of those who, while still calling themselves Unitarians, disavow the discipleship to Christian and Christianity which the word implies."

This is Unitarianism of the best type—the Unitarianism of Channing and many other men whose character and work command profound respect; but between this and a true estimate of our Lord's character and work there is a great chasm. We have no need to show that Christ's claims are fatal to Unitarianism. Either he is God, or he is unworthy of love and reverence. But though we can have no sympathy with Mr. Sharpe's position, we have every respect for the fine spirit and high character of the man, and for the princely generosity with which he was ever ready to help what he considered a good cause.

Early in life he became an Egyptologist. He spent his evenings in tracing hieroglyphical inscriptions, and after some years published a list of hieroglyphics with their meaning. He also published several volumes on "*The History of Egypt under the Ptolemies and Romans.*" It was with considerable zeal that the quiet student ventured on authorship. In his first edition he simply stated facts without much attempt to weave them into a narrative; but as years went on he tried to make his books attractive to the general public, and was accustomed to read whatever he had written to his wife and children, that he might see whether it was interesting and easily understood. In 1839 he enlarged his circle of studies by attempting the translation of the New Testament. He felt dissatisfied with the authorized version, and it seemed clear then that the Oxford and Cambridge scholars would not undertake the work. This translation of the Scriptures never lost its charm for him. He put out edition after edition. He wrote tracts in favour of revision, and presented his revised Testament and revised Bible to theological colleges. To these Egyptian and Biblical studies he was faithful throughout life.

His business had many cares. In November 1844, when the partners went down to Clement's Lane, they found that the great iron safe, in which all the valuables of the bank were kept, had been robbed of £40,000 in notes, more than £1,000 in gold, and £5,000 in bills of exchange. The thieves were prevented from profiting by their immense booty by the admirable promptitude with which the matter was followed up. It was a race between the owners of the notes and the robbers which should be first in reaching foreign banks. The thieves had the start; but so promptly were the numbers and dates of the stolen notes communicated to home and continental bankers, that the thieves were unable to use them.

This promptitude saved the bank from ruin! Two months afterwards the Bank of England paid them the value of the notes upon the usual guarantee of indemnity, in case they should ever be presented for payment. The anxiety came to an end two years later, when all the stolen notes were recovered and cancelled.

In 1861 Mr. Sharpe quitted the banking-house where he had been engaged for more than forty-five years. He now found himself possessed

of a large annual income, with the habit of spending less than a third of it. He devoted his wealth to many objects which had his hearty sympathy. He became a princely supporter of University College, a helper of all Unitarian churches that needed support, and a busy worker in many fields.

We honour the spirit of the man and his valuable Biblical labours, though we deeply regret the constant endeavour which he made by his wealth and learning to undermine Christian orthodoxy in this country.

Memoirs of Marshal Bugeaud, from his Private Correspondence and Original Documents, 1784-1849. By the Count d'Ideville, late Prefect of Algiers. Edited from the French by CHARLOTTE M. YONGE. 2 vols. London: Hurst & Blackett.

Bugeaud was in the Peninsular War, and on one occasion took an English officer and thirty-five men prisoners. "They might say 'God damn!' as much as they liked," he writes to his sister, "but they had to capitulate." But this is quite a minor incident in a most interesting life; and the author of "The Heir of Redclyffe" is quite right in saying, "Marshal Bugeaud, Duke of Isly, was certainly a more remarkable man than nine out of ten who have been the idols of their biographers." And yet how few of this generation know how he got his ducal title, and how far fewer, even of those who have the chief facts of his Algerian career at their fingers' ends, know that he was not, like most of the first Napoleon's marshals, sprung from the people, but a cadet of the noble Perigord house, his father having been the last Marquis of La Piconnerie, and his mother a Sutton de Clonard, descended from one of the Irish Brigade. Born in 1784, the future Duke of Isly soon had a taste of the Revolution. His father and mother were imprisoned; and though they were at last released, their children had meanwhile suffered a good deal. The second daughter, Phillis, to whom most of Bugeaud's earlier letters are addressed, being then sixteen years old, held the household together. The mother died soon after her release, and the father went to live in Limoges, leaving his family in a tumble-down farmhouse called by courtesy a *château*. Here young Bugeaud ran wild, shooting game to eke out the slender fare, reading Racine with his sisters, dressing himself in an old court suit of Louis XV.'s day when asked to a ball. In 1804 he enlisted into the *vérités*, as Napoleon classically called the Grenadiers of the Guard. He was no military enthusiast, and at first, when he was not weeping his hard fate to the oaks of Fontainebleau, he was telling his sister how much he longed to give it up and come back to La Duonantie. It is very interesting to trace how the soldierly instincts gradually overlaid, though they never killed out, those of the country gentleman. In 1815 his enemies got him put out of the army, the favour of Napoleon, who had made him a Commander of the Legion of Honour, telling strongly against him; and for fifteen years, as ex-Colonel, he took to

agriculture, introducing improvements among the Perigord farmers, and founding the first French agricultural society. Louis Philippe set him the task, specially unpleasant for a noble, of acting as jailer to the Duchess of Berri. Six years after, he went as General to Africa, and defeated Abd el Kader on the Sickacle. In 1841 he was made Governor-General; and to his great honour exerted himself as zealously against those of his countrymen who were trying to wrong and oppress the Arabs as he did against the enemy. His extreme care of his soldiers, whom he always obliged to come to drill with flannel belts, was amusing, and so was his anxiety that discharged veterans should accept the Government grant of land, &c., and settle in Africa. In 1844 he crushed the whole power of Morocco at the battle of Isly—of which some of us remember the magnificent picture in the Versailles gallery. He left Algiers in 1847, and was succeeded by the Duke of Aumale, who with another of the royal brothers had been with him through almost all his campaigns. Before leaving he had reduced Abd el Kader to such extremities that although his actual surrender was made to the Duke, every one felt that it was virtually to the Marshal. Had Louis Philippe taken his advice and allowed the troops to act with promptness when the rising in 1848 began, his dynasty would still be on the throne. Bugeaud died of cholera in 1849. He was what we should call a strong Tory, with a morbid dislike to newspaper writers and Parliamentary speechifiers. We heartily recommend a book of which we are only able to give the briefest outline.

Coligny: The Earlier Life of the Great Huguenot. By EUGENE BERSIER, D.D. Translated by ANNIE HARWOOD HOLMDEN. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

English public opinion about the character and work of the great Huguenot leader found fitting expression in Queen Elizabeth's dispatch to her ambassador in France: "Greet the Admiral affectionately in our name, and assure him that the wisdom and constancy which he has displayed hitherto, and his whole behaviour, have deserved and have won for him the admiration of the world." Every reader of this history of Coligny's earlier life will approve those words. In the field and in the council-chamber the Huguenot leader is alike admirable. His defence of St. Quentin, disastrous though it was in the final result, was a splendid display of heroism, and the long captivity which followed led him to the truth which he adorned both by his self-sacrifice and his wisdom in council. His noble wife, who sustained his faith and patience in these dark days, and his two brothers—one of whom resigned his dignity as a Cardinal and his vast emoluments to cast in his lot with the despised Huguenots—are vividly described in M. Bersier's work. Those who have only known the writer as one of the most eloquent preachers in Paris will find that he is a scholarly and painstaking historian, familiar with

all the bibliography of his subject and with the painful history of the time in which Coligny lived. The unscrupulous Guises, the crafty Catherine de Médicis, the brave Condé, the splendid Queen of Navarre, the Jesuitical Philip II., all appear in this historic picture of M. Bersier's. The work brings us down to 1562, ten years before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. We are not told whether the history is to be continued or not. Almost the only objection to the work is that it closes when the reader's interest is thoroughly aroused. We hope to be favoured with another volume by-and-by. The translation is excellent. Its graceful, flowing language makes it a worthy representation of M. Bersier. We notice that Note 4, on page 235, has been attached to the wrong paragraph. There is scarcely any other point to criticize.

Religion in England from 1800 to 1850. A History, with a Postscript on Subsequent Events. By JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D. In 2 vols. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

These two volumes complete the series of writings in which Dr. Stoughton has summed up the "History of Religion in England" from the opening of the Long Parliament down to the present time. The characteristics of this "history" are well known. Other ecclesiastical histories may have been as well informed; some others have certainly been more thorough in their examination of certain periods or certain movements included within the scope of Dr. Stoughton's researches, more subtle in their discrimination and tracing out of tendencies, more philosophical in their definition, and more acute and penetrating in their recognition of principles. But for the union of careful investigation, accurate and extensive information, and general comprehensiveness, with that large and generous charitableness, that almost entire absence of prejudice, which contribute so greatly to a true and equitable reading of history, we know of no history, especially in the ecclesiastical field, to be compared with Dr. Stoughton's. The history of the present century given in these final volumes makes no pretension to exhaustiveness or profundity. The breadth of the ground covered would indeed make it impossible within the compass of two handy volumes to give any other than a general view of the various religious movements included within the life of England during the momentous period dealt with, a period so teeming with fresh life and new ideas and organizations. But, if the view given is general and the sketches of the successive phases of religious movement are but slight, there is abundant evidence that the information possessed by the writer is very extensive and often very minute and exact, and that what he gives in brief statements is the fruit of great and careful reading. Dr. Stoughton's personal acquaintance with so many leaders of religious

activity during the last fifty years adds not a little to the interest and value of these volumes. His reminiscences come in very happily to supplement his wide reading. Every religious denomination of importance is represented in this history. Naturally, among Nonconforming denominations those are most fully dealt with with which he has personally had most intercourse and acquaintance. But the same painstaking and impartiality are shown in every chapter and in relation to every denomination.

A Forgotten Genius: Charles Whitehead. A Critical Monograph. By H. T. MACKENZIE BELL. London: Elliot Stock. 1884.

Mr. Whitehead was a young man of considerable promise, but drink and dissipation prevented him from attaining to recognized eminence or any true or permanent success. In prose he wrote "Jack Ketch," "The Earl of Essex," "Richard Savage," and other now forgotten books. Mr. Bell says that, in some respects, he anticipated Charles Dickens; and in one of his productions, "The Confession," rivalled Victor Hugo's "Last Day of a Condemned Man." He also claims for him high rank as an historical novelist. But it is most of all as a poet, and especially as the author of "The Solitary," that Mr. Bell desires to uphold the "genius" and vindicate the reputation of Charles Whitehead as a worthy artist "of the school of Shelley, and as forecasting the school of Rossetti."

We confess that to us the case seems to be that of a man of superior gifts, who, lacking steadiness and sobriety, never rose beyond the range of promise. There was not wanting good bloom, but of fine fruit there was no harvest. As for his being instated among the galaxy of English men of genius, that result seems very unlikely to follow from Mr. Bell's benevolent effort on behalf of his memory.

Leaders in Modern Philanthropy. By WILLIAM GARDEN BLAIRIE, D.D., LL.D. With fifteen portraits. London: The Religious Tract Society.

This book contains fifteen biographical sketches of modern philanthropists, with a capital portrait of each. Almost every name is a household word, yet there is no lack of freshness. The papers form condensed biographical studies, full of suggestive facts. They well embody the writer's purpose, "to show the connection between a vigorous faith in Christ and the labour of love in the service of man." In that respect this work will be valuable for many young readers. We have noticed some inelegant expressions and a few slipshod sentences. We were also in doubt for some time about one sketch, headed "John Patteson," till we found that it meant "John Coleridge Patteson." The book, however, is written with force, and will be read with pleasure.

Mahomet and Islam. A Sketch of the Prophet's Life from original sources, and a Brief Outline of his Religion. By Sir WILLIAM MUIR. With Illustrations, and a large Map of Arabia. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1884.

Among its other excellent recent publications, the Religious Tract Society has sent forth none more deserving of attention and study than this cheap and compact book. It is, of course, founded on the well-known larger work by its author on the same subject. It contains all that is needed by the general reader, and it is given in the best form, and with the advantage of the latest lights of research and historical criticism. We need not add that such an epitome from the hand of such an authority cannot but be the best book on the subject, within its compass, in our language.

The Empire of the Hittites. By WILLIAM WRIGHT, B.A., D.D. With Decipherment of Hittite Inscriptions, by Prof. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D.; a Hittite Map by Col. Sir CHARLES WILSON, F.R.S., &c., and Capt. CONDER, R.E.; and a complete set of Hittite Inscriptions, revised by Mr. W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1884.

The title should be enough to show to every student of history, whether Biblical or ethnic, the extraordinary interest and value of this book. The vast mysterious Hittite empire, so far as we know the earliest of the great Asiatic empires, the shadowy background of all consecutive history, outside, at least, of the valley of the Nile, and only arrested in its southward advance of continual conquest by the utmost resources of the realm of Egypt, is here disclosed to our view, at least in general character and outline. The work is done by the ablest and most accomplished scholars and explorers in each department. The maps, illustrations, and engravings are admirable. We cannot recommend the volume too highly.

BELLES LETTRES.

The Inferno. A Translation, with Notes and an Introductory Essay. By JAMES ROMANES SIBBALD. Edinburgh. 1884.

Mr. Sibbald is no poet, but he has carefully studied his author, and has produced a translation of the *Inferno* which, without being intolerably

bald, is in the main accurate and close almost to literalness. We cannot say that the metre of the original is preserved, because, though the rendering is into *terza rima*, that as written by Mr. Sibbald is a totally different metre from Dante's. The dissyllabic ending is as essential a feature in Italian *terza rima* as in the Latin hexameter, and this Mr. Sibbald does not preserve. The style is apt at times to lapse into the commonplace. Thus the noble line addressed to Dante's master, Brunetto Latini, "M' insegnate come l' uom s' eterna," is rendered "How men escape oblivion you made clear" (canto xv. 85). On the whole, however, Mr. Sibbald's language is not wanting in dignity, and the *terza rima* is unquestionably preferable to blank verse. To the text, foot-notes, chiefly of an historical character, are appended which have the rare merit of conciseness, and appear to be for the most part accurate. It is not true, however, as stated of Michael Scott (canto xx. 116), that "a commentary of his on Aristotle was printed at Venice in 1496." A Latin translation of the philosopher's works issued from the Venetian press in that year, but it was the work of several hands, and there is no positive proof that Scott was a contributor, though, as he understood Arabic, and the work, or the greater part of it, was certainly executed in the thirteenth century, and at the instance of Scott's patron, Frederick II., it is highly probable that he was so. We observe also in the Introduction, which seems on the whole a useful piece of work, some slight errors which the author would do well to correct in a second edition. Thus Frederick II. is described (p. xxv.) as "using his presence in the East, not for the deliverance of the Sepulchre, but for the furtherance of learning and commerce." As a matter of fact, by the crusade of 1228-9—which Mr. Sibbald, by the way, post-dates by ten years—Frederick did recover the Sepulchre, and that without striking a blow. Again, when Mr. Sibbald (pp. lviii.-ix.) classes Guido Guinicelli and Guido Cavalcanti with the poets from whom Dante distinguishes himself "as one who can only speak as love inspires," he misrepresents altogether Dante's relation to these two poets. In the passage of which Mr. Sibbald is thinking (*Purg.* xxiv. 52), Dante refers specifically to three poets—Giacomo da Lentino, Guittone d' Arezzo, and Bonaggiunta Urbiciani da Lucca—whose style he considered (as in fact it was) meretricious. How far he was from including Guido Guinicelli in the same category may be judged by comparing *Purg.* xxvi. 97-9, where he designates him as

il padre
Mio, e degli altri miei miglior che mai
Rime d' amore usar dolci e leggiadre :

while that he regarded Guido Cavalcanti as one of the same "altri miei miglior" is clear from *Purg.* xi. 97-9, where, after saying how Giotto had distanced Cimabue in painting he proceeds :

Così ha tolto l' uno all' altro Guido
La gloria della lingua ; e forse è nato
Chi 'l' uno e l' altro caccerà di nido,

clearly indicating that the evolution of the "dolce stil nuovo" was from Guido Guinicelli through Guido Cavalcanti to himself.

Mr. Sibbald's work is beautifully printed on rough-edged paper, and is adorned with an admirably executed copy of Mr. Seymour Kirkup's sketch of Giotto's portrait of Dante.

Idyls and Lyrics of the Ohio Valley. By JOHN JAMES PIATT.

London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1884.

These poems seem to be much thought of in the States. We confess that we cannot discover a sufficient reason for the reputation which they appear to be bringing their author. There are bright gleams of fancy here and there; but incoherency of thought and imperfection of rhythm and form blur nearly every poem. Of the perfect and dainty finish both of thought and expression, of fancy and of rhythmic flow and turn which characterize true poetry—the poetry of all time—there is very little indeed in the volume. We give here what strikes us as being, perhaps, the most perfect poem in the collection. It is entitled "Sleep," and is really beautiful:—

"The mist crawls over the river,
Hiding the shore on either side,
And, under the veiling mist for ever,
Neither hear we nor feel we the tide.

"But our skiff has the will of the river,
Though nothing is seen to be passed;
Though the mist may hide it for ever, for ever,
The current is drawing us fast.

"The matins sweet from the far-off town
Fill the air with their beautiful dream,
The vespers were hushing the twilight down
When we lost our oars on the stream."

The volume is named after the Ohio Valley because of the local colouring which pervades the poems.

Ferishtah's Fancies. By ROBERT BROWNING. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1884.

Septuagenarian Goethe, seeking a channel for the stored world-wisdom of his long life, turned to Persia, the land of Hafiz and of Sadi, for the dress or disguise of his European parables. And now septuagenarian Browning, seeking likewise a remote costume for some of the deepest of his thoughts on human life, has turned to the same poetic Persia, and has written, he also, his *West-Eastern Divan*, in the newly-published *Ferishtah's Fancies*. The "Persian garments" hide an English form: they may be "changed," as the motto bids us, and may be changed very

easily, by those whom the dress displeases. For the book consists of twelve sections, each an argument in an allegory, Persian by presentment, modern and world-wide in its easily-discoverable intention. Lightly laid in between the sections, like flowers between the leaves of a book, are twelve lyrics, mostly love songs addressed to an ever-present beloved memory, each lyric having the closest and subtlest spiritual affinity with the preceding blank verse "fancy." A humorous lyrical Prologue, and a passionate lyrical Epilogue, complete the book.

Of Mr. Browning's two chief qualities, the dramatic and the moral or philosophical, one only is observable in his new work. The dramatic element of *Ferishtah's Fancies* is merely nominal—a strange thing to say of the poet whose analytical drama is to the nineteenth century what Shakespeare's synthetic drama was to the seventeenth. But we may well be content for once to accept Mr. Browning as for once he wishes us to accept him—not as dramatist, but as teacher or philosopher only. From the earliest to the latest of that long series of poems in which it seems to us almost as if every phase of man's soul is shown forth, there has come to us along with the human science a settled sequence of teaching, steadily and consistently through many shapes, drawing his material now from the grimmest burrowings in the consciousness of a Sludge, finding them another time in the Hebrew inspiration of a Rabbi ben Ezra. The teaching has been there (and it has borne good fruit, one may observe, in more ways than one), but it has been necessarily imbedded for the most part in a mass of vicarious thoughts and opinions which may or may not be ethically of the highest, but are simply required by the artist's fidelity to the type of soul which he exhibits. In his new book, however, Mr. Browning for once permits himself to speak straight out, with no intermediate imaginary speaker to disturb or divert the direct expression of his opinions. The Persian disguise is so transparent that it is no disguise. For "*Dervish Ferishtah*" read "*Robert Browning*" *passim*, for Persian symbols find English ones, and you have nothing to do but to read straight on through these dozen—sermons, shall we call them? in which, if there is not found some of the deepest and truest thought, some of the cheeriest life-philosophy, and some of the best poetry, that Mr. Browning, or any one else, has given to the world for some time past, the present reviewer is very much mistaken.

English Sacred Lyrics. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.
1884.

All the poems admitted into this collection have been required to satisfy the demands of lyrical form and expression, and to be infused with religious emotion. The anonymous compiler of the lyrics is to be congratulated on his success in applying these canons. He has spared no pains during some years to search through all the best religious poems of our litera-

ture, and the result is most gratifying. Many of the lyrics are, of course, old favourites with lovers of true poetry, but there is no lack of freshness in the volume. Thomas Olivers, whom the Editor calls Oliver, is represented by his magnificent hymn, "The God of Abraham Praise," which was adapted to a celebrated tune sung by Leoni in the Jewish synagogues. The hymn reached its thirtieth edition twenty years before the sturdy Methodist preacher died. John and Charles Wesley are well represented in the collection. This is one of the best volumes of the "Parchment Series."

Lenore Annandale's Story. By FVELYN EVERETT GREEN. London: The Religious Tract Society.

Miss Green's book gives evidence of true literary power. The plot is good, and though the interest of the reader is claimed for more than half a dozen young people, this does not destroy the interest. The style is loose. There are various affectations and some awkward sentences. More care in such matters will greatly improve Miss Green's work. One other criticism we must make. The book would have been none the less worthy of publication by the Religious Tract Society if these girls gave their sage counsels more briefly. They are somewhat open to the charge of talking too much on religious topics. We say this more boldly because the book is thoroughly interesting and well fitted for readers of all kinds, for young readers especially.

Spirit Footprints. By MRS. JOHN FOSTER. London: Nisbet & Co.

The somewhat fanciful title does not fairly represent these poems of reflection, which are singularly free from what is affected and commonplace. The writer has evidently studied to good purpose in Christ's school of suffering, and will touch a responsive string in many hearts.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Lost Tasmanian Race. By JAMES BONWICK, F.R.G.S., &c. London: Sampson Low & Co.

"Are all Dark Skins to perish?" "Have we not often been, in our civilizing processes, more savage than the savages?" These are the questions which Mr. Bonwick asks in the preface to this little abridgment of his exhaustive works on the same subject, "The Last of the Tasmanians" and "Daily Life of the Tasmanians." To the latter, only one answer can be given; though it is cynical to apply the term "civilizing processes" to the methods by which we "improved" Tasmanians, and are "improving" Australian Blacks and Maoris off the face of the earth. Our colonizing has often been unfairly contrasted with that of the

Romans. They came to Spain, to Gaul, to Britain; and, instead of exterminating they civilized "the natives." We came to America, to South Africa, to the great island world of the Pacific; and everywhere "the native" disappears before us. Is, then, colonization without extermination a lost art? Had the Romans some merit which we have not? No; theirs was a wholly different system. They held the land as we hold India; they did not swarm into it, as we do into a country which climate or soil or minerals make attractive. The old Greek colonists acted much more on our system. They cared as little for the "rights" of Thracian, or Sikelan, or Oscan, or Berber, as the Flemings in Gower Land did for those of the Welsh; and the only reason why they did not, in Italy, Sicily, or elsewhere, make as clean a sweep as we have done in Tasmania is because their numbers were fewer and the natives were proportionally stronger. Man is the same as he was when the Greeks first opened up the Euxine. What ought to make us ashamed is that Christianity has not been able to stand against natural selfishness. Even to our fellow-Christian Maoris we are not content to leave a remnant of their land, but persist, in the teeth of treaties, in a course which must eventually reduce them to a wretched remnant, shifted from one temporary "reserve" to another, and eventually shunted off to some New Zealand Flinders' Island. It will be the like in New Guinea, unless we start at the outset, as we did in Fiji, by checking "individual enterprise" and determining that what is secured to the natives shall really be secured to them. The case of Tasmania is an extreme one. The colonists were many of them the scum of our prisons, men whose behaviour was often that of demons, and whose brutal conduct to native women was the cause of almost every quarrel. The food-producing parts of the island were of small extent; the tribes were not (like the Australians) accustomed to long wanderings; and, the native being deprived of his means of subsistence, the struggle rapidly became one for life or death. It is a sad record of initial brutality, followed, when it was too late, by blundering attempts at reparation. The philanthropists went wild on the transportation scheme, Chief Justice Pedder vainly protesting that to take them from their old haunts would destroy the whole race. The wretched survivors of a people who were certainly improvable (they proved themselves in normal instances to be so), and to whose good qualities—till they had been maddened by outrage—Péron, Freycinet, and our own earlier explorers bore witness, were moved from one desolate island to another, dying meanwhile of cold and exposure, or else (as an eye-witness expressed it) "in the sulks, like so many bears." The whole thing became a monstrous job, and before long there were thirty salaried Whites to look after 120 Blacks. A character like Mr. Robinson, whose iron will wrought this speedy extinction of a doomed race, is a curious study. He meant well, even when he was trapping his prey by sending native women decked with ribbons into the bush as decoy ducks; but it is doubtful whether the

alternative plan of landing the Tasmanians near Port Philip, where hostile tribes would soon have made short work of them, would not in the end have been the more merciful course. Nothing in all history is sadder than the long agony of Flinders' Island. Altogether, the record of Tasmanian colonization is not one to be proud of; indeed, unless national responsibility is a mere word, it should make us not only humiliated but earnestly anxious that our future dealings with Aborigines may be as far as possible unlike our conduct in Van Diemen's Land. We "wasted" a race which the portrait and story of Walter George Arthur and his wife prove to have been capable of better things. Mr. Bonwick hopes his book "may raise up a few more friends for poor Aborigines;" we hope it may rouse in the English mind something like a sense of justice. Its appearance just now is most timely. The Maori visit has failed; New Guinea is to be annexed. May the past be a guide and a warning in dealing with these things in the future!

Letters and Essays on Wales. By HENRY RICHARD, M.P.
London: James Clarke & Co. 1884.

This comparatively small volume is full of well-sifted matter relating to the Principality, and is essential for those who would understand the character and condition of the Welsh people. Mr. Richard has done more than any other man (we might almost say than all other men put together) to throw light upon the state of society in his native country, to defend his countrymen from reproaches, of which some were exaggerated and others quite unfounded, and to explain and support their national contentions and claims. He has done this with great ability as well as with the heartiest zeal, and also with great moderation of language, although through the measured words the deep and sometimes indignant feeling makes itself felt. Mr. Richard is a strong Dissenter and a decided Radical, but not a bigot. We do not agree with all that he says, but he says nothing that is not worthy of respectful attention. One thing we confess does a little surprise us, that he should insist upon "the liberality of the Welsh people" as one of their leading characteristics. Notwithstanding the confessed "vigour and fruitfulness of the voluntary principle in Wales," we should from our experience not be prepared to accept his views on this point.

The Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Edited and Annotated
by EDMUND GOSSE. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.
1884.

We are not sure that it was worth while at the present time to reprint in the very elegant style in which Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench and Co. have given them to us, or indeed at all, the series of lectures on painting delivered by Reynolds to the members of the Royal Academy during the first twenty years of the existence of that institution. Great as was the

lecturer in his own special branch of the art, he lacked the imaginative sympathy required correctly to appreciate the works even of such of the great Italian idealists as he was familiar with, while of Sandro Botticelli, Luini, and Carpaccio, he, in common with the rest of the world in his day, knew nothing. He thought Tintoret an inferior artist, and unfavourably contrasted the "bustle and tumult" of the Venetian painting generally with the "quietness and chastity of the Bolognese pencil," to wit, that of the Caracci, and he could speak of "the exquisite grace of Correggio." Mr. Gosse tells us that, if we allow ourselves to be troubled by small matters such as these, "we shall miss what he has to give us." Perhaps so, but we doubt whether, except for the professional artist, that amounts to much, and as the Discourses have already been very frequently reprinted, and "a copy of them is presented to every student who gains a prize of any kind in the classes of the Royal Academy," we hardly see the need of another edition just at present.

Thirty Thousand Thoughts: being Extracts covering a Comprehensive Circle of Religious and Allied Topics. Gathered from the best available sources of all ages and schools of thought. Edited by the Revs. Canon SPENCE, Jos. S. EXELL, and CHARLES NEIL. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1884.

The present volume contains thoughts No. 6,528 to 10,791, and is the third part, so that about one-third of this vast undertaking is now accomplished. All the marked excellences of the work, its clear type, and lucid arrangement, are conspicuous here. The subjects treated are the Virtues and the Mosaic Economy. The Preface deals largely with the difficulty of finding suitable materials for the section on the Virtues, which forms a large portion of the volume. It appears that there is no existing book which treats of the various moral qualities as a whole, and this section may therefore claim to supply a considerable want. The work of the Rev. J. W. Burn is specially mentioned in this branch. He is also to be congratulated on the style of the paragraphs he has personally contributed. The whole volume is exhaustive and thorough. The quotations are of much general interest.

An Introduction to the Study of Justinian's Digest. By HENRY JOHN ROBY, formerly Classical Lecturer in St. John's College, Cambridge, and Professor of Jurisprudence in University College, London. Cambridge: University Press.

Mr. Roby's Introduction to the Study of Justinian's Digest is divided into two parts. The first comprises (1) prolegomena or codification in

general, Justinian's scheme, and the plan, sources, and arrangement of the Digest; (2) a biographical dictionary, apparently both accurate and exhaustive, of Roman jurists of all periods; (3) dissertations on lawyers' Latin, on the authorities for the text of the Digest, and some minor points; the second part consists of the text of the first title of the seventh book of the Digest, with a learned and elaborate commentary thereon. The work exhibits painstaking and conscientious labour at every turn, is well indexed, and forms a most valuable contribution to the literature of a subject too little studied in this country.

A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1884). By eminent writers, English and Foreign. With Illustrations and Woodcuts. Edited by Sir GEORGE GROVE, D.C.L. In 4 vols. Vol. IV. Part XIX. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

This valuable work is approaching completion. The part before us is full of careful research on all matters relating to music and musicians. Its descriptions of technical terms are thorough and lucid; its notices of musicians and singers catch the salient features of each life and present them concisely. It is invaluable for musicians.

Life in Hospital. By a SISTER. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1884.

This book has been written to interest its readers in the good work done by many devoted Christian nurses in hospital wards, and it will not fail of its purpose. The way in which rough men long familiar with vice were softened by the gentle influence of a good woman's words and ways is an earnest appeal for the loving service of true ladies among the poor. The story of the rough navvy whose wife feared that the nurse would have a hard time with him because he was "that contrarions," but who was completely won by a picture-book, is a gem. The man could not read, and was so flattered by the Sister's attention, in finding him this volume, that he was ready to do whatever she wished. Other striking incidents might be quoted, but this little book should be read by all. It is far too brief; that is its one fault.

A Voice from the Dim Millions; being a True History of a Working Woman. Edited by C. DESPARD. London: Griffith & Farran.

How to Escape the Cholera. London: Griffith & Farran.

A Voice from the Dim Millions is substantially the true history of a small farmer's family, left by the losses and death of the father to a

hard fight with poverty. When their home in a peaceful little village, not many miles from London, was broken up, the mother came to London with her girls and worked for the shops. The bondage of the sweating system is painfully illustrated. At last only two sisters are left. One is rescued from a life of shame, the other saved from throwing herself into the river in despair. The lady who became the deliverer of both girls helped them to begin business as dressmakers in a good neighbourhood. They are now in prosperous circumstances, and remembering their own misery, are careful to pay their own workers well. We expect that this book will, as its Editor hopes, win some friends for the poor.

How to Escape the Cholera will not, we trust, be called for by any outbreak of this scourge amongst us ; but it contains three pages of clear, simple instructions. One of these hints is too good to be lost. "Hot dinners are best." That surely is palatable advice!

WESLEYAN CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS.

Memoir of Mrs. Scarborough, late of Hankow. By the Rev. W. SCARBOROUGH.

Walks in and around London. By UNCLE JONATHAN. With numerous illustrations.

Footsteps in the Snow. By ANNIE E. COURTENAY.

Orphans of the Forest ; or, His Little Jonathan. By ANNIE E. COURTENAY.

Poet-Toilers in Many Fields. By Mrs. R. A. WATSON.

A Little Disciple. By T. D. Illustrated.

Early Days. Volume for 1884.

Precepts for Preachers in the Pulpit and out of it. By Rev. W. GRIFFITHS.

Fulfilled Prophecies. By J. ROBINSON GREGORY.

Thoughts on Holiness. By MARK GUY PEARSE.

Wilfrid Hedley : or, How Teetotalism came to Ellensmere. By S. J. FITZGERALD. London : T. Woolmer.

The brief *Memoir of Mrs. Scarborough* is a graceful tribute to a devoted woman who worked by her husband's side in Hankow for fifteen years, and died suddenly in 1883. Her diffidence and weak sight made it peculiarly difficult for her to master the Chinese language, but she persevered till she could conduct services for women, and showed herself a true helpmeet for her husband. The Preface by the Rev. E. E. Jenkins

holds up Mrs. Scarborough's work as a pattern for English ladies who are seeking spheres of usefulness.

We should like to put the *Walks* into the hands of every child. It is crowded with pictures; full of interesting facts about London past and present. Our English capital is not only the greatest city in the world, but that which is most full of history. We know no book that will make a better introduction to Knight, Jesse, Hare, and other great writers on London than this delightful volume. Both young and old will be interested as they turn its pages.

Footsteps in the Snow is an interesting story for children, which will both please and do them good. Linda, the little heroine of the book, is the daughter of a builder who has been ruined by a friend's treachery, and passes through many troubles, but all are forgotten in the happy fortune which comes in the end. The book is got-up in attractive style.

Orphans of the Forest is a touching story of two gipsy children, which will find great favour with little folk, and help them to sympathize with those who are surrounded by temptation.

Poet-Toilers is a series of biographical sketches of men and women whose "Christ-like deeds" have made them worthy of such a name. Pleasant notices are given of Daniel Macmillan, James Clerk Maxwell, and other noble workers in various fields. This will make an excellent gift-book, and its brief sketches will introduce young people to some of the most valuable biographies of our time.

A Little Disciple is the true history of a child who died of fever at the age of six, and was the means of bringing his nurse to Christ. The language is almost too childish, but perhaps that may be its best recommendation for very little people. The book will greatly interest young readers, and help them to follow in the steps of this exemplary little disciple.

Early Days is a delightful book for children: crowded with pictures, full of really racy reading. Many valuable facts about other countries as well as our own will be found in its pages. The coloured frontispiece is very effective.

The *Precepts for Preachers* are original in this respect, that outside the Preface every word is quoted. The plan is skilfully carried out. The quotations cover the whole field of ministerial duty, are culled from good authors, and ought to prove very stimulating.

Fulfilled Prophecies is an effective review of Old Testament prophecy in all its branches, which may very well serve as an introduction to larger works. Teachers in Sunday-schools and Bible-classes might well use it as a guide or text-book.

Both book and author are now so well known that description or commendation of the *Thoughts on Holiness* is needless. The work is faithful to its title. It is not a formal or complete treatise, but "Thoughts" on holiness set in the author's unique framework of allegory and parable. Its deserved popularity and usefulness will, we trust, go on increasing.

Wilfred Hedley is an effective story both as to construction and telling. The good course and evil course are strongly contrasted. The latter ought to make a deep impression. We are often told that the realities of intemperate living are worse than the picture. If so, they must be sad indeed, for the picture is distressing to contemplate.

Light in Lands of Darkness: a Record of Missionary Labour.

By ROBERT YOUNG. Second Edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1884.

We are glad to welcome a second edition of this valuable history of mission work in some of the less known fields. We reviewed it in a recent number, but the speedy call for a new edition is the best evidence of the merits of this capital book.

Story-Land. By SYDNEY GREY. With thirty-two illustrations, by ROBERT BARNES, engraved and printed by EDMUND EVANS. London: The Religious Tract Society.

This is a delightful story-book. Its beautiful coloured pictures will charm all children. They represent little people at play and at work, on the shore and in the fields, amusing and helping each other, or sitting by some old fisherman while he spins his yarn. The stories are not merely interesting. As one might expect in a publication from the Religious Tract Society, they teach many lessons of obedience and faithfulness to duty which will make these hours spent in story-land of real service to all homes. Mr. Grey wearies no one with moral, but he makes his pleasant tales point in the right direction.

The Leisure Hour. London: 56 Paternoster Row. 1884.

The Sunday at Home. A Family Magazine for Sunday Reading. London: Religious Tract Society. 1884.

These handsome volumes will be a welcome addition to every library. *The Sunday at Home* is full of capital papers and pleasant stories, well illustrated, well printed. There is such variety of matter that something to suit every taste and interest every member of a family will be found in its 828 pages. *The Leisure Hour* is a most successful volume. The pictures are specially good; the articles are both valuable and entertaining. They deal with subjects old and new. Professor Levi's series of papers on the British People are worthy of special notice, but the whole volume is full of work of the best quality.

The Quiver. Yearly Volume for 1884. London: Cassell & Co.

This monthly serial has for a long series of years sustained a high character. The volume before us is not surpassed, if equalled, by any of its compeers; and arrangements made for the future show that its efficiency, printing, and interests will be secured. We wish it all success.

Blackwood's Educational Series:—A Complete History of England. The Third Standard Reader. Standard Authors. The Vicar of Wakefield. By OLIVER GOLDSMITH. Adapted for use in Schools. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

This History for junior classes is a model school-book: clear printing, excellent paper, capital illustrations, and plenty of them. The style is simple and clear. The little volume leaves nothing to be desired. The *Standard Reader* has the same merits. Illustrations abound, concise; explanations of all difficult words are given, and the pieces are well selected. This edition of the *Vicar of Wakefield* is well printed on good paper, with brief notes on any difficult words of allusion. It is just the book to put into the hands of scholars. Its illustrations will be acceptable to young readers, though they are not so well executed as those of the History.

Geography of the British Empire. By WILLIAM LAWSON, F.R.G.S., St. Mark's College, Chelsea; author of "Elements of Physical Geography," &c. Twelfth Edition, Revised. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. 1884.

The fact that this book has reached a twelfth edition is its best recommendation. The first part, devoted to Mathematical and Physical Geography, is full of valuable information. In the second and third parts, which treat of the British Islands and the Colonies, Mr. Lawson's great aim is to give the student clear and definite ideas of the place about which he is reading. There is an excellent account of the railway system of England, and of our agriculture and manufactures. The book is a model Geography.

Life's Pleasure Garden; or, the Conditions of a Happy Life. By W. HAIGH MILLER. London: The Religious Tract Society.

In thirty-nine chapters, none of which is more than a few pages, Mr. Miller has sketched the conditions of a happy life in such a felicitous

fashion that many readers, both old and young, will not only enjoy the leisure hour given to these pages, but will also learn the best lessons. Mr. Miller has drawn illustrations from books of every kind, and has pieced them together with brief comments which never tire the reader. The pictorial illustrations are very successful, and the book will teach thrift and earnestness, care for health and character, and true piety to many.

The Magazine of Music: A Journal of the Musical Reform Association. W. Kent & Co., Paternoster Row.

We have no hesitation in saying that the difficulties of the established notation would be considerably increased by the cumbrous system inaugurated in this magazine. The staff of *eight* lines and the use of *two* different notes on the same space would alone be fatal objections to the method. In a table of fifteen minor ninths, printed on page 6, and intended to illustrate the needless intricacy of the "old" notation, no less than *twelve* examples are incorrect. Those who understand the ordinary notation so badly, or who are so unpardonably careless as to perpetrate blunders of this nature, may well seek a *new* notation, but they can scarcely expect to command the thoughtful attention of the musical public. The most attractive feature of the work is the new song by Mr. Frederic Cowen.

The Methodist Class Meeting Calmly Considered. A Word to Objectors, Waverers, and Members. By E. AUGUSTUS HYDE. Revised edition. London: Penfold & Farmer.

An excellent and timely plea for the class-meeting, which is likely to do much good. Its size, style, and price fit it for wide distribution. It could easily be enclosed in a letter.

The Season. (Oct., Nov., Dec.) London: The Season Office, 13, Bedford Street.

This capital magazine for ladies was established in Paris in 1867, and is now published in thirteen different languages with a circulation of 633,000. The October number is the first printed in English. It will appear monthly, and the twelve parts will contain about 2,000 illustrations. English ladies will find in this magazine valuable hints for all useful and fancy work.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (Oct. 1).—M. de la Ferrière's first paper on *R. Marguerite de Valois*, the wife of Henry of Navarre, describes the "Youth and marriage" of this unfortunate princess. She had loved Henri de Guise from her childhood, but court jealousy forbade any union between them. She was therefore married to Navarre, a husband whom she detested, and by whom she was unloved. At the marriage ceremony, when the Cardinal asked her if she would take the King of Navarre as her husband, she exchanged a rapid glance with Guise and remained mute. Her brother, Charles IX., perceiving this, laid his hand on Marguerite's head and forced her to bend it in token of assent. The solemn "Yes" was not even spoken. She once said: "I have received from marriage all the evil which I have had, and I consider it the single curse of my life. People tell me that marriages are made in heaven; the heavens do not commit so great injustice." The article is concluded in the review for Nov. 1. The unhappy marriage was dissolved by Papal authority in 1599. Marguerite lived till 1615, conspicuous for her devotion to the Church. The whole article is a painful revelation of Court life in the sixteenth century.

(October 15).—M. Bandrillart contributes an interesting paper on "The Rural Population of Brittany," similar to those already devoted to Picardy and Flanders. Chastity and probity are maintained there in a greater degree than in other rural districts. Many business transactions, especially those between landlords and their farmers, rest on verbal pledges—not on written agreements. Drunkenness is the great curse of Brittany and the cause of most of its crime. So common is this vice that Nicole said a Breton girl did not ask whether her lover was sober, but wished actually to see him drunk that she might know how he would behave in circumstances that were sure to be of frequent occurrence.

(November 1).—"The Law of Habitual Criminals and our Colonies," by M. E. Planchut, is a valuable study of a pressing question. He holds that it is necessary to build a central prison on the model of those already established in France, but with more strict government. Confinement with forced labour is, he thinks, the only remedy for the rebellion of convicts and the idleness of habitual criminals. The penalties inflicted in criminal prisons are regarded by all authorities as ridiculously light. The governor of New Caledonia has no power to inflict the punishment of death. One hundred and eighty days must elapse before this authority can be sent from France, and as it would be too cruel to punish a man after such delay the murderers are undeterred by fear of capital punishment. Criminals fear imprisonment in France much more than transportation—they have even been known to assassinate their keepers in order to secure transportation, so that if the system in New Caledonia were remodelled it would probably deter many from crime. Then the expense of the system at home is much less. The cost of maintenance per prisoner is seven-tenths of a franc per day at home; a transport costs two francs. Some interesting figures show the number of French criminals found in Australian prisons. In Queensland they were forty-two in eight years, evaded. In the whole of Australia, from April 7, 1883, to April 7, 1884, they were thirty-two persons of French origin, only seven coming from French prisons. The writer does not think it wise to persist in sending prisoners to New Caledonia, and thus making enemies of colonies which will some day be independent states. He shows that the cost of transportation to French Guiana would be two-thirds less expensive than to New Caledonia, and though some of its inhabitants object to the measure, he thinks these are merely formal objections made to flatter the blacks of the country, who wish to enjoy their present quiet. He wonders at the serenity with which French judges can see criminals appear again and again. The laws punish, but do not reform.

(Nov. 15).—The second part of the article on "The Rural Population of France" gives particulars of the change in the economic condition of the agricultural workers of Brittany during the last fifty years. Fish forms a large part of the food of farm labourers. In some parts of the country the worker even needs to stipulate that

he shall not have salmon more than two or three times a week. Sardines are largely used. The diet of the Breton peasant, except in the most favoured localities, is soup, with or without bacon, two or three times a day. Near the cities meat forms a larger part of their nourishment. The diet produces a weakness and sluggishness in the agricultural workers, of which all proprietors complain, though nothing can entirely rob the race of their vigour. Its sailors are as strong as they are brave; the servants manage horses as well as an Arab. The dress of the people, too, has improved. Much reform is needed in their dwellings. Without food, men receive about 1s. 3d. a day, women about 10d. Mendicity continues to be the plague of the province. With some it is an hereditary profession connected with the fêtes, with others a necessity, which only better relief organization will remove. Pauperism and drunkenness, in fact, are the real enemies. Crime and vice have less hold of the people than in most provinces.

LA NOUVELLE REVUE (Sep. 15).—"Germany, Artisan and Socialistic," by M. B. Gendre, gives a lamentable picture of the condition of the working classes. Misery is the parent of that Socialism which is rife in all great cities of the Empire. The existence of ten or eleven millions of the people is at the mercy of the least fluctuations of trade. The great current of modern industry is draining the rural districts of their laborers and small farmers, while Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg in the North, Munich in the South, Dresden and Frankfort in the centre, have been filled with wealth, luxury, and intense activity, but also with pauperism and crime. Suicide, drunkenness, disease, and all other physical and moral evils abound. In the short space of five years (1875-1880) the industrial districts have doubled and trebled their population at the expense of the rural districts. A family of nail-makers, consisting of seven adults, only earned £57 10s. by a year's united work. On the frontiers of Bohemia the condition of the people is even worse. Weak black coffee, without sugar or milk, bread and potatoes, such is the diet all the year round of people who work twelve to fifteen hours a day. The homes of the German peasants are little better in accommodation and sanitary arrangements than those of Russia. In the far north the misery is almost unrelieved. The peasants crowd in their miserable pestilential homes with their pigs and poultry. The cruel suffering of little children before the Factory Acts were passed in England is common in Germany now. The conditions under which men and women work together are a fruitful source of vice. The Social Democrats have banded themselves together to overthrow the existing order of society, and to secure redress for the working classes. M. Gendre points out that they refuse to accept Prince Bismarck's overtures. They accuse him of corrupting the proletariat by his State Socialism, and take every opportunity of repudiating it. Probably their position will be accepted as one of the best vindications of the Chancellor's policy. German artisans smart under many troubles. He who tries to remove them must be a public benefactor. M. Gendre does not admit this, and looks to the wreck of the German Constitution when the present pilot is gone.

(October 1.)—"England's Occult rôle in the Soudan" is a curious mare's nest discovery. M. Bernard thinks that the Soudan was just beginning to recover from its anarchy and settle down to prosperous commercial life when Gordon became Governor at Khartoum in 1874. He at once interdicted the trade in ivory and ruined the merchants by declaring a Government monopoly. M. Bernard refuses to accept the plain reason for General Gordon's conduct that the ivory traffic was a cover for the slave trade. This astute Frenchman admits that slavery was intimately bound up with commercial transactions, but the reason for the suppression he has discovered to be "a double purpose: to exasperate the inhabitants, to drive them to revolt, so as to justify English intervention later on, and especially to strike a blow to the growing commercial influence of France." He holds that Gordon ruined the commerce of the Soudan, and spread discontent among the people, in order to justify English intervention. The hypocrisy and false humanitarianism of England in reference to slavery have, he thinks, been fully proved by subsequent events.

(Nov. 1.)—M. de Marcère's articles on "The Republic and Republicans" are a powerful statement of true Liberal principles as opposed to that Socialism which is a war against the social order. He does not forget that some candid and

generous allies are found in the Socialist camp, but the leading spirits are demagogues who really prey on the miserable and unfortunate whom they profess to champion. They desire to pass from theory to practice; that is, they wish to govern and claim unlimited and uncontrolled authority for democracy. The consequences of their war against property, if ever they gain the upper hand, are clear to all who know anything of history, and are repugnant to them, both as men and as patriots, because they will lead to the ruin of the country. Men like M. Clémenceau may seek to guard their theories from such charges, but M. de Marcère shows by a criticism of one of his speeches that the doctrine of his school is simply that equality of riches must be established by force. Disguise it or ignore it as they will, their true Republic is really a war made by the State on the rich, and will become a blind tyranny set at the service of all the passions of rulers armed with arbitrary power. The struggle between parties in France is, he thinks, in danger of destroying concord and bringing into disfavoured the principles of the French Revolution, which have no worth unless applied sincerely and equitably. True Liberalism has nothing to fear by making its principles known. It will deal equally with all; will respect the beliefs and prejudices of all. He holds that a republic is the form of government which divides the people into classes less than any other. All can say of such a régime that it is theirs. One condition alone is necessary: it must never be allowed to become the rule of a party.

(November 15.)—M. Gendreau, who has been writing in this review on Socialism in Germany, now turns his attention to "The Struggles of Ireland." He says that none of the tragic struggles of modern history have a more poignant interest. He holds that a study of the Fenian movement proves that the revolutionary Ireland of today is no more the blind and docile instrument in the hands of the priests that it was in former times. Economic and social questions are the burning problems of the present day. These can only be understood by studying the Ireland of Cromwell, Grattan, O'Connell, and the Fenians. To this study the paper is devoted. The inquiry is only brought down as far as 1867, and shows that when the resentment and terror caused by the Fenian outbreak calmed down, England set herself to find a remedy for the morbid state which this outbreak revealed.

(December 1.)—M. Marcas' valuable paper on the "Management of Foreign Affairs in France and England" carefully compares the system adopted in each country. In our Foreign Office there are 85 persons, in the French 165. 90 of the French employés receive salaries of from £62 to £125, whereas only 14 of our lower division clerks have such small incomes. M. Marcas holds that to reduce the number of places and double the allowances, would make the French Administration an intellectual aristocracy of the first rank. France spends above £35,000 more on her consuls than we. We spend nearly £30,000 more on our diplomatic agents. Our ambassadors at all the great Courts are better paid than those of France. The advantages of our system are summed up thus: In the central administration few functionaries, well paid; in the diplomatic service all the material facilities which may contribute to the prestige and influence of the Queen's representative; in consular service few changes, frequent promotions on the spot. These points and the generous treatment granted to valuable servants of the State in the matter of pensions, are the advantages of our Foreign Office, to which M. Marcas hopes to see a gradual approximation in France. The amount spent on foreign affairs in each country is about the same, but the importance of the work done for the money in England is as three to two compared with that in France.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (October).—A temperate article on "German Colonial Policy," states the arguments for action, and deals with the circumstances of the Angra-Pequena settlement. Pressure of population is very keenly felt in Germany. Out of forty-five and a quarter millions, more than sixteen millions are children under fifteen, a larger proportion than in any other country. The openings for trade and capital which our colonial system gives to us are so attractive, that Germany wishes to secure similar facilities for herself. The writer shows that the complaints of the Cape authorities about our supineness in reference to Angra-Pequena are not without justification.

(November.)—Georg Ebers' biographical sketch of Richard Lepsius, the great Egyptologist, is a tribute to a life devoted to Oriental research. Lepsius died last

July, in his seventy-third year. He began his Egyptian studies in early life, thrice visited the country, and wrote many valuable books on the subject. As professor of Berlin University, one of the directors of the Egyptian Museum, and Chief Librarian of the Berlin Library, he rendered valuable service to his country.

(December.)—Professor Asher writes on "The State of the Poor in London." His paper is to be concluded next month. The present part is mainly a description of the slums and their inhabitants, such as "The Bitter Cry" and "How the Poor Live" have already given to English people. The article is clear and temperate.

UNSERE ZEIT (Sept.).—"The German Population of London" states that Germany supplies the largest foreign element in our "giant city." The writer is singularly vague about the actual number of Germans in our metropolis, which are variously estimated at from 35,000 to 140,000. There was a little German settlement in London in the twelfth century, and this had grown 4,000 strong in Queen Elizabeth's time. The City proper is leavened everywhere by the German element. The Germans are especially busy in commerce, but have found their way also into every profession. The stream of emigration is such that numbers are out of work, and resort to begging. Many city offices have a German notice at the door: "Begging is forbidden, and will be punished by the police." One-sixth of the German colonists are Roman Catholics, with a single church. There is one synagogue, and twelve Protestant places of worship. The article speaks of the beautiful and roomy German-Wesleyan Church, erected four years ago, and its three branch chapels.

(October.)—This number contains a graphic account of Bismarck's home at Friedrichsruhe. The Emperor presented the estate to his Chancellor in 1871. Bismarck bought the castle and a clock manufactory to make his property complete. The Prince's house lies close to the railway station on the main line between Berlin and Hamburg, surrounded by a red-brick wall. It has two large wings meeting at a right angle, with a verandah looking out on the forest. Within, simplicity is the great feature. The walls and ceilings are whitewashed, there are no wall-papers, not even a coloured border. The furniture looks stiff and cold—the only luxuries of the house being thick carpets. The Chancellor's study is a large room with several mahogany tables, a bronze inkstand, blue sand-paper, and a quill pen—the only kind Bismarck will use. Family portraits, portraits of statesmen, &c., hang in the various rooms. The apartments in which the Prince receives company, or which he reserves for the use of distinguished guests, are large and luxurious compared with the simple decoration of the rooms in which he and his family live.

(November and December.)—An article on "Scandinavia as a Place for Tourists" contains notes on the most interesting features of the country, gives the characteristics of the people, and compares Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish, with German. The honesty of Norway is conspicuous. The traveller is seldom defrauded. Once only was the writer of this article deceived by a youth. When he discovered the fraud, he went to the place where the young fellow stood talking with others, and said, "Why hast thou deceived me? Art thou a Norwegian? Shame on thee! It is the first time that any one has so treated me in Norway." He turned his back on him and went away. But scarcely had he reached his room before the youth entered, quite broken down, to beg pardon, and return what he had wrongfully received. The charms of nature invite all lovers of romantic scenery. Midnight suns, northern lights, Laplanders, reindeers, snowfields, are some of the most remarkable sights for the traveller.

NUOVA ASTROLOGIA (October 15 and November 15).—Signor Palmas, in his article on "Constitutional Monarchy and the German Empire," holds that Bismarck not only commands respect by his incomparable greatness, but also, taking his government on the whole, notwithstanding all appearance to the contrary, he enjoys the confidence of the nation as fully as any Parliamentary Minister has ever done, not less than even Pitt, Canning, Peel, Palmerston, or Gladstone.

(November 1.)—In "The Italian University and the State," Angelo Mosso, who has himself been a student in the University of Leipzig, says

there is the greatest difference between Italians and foreigners as to their feeling in regard to professors and science. In Italy the people have no just idea of the office of a professor. It is the country of a hundred professions, caligraphy, dancing, &c. In Naples the title is lowest in popular opinion. One of the most illustrious members of Naples University told the writer that his students called him Master, his assistants of the laboratory Director, others simply Doctor. The writer says that one of his friends, a professor in the University of Rome, went two years ago to Naples with an old colleague. They sought a moderate lodging, and found it. In making their arrangements the master of the house asked what their business was. We are professors, they said. Excuse me, Excellency, was the reply, but the proprietor of the house does not wish for professors. Italian laws are so wanting in uniformity that scholastic work is rendered difficult, and their continual modification has greatly disturbed the discipline and spirit of the schools.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (October).—The Symposium on "The Benefits of the Tariff System," is a warm defence of American protection. The writers ascribe the five-fold increase of manufactures in the States during the last two decades to this policy, and think that it would be folly to abandon it whilst their country enjoys mineral wealth that is practically inexhaustible, and a boundless area for agriculture. They maintain that the removal of the tariff would leave their own resources undeveloped, and make them go abroad for that which by industry they might produce at home. "Moral Character in Politics," by President Seelye, of Amherst College, shows that the Republican party in the States has abandoned its old ground, and no more contends "for what is right simply because it is right," but builds its platform merely with an eye to what the people wish. Hence the issue between the two great parties is confused. They contend for no principle, but simply for the patronage and power of government.

(November).—Professor Gilliam's paper on "The African Problem," is a re-statement of the views he advocated a year ago. The negro, while slowly advancing in education and wealth, is rapidly gaining in numbers on the white. This condition of things will, he thinks, lead to social disorders if the negro is and must continue to be an alien and distinct race; and must be pressed back by the ruling whites toward the labour line. Colonization, enforced if necessary, is the remedy he proposes. The power of the black will, he holds, be used to Africanize the South. He acknowledges that the negro has added immensely to the country's wealth, but thinks that the evils of his stay are so great that he should be turned back to Africa. This article will meet the adverse criticism so justly meted out to Prof. Gilliam's former paper.

CENTURY (October).—"Lights and Shadows of Army Life" gives a graphic description of scenes in the American civil war. Its writer, Mr. Williams, had a long experience among veterans in the ranks. His paper throws much light on the camp life of the armies, and the relations between officers and men. Reading was a passion with most soldiers, and seventy-five thousand dollars per annum was paid for the exclusive right to sell newspapers in the Army of the Potomac. Amusing instances are given of the lack of respect shown to officers by privates who were their superiors in social position.—Admirers of Rosa Bonheur's famous animal pictures will prize the description of her home and family given in Mr. Bacon's paper. When she began her study of the "Horse Fair," in 1867, she adopted male attire that she might work unmolested among the rough characters of the horse market. She has been devoted to animals from her childhood. She lives quietly in her château at the little village of By, a few miles from Fontainebleau. Her health has greatly suffered of late.

(November).—A series of papers on "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" is the great feature of the new volume of the *Century*. The articles are to be written by officers engaged in the war. General Beauregard, the hero of Bull Run, gives a full description of that famous engagement this month. The main articles are to be followed by "Recollections of a Private," giving the soldier's side of the question. The illustrations are especially valuable, and this series, is, perhaps, the most important ever undertaken even by the enterprising proprietors of the *Century*.

(December.)—Warren Lee Goss' *Recollections of the Civil War* are most interesting. One day, he says, the colonel of a regiment, noticing a corporal in soiled gloves, asked why he set such a bad example to the men? "I've had no pay, sir, since entering the service," was the answer, "and can't afford to hire washing." The colonel drew from his pocket a pair of gloves, spotlessly white, and handing them to the corporal, said, "Put on those; I washed them myself." In the paper on the "Capture of Fort Donelson," there is the following description of General Grant, who then had his fame to win:—"From the first his silence was remarkable. He knew how to keep his temper. In battle, as in camp, he went about quietly, speaking in a conversational tone; yet he appeared to see everything that went on, and was always intent on business. He had a faithful assistant adjutant-general, and appreciated him; he preferred, however, his own eyes, word, and hand. His aides were little more than messengers. In dress he was plain, even negligent; in partial amendment of that, his horse was always a good one, and well kept. At the council—calling it such by grace—he smoked, but never said a word. In all probability he was framing the orders of march which were used that night."

HARPER (October).—Mr. Hague's "Reminiscence of Mr. Darwin" shows the famous naturalist in a pleasant light. In 1871, through Sir Charles Lyell, whom he knew, this American visitor, who had himself made a long cruise in the South Pacific, and been especially interested in the voyage of the "Beagle," was invited to lunch with Mr. Darwin. Happening to express his regret that he had been so poorly qualified for his voyage by previous study of natural history, Mr. Darwin said: "Well, you need not think yourself unique in that respect. I never knew a man who had a rare opportunity for observation who did not regret his imperfect qualifications. It was my own experience. If I could only go now, with my head sixty years old and my body twenty-five, I could do something." When the "Beagle" was fitting out, Darwin was a young man, fond of sport, shooting and fishing, with a strong liking also for natural history. It seemed to him a pleasant thing to go as a volunteer on the party with his friend, Captain Fitzroy. On his return, Lyell urged him to publish his account of the voyage. This led him to devote himself to science. In 1878, Mr. Hague spent a night at Mr. Darwin's house at Down. "The Home of Hans Christian Andersen" shows that the famous story-teller was excessively vain. He bewailed the indifference with which his philosophical writings, over which he worked very hard, were received. He would have ceased to write his little tales, but they forced themselves from him. When the people of Copenhagen were preparing to erect a statue in his honour, and a design was suggested which represented him with two children at his knee listening to his stories, he objected to it because he was not in the habit of taking children in his arms.

(November.)—"Norman Fisher-Folk" describes the homely life of the brave men and stalwart women on the other side of the channel. As soon as the tide floats the boats, the women at Villersville take their husbands out on their backs, and when the little vessels return, they wade out to them, bring the baskets to land, then carry the men triumphantly to shore.

(December.)—Mr. Black's paper, "A Few Days' more Driving," is a pleasant feature of this Christmas number. The drive was not in a phaeton, but on the top of a coach—with three blacks and a brown—through the southern counties. Winchester, Salisbury, Stonehenge, are the main points round which Mr. Black weaves his sparkling talk. "Nature's Serial Story" is finished this month. Mr. Roe has given the readers of this magazine a rare treat by his description of American country life. The story deserves its name, for the workings of nature are described with singular felicity. The young people of the story are all admirable in their different ways; the plot, simple as it is, holds attention. Some of the illustrations are admirable.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW (October).—This quarterly is to be discontinued. This last number suggests no special remark, unless it be that the editor's anger against our article on "Free Education" (in our July number) seems to show that the article has hit its mark. The analogy between bridge-building at the public expense and free education is by no means obvious.

COLONEL MAURICE'S APPEAL.

COLONEL MAURICE has prefixed a long Preface to the second edition of his father's *Life*, which is almost wholly dedicated to an attack on this journal, on the *Wesleyan Magazine*, and on Dr. Rigg, partly as one of the editors of this journal, partly as the author of the volume entitled *Modern Anglican Theology*, and partly on certain other and merely personal grounds. Against this journal, the *Magazine*, and Dr. Rigg, Colonel Maurice "appeals to the Wesleyan Methodists," and even—wonderful to say—to the "Wesleyan Conference," conjuring that assembly to redress his wrongs.

In what we have to write in reply to all this—and we need not say that it is excessively irksome to us to be obliged to offer any reply where the controversy forced upon us is made distinctly personal—it will be convenient, first of all, to deal with so much of Colonel Maurice's new Preface as relates to his own treatment of Dr. Rigg in certain passages of the *Life* as originally published.

We cannot more concisely sum up Colonel Maurice's references to Dr. Rigg than in the words employed in the last July number of this Review by the competent and independent reviewer—as to whom we shall have something to say presently—who wrote the article entitled "Frederick Denison Maurice."

"Colonel Maurice," wrote our reviewer, "speaks of the clergy who opposed his father as taking their knowledge from 'second-hand mis-statements of Mr. Rigg;' of people taking their 'knowledge of what he MEANT at second, or third, or fourth hand from the *Record* or from Mr. Rigg, a Wesleyan minister, whose books were occasionally distributed by most pious persons as warnings to young men of the plagues they were to flee from.' Again, he says the 'orthodox' Mansel could only make his appeal to 'Dr. Candlish, the Calvinistic Presbyterian, and Mr. Rigg, the Wesleyan;' and he deliberately adds that 'both these men had made their attacks because of my father's influence on behalf of the Church of England, which they found to be too powerful among their sects.' Here we have Dr. Rigg's most careful and painstaking analysis of the writings of Maurice set down as second, even 'third and fourth hand.' It is placed alongside the work of the *Record*, with which it had absolutely no connection; and moreover it is attributed to vulgar jealousy and spite."

At the foot of the page our reviewer gave the precise references by which to identify his quotations.

Now, how does Colonel Maurice in this new Preface meet these charges? He simply ignores the first and leading passage quoted by our reviewer. Passing it by *sub silentio*, he quotes the second passage only, and argues that this second passage cannot possibly mean that Dr. Rigg's knowledge of Mr. Maurice's writings was a second-hand knowledge. Our readers will form their own judgment as to that. If A. is said to have got a third- or fourth-hand knowledge of Roman history from B., the implication is that B. himself had got his knowledge at second- or third-hand from the original historians.

But why does Colonel Maurice suppress the earlier and leading quotation, which speaks of the "second-hand misstatements of Mr. Rigg," and which naturally governs the interpretation of the later and less distinct passage which he does quote? It was to this passage, and to this only, that Dr. Rigg referred in the private note—a note never intended for publication, and of which he kept no copy—that was sent by him to Colonel Maurice in April last. In that note Dr. Rigg—having at the time not yet come upon the other passages—asked Colonel Maurice to explain what he meant by "Mr. Rigg's misstatements." But of this passage Colonel Maurice makes no mention in this new Preface. He does, indeed, make a dark and unintelligible reference to it.

"I have one word more," he says, "to say on this matter. On April 15, 1884, I received from Dr. Rigg a letter, in which, misquoting the words I had used on p. 341, vol. ii., he so wrote them as to make me say in unmistakable terms the very thing which the 'London Quarterly' reviewer accuses me of saying—viz., that Dr. Rigg had made his misstatements at second-hand from my father. I wrote at once to confess the phrase used in that particular passage did admit of this misconstruction if it had been the only one in the volume; that that reading had not occurred to me; that I would take care that in the next edition there should be no doubt that I intended to speak of Dr. Rigg as having made the misstatements, and other people of having taken them at second-hand from him."

Why, we ask, does Colonel Maurice carefully avoid quoting the passage which he accuses Dr. Rigg of "misquoting"? The extent of the misquotation was that, whereas he had written, "the second-hand misstatements of Mr. Rigg," Dr. Rigg asked him to explain what he meant by speaking of "Mr. Rigg's second-hand misstatements." It is not easy to see what motive there could be for "misquoting" Colonel Maurice in a private note addressed to himself, and asking for an explanation. Our question, however, is: What is to be thought of Colonel Maurice, who, in pretending to sum up what he has chosen to make a public personal controversy, takes care not to quote at all the primary passage out of which the controversy has arisen, and which, first and most of all, he needs to explain?

Colonel Maurice also assumes that his explanation given to Dr. Rigg as to this passage, which he is careful not to quote, was clear, complete, satisfactory, and ought to have prevented such a reference to the subject as that actually made by our reviewer. He even tells his readers that he submitted his correspondence with Dr. Rigg to "several men," and that these select friends of his, one and all, characterized Dr. Rigg's conduct as "inexcusable." This private judgment of his particular friends on a private correspondence Colonel Maurice thinks it worthy of an "officer and gentleman" to print in this Preface, the correspondence being still private and unprinted.

Dr. Rigg, on the contrary, thought the explanation eminently unsatisfactory. [No. CXXVI.]—NEW SERIES, VOL. III. NO. II. D D

factory, though he did not think it worth his while to appeal to the public on the question. To him, and to "several men" whom he consulted, it appeared that the "second-hand misstatements of Mr. Rigg" is an expression equivalent to "Mr. Rigg's second-hand misstatements," and that the other passage could only be read in connexion with, and was altogether consistent with, this clear and direct passage. The expressions made use of by some of the "men" who learnt how Colonel Maurice attempted to escape the responsibility of his plain words were far from complimentary to that gentleman, and would certainly never have been referred to in this journal—the whole matter being regarded by Dr. Rigg as private—but for the manner in which Colonel Maurice has dealt with the subject in this Preface. The effect of the correspondence, which extended to three letters on each side, was that Dr. Rigg gave up all thought of reviewing the Life himself, and, without saying anything about the correspondence, or the points raised in it between Colonel Maurice and himself, asked another gentleman to review the volumes, particularly requesting him, at the same time, whilst vindicating, in whatever way he thought best, those whom Colonel Maurice had wronged, to deal generously, not only with Mr. Maurice himself, his character and memory, but also with the biographer. The reviewer was thus left to form his own judgment on the whole subject. In what spirit the reviewer did his work our readers know, although Colonel Maurice's candour is unequal to any acknowledgment of it.

The reviewer, it may be well for us here to say, was not a Wesleyan, nor an Englishman, nor a resident in Great Britain. He is an author of recognized merit. He has been familiar with the subject in controversy for many years past. When he was an undergraduate and a theological student, *Modern Anglican Theology* was recommended to him for study by his theological tutor, a very eminent Congregationalist professor and divine.

Colonel Maurice, in answer to a challenge given by Dr. Rigg to "point out an error of quotation or argument" in what Dr. Rigg had written about Mr. Maurice, referred, in one of his letters, to a passage from *Modern Anglican Theology* which he affirmed misrepresented his father's views. He attempted, however, no proof of this statement. To have refuted his assertion would have required, on Dr. Rigg's part, a detailed re-examination of Mr. Maurice's *Theological Essays*, and restatement of his own arguments, which, of course, was out of the question. Dr. Rigg, however, in his reply, referred to the fact as notorious, that Mr. Maurice was, on the subject of the Atonement, opposed, in general, to the received doctrines of evangelical orthodoxy, not only under the Calvinistic form, but under the Arminian. It is an historical fact, whether Colonel Maurice knows it or not, that Mr. Maurice's views on this point were not only in antagonism to those of "the clergymen"—i.e., evangelical clergymen—to whom he so often refers, but, as Dr. Rigg says in the passage quoted by Colonel Maurice, to the theology of Howe, Barrow, and Leighton, of

Robert Hall and Thomas Chalmers, as well as to that of Wesley and his followers; and for Colonel Maurice to contend that this could not have been the case because Maurice admired these men is a singular "ignoratio elenchi." He utterly misses the point of the question.

These are enough words as to what Colonel Maurice says on pp. vi.-ix. of his new Preface, but, as an illustration of his besetting inexactitude, we must further observe that, in spite of the actual words of Dr. Rigg which he quotes on p. viii., he charges Dr. Rigg at p. xvii. with speaking of his father as one who "habitually indulged in loose, smart, sneering talk about God." What Dr. Rigg wrote was not that the sneering talk was "about God," but "on this point"—i.e., as to evangelical views respecting the Atonement—an entirely different thing. Yet, having first so seriously misquoted Dr. Rigg, he goes on to say, with an attempt at irony, "I have no need to use such calumnious phrases as that this is a 'misstatement.' I may leave my readers to choose some briefer expression." That is to say, Colonel Maurice, challenged to prove an error or misquotation, first invents an expression for Dr. Rigg which Dr. Rigg has not used, nor any equivalent for it, and then invites his readers to call that invention of his own Dr. Rigg's *lie*. And Colonel Maurice expects to be regarded as a conscientiously careful writer, and as a high-souled Christian gentleman!

As respects that which is the gravest point in our reviewer's complaint against Colonel Maurice—his statement that both Dr. Candlish and Dr. Rigg had attacked Mr. Maurice's views "*expressly because of his father's influence in behalf of the Church of England*" among "their sects" (a charge which, if in any degree true, it must have been easy to establish)—Colonel Maurice does not attempt to furnish a tittle of evidence, and yet has not the justice or the good breeding to offer a word of apology, not even to the memory of so great a Church leader as Dr. Candlish. He is too much in the wrong to be able to afford even the most obviously just and proper concession. He even attempts again to insinuate the same monstrous imputation, whilst unable to frame an articulate or coherent sentence in support of it.

We spoke just now of Colonel Maurice's "besetting inexactitude." Under the stimulant of temper, this tendency of his is carried very far, as we have already shown, and must now further show. Besides the *London Quarterly Review*, another Wesleyan journal, the *Wesleyan Magazine*, has offended Colonel Maurice by its criticisms of himself and its defence of Dr. Rigg. Colonel Maurice, accordingly, mixes up in the most extraordinary way this journal, the *Magazine*, and Dr. Rigg as if they were copartners in a sort of constructive conspiracy, and as if each was liable to be charged with the combined transgressions of all. Referring to our reviewer's having characterized his accusations of Dr. Candlish and Dr. Rigg as "calumnies," he says: "The 'London Quarterly' reviewer, who wishes to teach me how to correct my 'soldier's bluntness.'

replies by saying that these are 'calumnies' of mine. I would adopt his gentler method of expression but that," &c. Now, it may hardly seem credible, but, in fact, our reviewer did not say a word about "soldier's bluntness," or any such thing. The expression was used by the reviewer in the *Wesleyan Magazine*, and Colonel Maurice is quite aware of this. It would seem that he supposes it to be his right to speak as if Dr. Rigg, our reviewer, and the editor of the *Magazine* were all one and the same. In a foot-note to the passage of which we have just quoted part, he says, "The expression is, I should say, used by his coadjutor of the *Magazine*" — the very expression which in the text he attributes to our reviewer. And then, in the remainder of the note, he proceeds to mix up inextricably the identities of Dr. Rigg and the two reviewers, visiting the sins of either upon other. We have already spoken of the reviewer who wrote in this journal; and as to the editor of the *Wesleyan Magazine*, who wrote the review in that periodical, we are able to affirm that neither between Dr. Rigg and him, nor between our reviewer and him, did there ever pass a word, either written or spoken, in regard to the respective reviews, or either of them.

We should not be so impertinent as to offer any defence of the *Wesleyan Magazine* for what has there appeared in regard to Mr. Maurice or his biographer. Competent and disinterested judges would, we cannot doubt, recognize in the reviews, equally of the *Magazine* and our own journal, a determination to deal generously, and, as far as possible, gently, first with the character and memory of Mr. Maurice, in whom there was so much personally to admire, and then with the biography, coming, especially, as it does, from a filial hand. But we have come to the conclusion that Colonel Maurice is unable to appreciate generosity in a critic; and we are inclined to think that one reason, and perhaps the most charitable explanation, of this peculiarity is the singular haziness of his logical faculty.

Colonel Maurice, having already appealed once to the Wesleyan Methodists at large, and once to the Wesleyan Conference, in earlier pages of this Preface, to do him justice against his Wesleyan critics, closes the Preface by repeating his appeal. Does he seriously expect that a resolution of censure will be adopted by the Wesleyan Conference against this journal and the *Magazine* because they have defended Wesleyan theology, defended a Wesleyan author, reviewed Mr. Maurice's Life most generously, and criticized his biographer with as much gentleness as was consistent with the interests of truth and justice? We assure him that the liberty of the Press is dear even to Wesleyans and the Wesleyan Conference, and, moreover, that they value the *Magazine* as one of their brightest possessions. For ourselves, we cannot pretend to the honour of Connexional authority, and only some very serious public offence could bring upon us Conference censure. We have reason to know that our review of Colonel Maurice's volumes has given wide satisfaction in the Wesleyan Connexion.

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