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

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

THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—LONGFELLOW AND HIS FRIENDS.

Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. With Extracts from his Journals and Correspondence. Edited by SAMUEL LONGFELLOW. Two Vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

ON the 24th day of March, 1882, there passed quietly away from among us one of the most widely popular and best beloved poets of this nineteenth century; a man of "happy temperament, free from envy and every corroding passion and vice," whose sweet and sunny nature lent a peculiar charm to every line that he wrote, and whose life and labours have an added interest because of his special position as the foremost member of a variously gifted group of brilliant writers united by common enthusiasms. None of these rendered better service to American letters than he, or showed a steadier devotion to the cause of Humanity and Freedom.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow belonged by birth and inheritance to that better, gentler class of American citizens which Oliver Wendell Holmes has so pleasantly described for us as "the *Brahmin caste of New England*—a harmless, inoffensive, untitled aristocracy," whose inalienable claim to distinction lies in the intelligence and refinement derived from some generations of scholarly ancestors. His birthplace also was a once stately mansion in that very town of

Portland, in Maine, whose too prosperous condition the "Autocrat" deplores in the same connection.

"Meant for a fine old town, to ripen like a Cheshire cheese within its walls of ancient rind, burrowed by crooked alleys and mottled with venerable mould, it seems likely to sacrifice its mellow future to a vulgar material prosperity. Still it remains invested with many of its old charms."

And those charms were not yet much impaired when, on the 27th of February, 1807, there was born in it to Stephen Longfellow and his gentle wife, Puritanically named Zilpah, a son whom they called Henry Wadsworth, mindful of the wife's father, the General Wadsworth, whose stately figure gave the military colouring to the family traditions, which borrowed their scholarly cast from the father—a sensible, honourable, and cultivated gentleman—a lineal descendant of that clerkly John Alden whose traditional love-tale is immortalized in *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, and himself a graduate of Harvard and an able barrister. Mrs. Longfellow, something of an invalid, once beautiful and always sweet-looking, was a lover of music, poetry, and painting, and no foe to social enjoyment. A devoted mother, the friend and *confidante* of her children, her piety was simple and tender, and her creed could be summed up in the two great commandments. It is evident that her tastes and her belief were not less influential than the refined integrity and high cultivation of her husband in moulding the character and determining the career of their son.

There is much that is attractive, but little that is stirring, in the story of Longfellow's happy boyhood; that of his safe, pure, and honourable career at Bowdoin College, which he entered in 1821, is chiefly interesting in showing how soon his character took its lifelong bent. There lay a healthy ambition and steady resolution under the gentle exterior of the slight, blue-eyed lad with the girl's complexion, who showed himself fastidiously nice in his choice of friends, who easily maintained a high rank in a class full of aspiring, hardworking students, among whom we note Nathaniel Hawthorne, and who at the age of eighteen had already

sketched out for himself a plan of life very much like that which he eventually followed. "I will be eminent in something," he declared. Fate was often very kind to Longfellow. His ideal was a purely literary life; the straitened means of his father seemed to render that an impossible ideal; but the *deus ex machinâ* appeared seasonably at the end of his term of college life to grant much of his desire. It was intended to found a chair of modern languages at Bowdoin; the young Longfellow was deemed a suitable candidate for the post, and in 1826 was sent on a three years' tour to Europe, there to qualify himself fittingly for the work. At one moment near the end of his term of preparation it seemed that the college, which was not too rich, intended to confer on him only a tutorship instead of the promised professor's chair; the hint of such a change of plan at once aroused the underlying resoluteness which was supported in him by a quiet consciousness of ability. He made it evident that he would not accept the inferior post, and the intended change was not insisted on.

His European experiences trained and stored his mind wonderfully. So great, indeed, was the power of the Old World over him that he can hardly be reckoned as an exclusively American writer; a cosmopolitan largeness of tone, untinged by the occasional provincialism of his brother authors, marks his style henceforward. He came home well equipped for his duties, on which he entered in 1829. He continued to hold his post at Bowdoin with applause and success until he was invited to abandon it for a similar but much more important position at Harvard University, where on Professor Ticknor's withdrawing from the Smith Professorship of Modern Languages, that chair was offered to Longfellow, and he was again asked to visit Europe, this time for a term of eighteen months, in order to perfect himself in the German language; an offer more than congenial to his inclination.

"Good fortune comes at last!" he wrote exultingly. To us who can survey his career as a whole it seems as if Good Fortune had been ever at his side, a true fairy godmother. A heavy grief darkened his enjoyment of this second expedition;

but even that sorrow conspired with his other experiences to mellow his mind and give breadth to his thoughts. He was ripe and ready for his life's work when he returned to enter on his new duties at Harvard, towards the end of 1836. These he continued to discharge ably and assiduously until the summer of 1854, when he resigned his Professorship (in which he was succeeded by his friend Mr. Lowell) in order to devote himself entirely to literature, a step which his ample private means now warranted, and which his extraordinary success in authorship seemed to demand. For he had been singularly fortunate as a writer. He had not only done the work of an excellent pioneer for America, directing its brain-workers to "fresh fields and pastures new," and pouring the hoarded treasures, the fertilizing wealth of European thought over the then somewhat arid and thinly growing field of Western literature; but he was happy beyond many pioneers in that though a new and brilliant school of Transatlantic writers rose rapidly about him, his fame was not eclipsed by any or all of them. He had gained the ear of his countrymen almost as soon as he began to address them, and they regarded him until the last with an affectionate half-worshipping enthusiasm. Nor were they alone in their admiration. Hawthorne, writing to him from England in 1855, told him very truly, "No poet has anything like your vogue," and begged him to "come over and see these people," who so heartily appreciated him. Hostile criticisms there were of course, and some of them not quite good-tempered; but the poet's evenly balanced happy temperament defended him from suffering by them; and one by one the detractors dropped away as the peaceful laborious years rolled on.

Smoother career surely had never poet. It appears quite appropriate that this equally flowing existence should have been troubled by few changes of residence, and that the fine old "Craigie House," where he took up his abode on first coming to Cambridge, should become his own property before many years had elapsed, and should shelter his venerable head to the last hour of life. He cannot be reckoned less fortunate in his domestic circumstances, in spite of the tragic eclipse which turned the full noon of his life into a dim twilight.

He was twice married, and each time happily. His first wife, a fair fragile creature, lovely in mind and body, accompanied him on his second European journey, but did not return with him, having died at Rotterdam. The blow fell heavily on Longfellow's affectionate nature; but his grief for his "saint in heaven" seems soon to have passed into the mild musical melancholy that breathes in the *Footsteps of Angels.* Before he returned to America he had met with the beautiful and brilliant girl who after the lapse of some years became his second wife—Frances Elizabeth Appleton, the *Mary Ashburton* of her husband's *Hyperion*—that charming prose-poem, suffused throughout with the radiant freshness of youth, and possessing the special merit of having introduced German literature to American readers. The poet's marriage with Miss Appleton in 1843 was followed by eighteen years of a bright and beautiful existence, such as he was eminently fitted to enjoy.

Sweet children grew up around him, whose infantile charms inspired some of his happiest verse; the loss of one of these, embalmed in the tender poem called *Resignation*, and the not untimely deaths of his venerated parents, seem to have been the only shadows on his path during those glad prosperous years. The doors of his mind were open, as those of his house, to all good and worthy guests. To the same blissful period belongs some of his best-known works; his first ~~œuvre~~ *de longue haleine*, the "rare, tender, virgin-like pastoral *Evangeline*;" the beautiful *Golden Legend*, in which the poet fancied there was "much gloom and shadow of death," but in which the reader sees no greater gloom than that cast by a passing cloud on a sunny landscape, and which has won from Ruskin the praise of showing a truer comprehension of "the temper of the monk for good and evil" than is displayed by any theological writer or historian; lastly, the surprising Indian epic of *Hiawatha*, ~~a veritable~~ *tour de force*, perhaps the most wonderful of Longfellow's achievements. For in this the accomplished man of letters succeeded in laying aside the tone and manner of nineteenth-century cultivation, and entered into the very spirit of that "infantile character of Indian life, when the inferior animals were half-and-half the equal companions of man, and external nature was his bosom

friend;" and only those acquainted with the barbaric and often absurd Indian myths he had used could appreciate the skill with which he had shown their poetic and hidden their repulsive aspect, without impairing the large fidelity of his picture. Critics who had a little sneered at his former work, had much more praise than blame to bestow on this masterpiece.

A life of such almost cloudless sunshine might have made an ancient Greek tremble with the fear of some terrible disaster awaiting the happy wayfarer at some yet unattained point of his mortal journey; even a disciple of our Lord might have felt some dim dread lest hereafter it should be said to him, "Thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things." But those words are not for Longfellow.

The ambushed calamity came at last, like a thunderbolt from the clear sky. The adored wife and mother, sitting securely in the library of Craigie House with her little girls, was sealing up some packets of their curls which she had just cut off, when sudden death came to her and unspeakable woe to her husband, by so trivial a messenger as an unheeded match fallen on the floor and kindling her thin summer dress into fatal flames. She died from the shock on the day following—the 10th of July, 1861—and thenceforward none could say that Longfellow's days went too happily, or that his knowledge of human misery was not sufficiently deep. To a visitor, exhorting him to "bear his cross with patience," he once replied, from an unfathomed depth of woe, "*Bear* the cross, yes; but what if one is stretched upon it?"

Happily he was not so utterly crushed as to desist from the work which had become the wholesome habit of his life. He toiled steadily at his translation of Dante; he sent forth, in three successive instalments, the *Songs of a Wayside Inn;* and he completed the long unfinished trilogy, meditated many years before, and called in its final shape, *Christus;* including the *Divine Tragedy*, the *Golden Legend*, and the *New England Tragedies*. Nor were these, or any of his slighter verses belonging to this later period, less cheerful in tone because written within walls consecrated to a deathless grief. But the work by which he is best known was already done. It

is surprising how little the lovers of *Evangeline* and *Hiawatha* know of their poet's later songs.

In the lately published *Life of Longfellow*, we find some interesting *facsimiles* of the poet's handwriting at different periods of his existence. The earlier examples are singularly neat, small, and clear, and careful; the later are equally clear, but larger, freer, more masculine.

It is curious to note these differences, remembering through what transitions the style of the writer passed; at first conventionally smooth and correct, too ornate, and too obviously modelled on the manner of Bryant; then more bold and original, easily flowing but not quite easy to imitate, with all its apparently facile simplicity, although offering some temptation to parodists by certain obvious defects; then becoming nobler and larger, perfectly controlled and well finished. The poems which won for Longfellow his astonishing popularity are in his middle manner, and the most popular are not always the most perfect, seeming sometimes to charm by their faultiness itself. The vigorous "National" ballads, in which he attained a mastery not reached by more ambitious artists, were eclipsed in general esteem by the halting imagery of *Excelsior* and the *Psalm of Life*, songs evidently deemed typical, reproduced for us in *facsimile* of the original draft in the small dainty manuscript of Longfellow's earlier day. The surface defects of these poems have often been indicated. The Alp-climber of *Excelsior* does not symbolize the self-sacrifice and aspiration of "a nobly ideal soul" any the better by being made to choose the unpropitious hour of nightfall for an ascent, the motive of which is left obscure. Ideal aims are not of necessity incompatible with right reason; but the picturesqueness of the poem undoubtedly gains greatly by the imprudence of its hero. The *Psalm of Life*, which is said to have saved one man from self-murder and another from madness by the sweet contagion of its hopeful courage, is not free from a kindred fault; "footprints on the sand" offer but a melancholy emblem for the records of sublime lives. Even that melody dear to mothers, the *Reaper and the Flowers*, good enough and beautiful enough, as the little child pronounced it, "to mix with one's evening prayer," exemplified,

only less markedly than *Excelsior*, the peculiarly headstrong quality of allegory—that steed so prone to run away with its rider.

Altogether free from such errors of youthful haste, are the poems of Longfellow's more mature manhood and of his beautiful old age. Compare the ill-defined imagery in the *Psalm*, with this firm and fine expression of a similar thought in the tribute to Charles Sumner, the poet's lifelong friend.

"Alike are life and death,
When life in death survives.
And the uninterrupted breath,
Inspires a thousand lives.
Were a star quenched on high,
For ages would its light,
Still travelling downward from the sky,
Shine on our mortal sight.
So when a great man dies,
For years beyond our ken
The light he leaves beyond him lies
Upon the paths of men."

The simile lies not so open to popular apprehension as that of the "sandy footprint," but is beyond comparison more fine and true. The artist also had now learned not to overload his thought with decoration. Yet though as years rolled on the sweet Transatlantic singer gained a far greater mastery over his art, his perfectly harmonized strains won no wider hearing and no greater applause than did his first less artful melodies, which caught the ear and held it with their airy buoyancy or their simple pathos; nay, it seemed sometimes as if he were a little losing his hold on his own special public here in England.

Perhaps it was because the poet had no new message to give us.

"O Bells of San Blas, in vain
Ye call back the Past again;
The Past is deaf to your prayer;
Out of the shadow of night
The world rolls into light;
It is daybreak everywhere."

Beautiful words, and fitting words to be the last written by

him, who more than forty years ago had bidden "the dead Past" to "bury its dead," and who had advocated a manly, trustful, and energetic cheerfulness as the best wisdom. It was but nine days before his death that he traced these lines, suggested by some mention of "the bells of the destroyed Convent of San Blas, on the Pacific coast."

The same serene optimism which informed his song in 1838 pervaded his existence in 1882. Sweet and wholesome were his teaching and his influence, "as pure as water and as good as bread;" but the world has deeper needs than he could meet, and is aware, however blindly, that there exist still higher and nobler "counsels of perfection" than he could unfold. There were those among his friends and contemporaries to whom we shall have to allude, who looked somewhat deeper into the dark heart of things, and did not find so smooth an answer to the mystic riddle of existence. But we may say of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, what cannot be said of too many, that his word and deed went hand in hand; he upheld no lofty ideal which the shortcoming of his actual life belied. What he saw to be good he followed after with quietest resolution, and was happy in attaining what he sought. Pure and fair was his life, beautiful outwardly and inwardly; it did not shame the virginal sweetness, the noble purity of his song. He was a man of many, lofty, and faithful friendships; he judged no one cruelly; he had a tender and merciful word for those who had shown themselves most hostile to him; a charity more difficult than almsgiving—but in that also he was most generous. Hungry claimants swarmed upon him in increasing numbers as his fame widened, and were treated with gentle courtesy, even when their demands were made not only on his purse but on his pen, and on his precious irrecoverable time.

It does not seem that even his bitterest sorrow ever disturbed that philosophy of life, that view of religion, which Longfellow had very early embraced, and which he held with steady tenacity. Here is proof, if proof were needed, that the creed was the man—inwrought with the very fibre of his nature, and ineradicable by any earthly power. This congenial, shaping belief sufficed for his need; for how many of his fellow

mortals would it suffice? Few indeed are those for whom circumstances and temperament conspire to ensure such a harmonious existence.

"Were it not better for mankind," he had written when his years numbered only seventeen, "if we should consider religion as a cheerful and social companion, given us to go through life with us from childhood to the grave, and to make us happier here as well as hereafter?" This view of Christianity, "the most awful of all religions," as possessing no loftier claims than "a cheerful, kindhearted friend," was, perhaps, quite natural to a youth brought up "in the doctrine and spirit of early Unitarianism." But it is surprising that the experience of a long life, whose span embraced the earth-shaking convulsion of the War of Secession, and which was fully acquainted with the ghastly iniquities that brought about that war, should never have disturbed Longfellow in his cheerful optimistic views. True it is, as the records of his life show, that he held to these views chiefly by virtue of a resolute will. "We lead but one life here on earth," he said, "we must make that beautiful, and to do this, health and elasticity of mind are needful; and whatever endangers or impedes these must be avoided." Agitating and distressing thoughts were therefore unwelcome. He did not like theology, we are told; the dislike is easy to understand. In Paris he was half amused, half irritated with the perversity of a friend, who, walking with him on the Boulevards, could only talk of "predestination and human depravity."

"'Death and the judgment to come,' make this Felix tremble. I told him that in general I was pretty calm and quiet in regard to these matters, and troubled only when at times *a horrible doubt cut into the cool, still surface of my soul, as the heel of a skate cuts into smooth ice.*"

Was this "horrible doubt" less easy to allay in the "guilty, glorious Babylon" of Paris, where "the great living cataract goes thundering through the streets in one unbroken roar," where "a thousand currents meet and mingle, and beneath the sparkling surface there is ever a muddy undertow, which works up from the bottom, and seams the purer waters with a darker flow?"

Perhaps a troubled life in a great sinful city might have made of Longfellow a less well contented but more ardently Christian man. But amid lettered ease, academic pursuits, and a blameless, cultured society, "cheerful optimism" was altogether possible, and was little disturbed, except by the occasional intrusion of the terrible slavery question, and by that civil war which the poet indignantly described as "no revolution, but a Catalinian conspiracy of slavery against freedom—the north wind against the southern pestilence."

He had hoped that the Gordian knot might have been untied by gentle methods, "educating the conscience of the nation," and so forth. He did not reckon with the selfish depravity of men whose interests were bound up with the accursed system; perhaps he did not believe in that depravity.

When the war at last broke out, it thrilled him with a deep horror, to which a sharp edge of personal misery was added by the departure of his own son to take part in that tremendous ordeal by battle. It is exceedingly to the credit of Longfellow's manliness that true patriotism was stronger in him than his lifelong aversion for the stern, sharp arbitrament of the sword, and that he shrank not at all from the personal sacrifice demanded of him by loyalty to his country.

The dislike of what was tragical and agitating coloured his literary tastes. With some few exceptions—such as the "fierce and wonderful" *Wuthering Heights* of Emily Brontë, and that majestic, awful *Divina Commedia*, which always drew him with a mighty fascination—he evidently did not quite enjoy sombre books. He could forgive the gloom and terror of those masterpieces because of their amazing vigour. But *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is "too melancholy, and makes one's blood boil too hotly," Dickens is now and then "too tragic, too tragic," the beauty of Tennyson's *Maud* is spoilt in parts by "a spirit of ferocity which I do not like;" "a dull pain runs through all Hawthorne's writings," otherwise so beautiful. Many another criticism, finely felt in all besides, shows the horror of being compelled to look at the black, mysterious side of life. His own verse will cause no such disturbance to any soul of kindred mood. It is what he desired Religion to

be—a cheerful, kind-hearted companion, tender and hopeful; it is not more; but this is much.

Having read Charles Kingsley's *Saint's Tragedy*, Longfellow was struck by the Englishman's excellently chosen theme, and regretted that he himself had not taken Saint Elizabeth's life-story for the groundwork of his own *Golden Legend*; it was a finer illustration of mediæval Christianity than the story of *Poor Henry* (*Der Armer Heinrich*) which he had actually used. How, one may ask, would that heart-piercing tragedy which Kingsley depicted with such fervid depth of colouring, have fared under the graceful handling of the American poet, the Fra Angelico of modern singers? Would he not have turned all its pity and terror into "favour and prettiness?" The long constancy of an Evangeline, the bright spontaneous devotion of an Elsie, were better suited to his pencil.

Among all the writers with whom Longfellow was intimately associated, who were his fellow-countrymen and friends, and whose names, therefore, are of frequent occurrence in the records of his life, there is one who furnishes a singular contrast to him on many points. It was with a right instinct as to the themes best suited to his special genius that Nathaniel Hawthorne abandoned to Longfellow that true tale of Acadie, which formed the groundwork of *Evangeline*, and which he himself had been vainly implored to handle. The contrast between Hawthorne and his gifted and always admiring friend, finds perfect expression in the fact that one chose to write *Evangeline* and the other *The Scarlet Letter*; one telling in strains transparent and musically fluent as the lapse of a clear-sliding river, the tale of a simple maiden's constancy, and the other employing a style rich in subtle harmonies to set forth the anguish inflicted on one erring soul by the daily open blazoning of its sin, and on another by the long hypocritical concealment of an equal guilt. The moral of this tale—that there can be no real good in man or for him, without open truth at least—is one that Hawthorne loved to enforce.

"Every wrong shall be set right, every secret brought to light," seems to run in a thunderous undertone through the sombre splendour of his fictions. With a strong natural love

of the beautiful and the good, he is so far from ignoring what is ugly and evil that it seems to exercise on him a painful spell: he broods over curious cases of conscience, and analyses the strange diseases of the soul with a kind of shuddering interest, softened by a deep compassion, and a wish to point out some remedy for the evil. Differing from Longfellow in choice of theme and in tone of colouring as much as Rembrandt differs from Raffaelle, Hawthorne resembles him quite as little in facility and rapidity of production. Comparing his few but masterly and highly finished works with the long array of his friend's achievements, we seem to behold some four or five statues wrought in solid gold, and nobly individual, contrasted with a whole jeweller's shop of golden ornaments, finely fashioned by a Genoese artist, all of one style and type. The marked difference of mind and temperament is mirrored even in the outward circumstances of the two men, for to Hawthorne, after a shadowed solitary youth, fame came but tardily, and in scantier measure than he merited; and though domestic happiness of the purest and highest was his lot in manhood, the unsatisfied idealism of his nature, and his too keen perception of the world's squalid misery, forbid us to rank him with those who can be called emphatically *happy*.

Of the other members of the famous group to which Longfellow forms a kind of centre, we need touch but lightly on the sweet-souled Transcendental Emerson, whose lack of lucidity in thought and of precision in expression will prevent his having any lasting influence in the world of mind. Not to this prophet was it given to speak words whereby men may be saved from any deadly error. No such charge of formless vagueness can be preferred against that most amiable of laughing philosophers, whose humour is always merciful, and his pathos always sincere and unforced—Oliver Wendell Holmes. We shall not, however, find in his pages any higher teaching than that of a vigorous optimism, not less resolute than Longfellow's but more aggressive, coloured with something very like a pleasant worldliness, and eloquent of good health, good circumstances, and a kindly nature. He finds that people endowed with wealth are commonly the most agreeable company, and he is impatient with old-world axioms

as to "the uncertain tenure and transitory nature" of Riches. In this day, and in civilized societies, "common prudence in investments" will surely clip the vagrant wings of Wealth, and tie it down, a well-tamed domestic bird, beside its discreet possessor. Alas, that common prudence in investing should often be as conspicuously lacking as common sense in the ordinary conduct of life, and that civilization should produce its own well-clad, smooth-spoken plunderers, no less prone to appropriate their neighbour's goods against his will than wild Sabæan or Chaldæan in the distant days of Job! Nor is money in such poor esteem among English-speaking men that our Autocrat need aim at the few protesters against mammon-worship the glittering shafts of a wit unmatched beyond the Atlantic, and hardly rivalled in this hemisphere.

We may give this praise to the keen satirist Lowell, that he sings and says little in honour of material prosperity. Whenever his voice rises to the level of true originality, and has the clear high ring of unborrowed passionate feeling, it is almost always sympathy with the poor and oppressed, scorn for the soulless and pitiless, or else righteous wrath against successful wrong-doing, that inspires it. The delicious native humour of his *Biglow Papers* may seem to have for its prime function the awakening of inextinguishable laughter, so irresistible is the picture they present of the grotesque and homely Yankee nature, with its peculiar dry wit. But in truth the aim of that splendid satire is to make wrong as contemptible as it is hateful—so contemptible as to be rendered impossible. With Lowell, indeed, *indignatio facit versus;* he is hardly original when writing in the conventional poet's vein on the usual sort of themes. Now and again he gives us some exquisite word-painting, an evident transcript from American nature; now and again some poem of the affections which shines with an unforgetable tender lustre all its own. He has a deep and beautiful moral, too, which he is most bent to enforce, as in the *Vision of Sir Launfal*, the teaching of which is summed up by the Christ, revealed in splendour, after having first appeared under the guise of a leprous beggar, and saying,

> "Who gives himself with his alms feeds three;
> Himself, his hungering neighbour, and Me."

But it is in view of injustice, of falsehood, of hypocrisy, that Lowell rises at once to his bitterest and his best, and transfixes the fraud or the cruelty with sharp-stinging epithet and epigram. There is more of passion and earnestness in his song than in that of the sweet-voiced Longfellow, and the spectacle of human wickedness and human woe stirs him to utter an angrier protest than could be wrung from the serenely philosophic Holmes. Even in his prose essays, so largely concerned with matters of scholarship and criticism, he shows a fine indignation against the base and the untrue, and no little glow of enthusiasm for the beautiful and the noble.

Among the group we have just surveyed there was no finer spirit, nor one touched to finer issues, than that of the Hermit of Amesbury, the Quaker poet Whittier, who moved a little outside that brilliant circle, but not unconnected with it, and who shared in many of its aspirations. His martial ardour against slavery while it still reigned and ruled, burned a little too fiercely for the theories and hopes of the temperate and reasonable Longfellow, whose poems on that subject, daring though they seemed to his own circle, have none of the fiery energy with which Whittier sang—

"If we have whispered truth,
Whisper no longer;
Speak as the tempest doth,
Sterner and stronger;
Still be the tones of truth
Louder and firmer,
Startling the haughty South
With deep murmur;
God and our charter's right,
Freedom for ever!
Truce with oppression,
Never, oh! never!"

Longfellow would have granted Oppression some space of truce, in which wise counsel might waken a conscience within its iron bosom, and train it gradually to a better mind. The truce was actually accorded, but the conscience did not come.

Though Whittier, by inherited creed and inbred habit of the mind, was the pledged friend and advocate of Peace, he did

not shun to recognize the avenging justice of God, even when it wore the terrible shape of War.

> "What though the cast-out spirit tear
> The nation in its going?
> We who have shared the guilt must share
> The pang of his o'erthrowing!
> Whate'er the loss,
> Whate'er the cross.
> Shall they complain
> Of present pain
> Who trust in God's hereafter?"

So he sang boldly "in war-time," choosing to set the expression of his faith, very fitly, to the measure of Luther's own Battle-Hymn. Perhaps the Quaker gave proof of no less courage in writing thus than when with all the passion of a Hebrew prophet he flung out his poet's defiance against the supporters of the Peculiar Institution in their day of pride and power—perilous though such a defiance might be.

It is possible that by these glowing and tempestuous utterances, which have still the living fire in them, Whittier may be best remembered in his own land and in ours. But he has written in other strains well worthy of memory. His *Home Ballads* may stand beside Longfellow's *National Ballads*, and not suffer by the contrast; his native idylls have a sweet and simple grace that is quite proper to the land where they grew, and yet may charm the universal heart; and his many devotional poems, full of a mystical heavenly beauty, give evidence of a spiritual perception yet keener, a religious nature of wider compass, soaring to loftier heights and sounding profounder depths, than we can justly attribute to any others of those whom we have now passed in review. Perhaps his marked superiority in this respect to the two most noticeable optimists of the group may be traced to the fact that while their creed has been formulated very much in a spirit of revolt from Puritan austerity and the pitiless grim logic of Calvinism, and so takes little cognisance of certain terrible facts, his belief is in all essential points that of his religious ancestry, the merciful but by no means effeminate followers of Fox.

It is unfortunate that Whittier lacks the gift of concentration, writing, to all appearance "as the spirit moves him" in very truth. Those lyrics of his which have caught the popular ear are precisely those which are the shortest. A fiery swiftness indeed is an almost essential quality of the lyric, and the redundancies marring too many of Whittier's devotional songs make them not only difficult to quote from but to remember. We are, therefore, glad to be able to choose from his exquisite poem, *Our Master*, some half-dozen out of its thirty-eight stanzas, which show at its best that aspect of Christianity to which all the band of writers, whose merits we have so rapidly summarized, would agree in rendering sincere homage :—

"Immortal Love, for ever full,
For ever flowing free,
For ever shared, for ever whole,
A never ebbing sea.

"To Thee our full humanity,
Its joys and pains belong;
The wrong of man to man on Thee
Inflicts a deeper wrong.

"Who hates, hates Thee, who loves, becomes
Therein to Thee allied;
All sweet accords of hearts and homes
In Thee are multiplied.

"O Love! O Life! our faith and sight
Thy presence maketh one,
As through transfigured clouds of white
We trace the noon-day sun.

"We faintly hear, we dimly see,
In differing phrase we pray;
But, dim or clear, we own in Thee
The Light, the Truth, the Way.

"Alone, O Love ineffable!
Thy saving name is given,
To turn aside from Thee is hell,
To walk with Thee is heaven."

With these words we may fitly say farewell to Longfellow and his friends. They have written nothing loftier.

Art II.—THE ORIGIN OF THE PRIMITIVE METHODIST CONNEXION.

1. *The Life of Jabez Bunting, D.D.* By his Son, Thomas Percival Bunting. Vol. I. London: Longmans & Co. 1859.

2. *The History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion.* By John Petty. London: R. Davies. 1864.

AT the opening of the present century, the Methodist Societies emerged from their somewhat nebulous condition, and assumed a distinctness which attracted the attention of all who studied the aspect of the ecclesiastical firmament. To such it was clear that another constellation had risen. The fact excited mingled feelings. Some regarded the new church with friendly anxiety, others with hostile suspicion. The mind of the average Englishman does not readily admit fresh ideas. He finds boundless comfort in the assurance that there is nothing new under the sun. Until he has discovered precedents for phenomena, he is distraught. A precedent for Methodism might have been found in that Presbyterian Church of the Elizabethan age, whose varying fortunes are recited in the pages of Neal; but with all his love of precedent, the ordinary Englishman is singularly ignorant of ecclesiastical history. Making all excuses for the uninquiring, unilluminated masses, we are not sufficiently ingenious to vindicate the lack of insight displayed by those whose intellectual training should have saved them from the blunders into which they fell. That lack of insight is now heartily condemned, especially by the most cultured representatives of the Established Church; and with all our charity it is impossible for us to urge any plea in stay of the execution of the sentence which has been so emphatically pronounced. Abstaining from excuses, we hasten to point out that, during the first decade of the century, the quiet emphasis with which Methodism proclaimed its existence, produced a feeling of restlessness in all ranks of English society. In 1810, Lord Sidmouth gave expression to the national

uneasiness, by moving, in the House of Lords, for a return of licensed preachers and teachers amongst those who dissented from the Established Church. He complained that, as the law then stood, every person, taking certain oaths, was authorized to teach whatsoever doctrine from the Bible he pleased, without regard to age, capacity, or character. He proposed to make it obligatory on the person seeking for a license to produce a certificate, signed by certain members of the congregation to which he belonged, showing that he was competent, in their opinion, to discharge the duty of a preacher, and stating that it was at their recommendation that he applied for a license. At first sight the proposition seemed reasonable. Some of the leading Methodist preachers formed a strong opinion in its favour. The Conference had striven with all its might to prevent indiscriminate applications to Quarter Sessions for licenses to preach. It had discouraged the practice amongst local preachers; and, as early as 1803, it had enacted that if any member of the Society applied for a license to preach, without being approved as a preacher by the Quarterly Meeting, "as expressed by the seventh section of the Large Minutes of Conference, printed in 1797," such person should be expelled from the Society. In 1809, it had been further declared that any person who applied for a license without the previous knowledge and consent of the superintendent and his colleagues, and of the local preachers' or quarterly meeting of the circuit in which he resided, should not be permitted to preach amongst the Methodists. Lord Sidmouth's proposed legislation seemed to be in harmony with the precautionary measures adopted by the Conference. But when the Bill was introduced into the House of Lords, its real character became apparent. If any doubt of its aim could have been entertained when the measure was projected, the last vestige of such doubt must have been destroyed by the savage assaults on Methodism which disgraced the representative pages of the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh* Reviews.

The Tory and Whig organs vied with each other in branding Methodism as a public evil, and in demanding its suppression. Thomas Jackson, speaking of these stirring events in his *Recollections of my own Life and Times*, shows the spirit

in which Lord Sidmouth's Bill was framed. Its professed aim was to render the Nonconformist ministry more respectable, "but its real object was to make the local magistrates throughout the country the judges as to what teachers should enjoy the protection of the law in the communication of public religious instruction; thus subverting the true principle of religious liberty in the United Kingdom" (p. 130). John Barber, "a preacher of plain manners, but of strong common-sense," first sounded the note of alarm; and the Methodist societies were soon awake and astir. Availing themselves of the weapon of political agitation, which though rarely used by the Methodist people, is never suffered to be quite out of hand-reach, they astounded the House of Lords by the multitude of their petitions against the Bill. From all parts of the country protests poured in, until one noble lord wailed that the floor of the House was flooded with them. A brother peer, whose memory of Scripture incidents was roused by the diluvian reference, aptly replied, that "the deluge was caused by the flagrant sin of the Bill." On the second reading the measure was lost. Its defeat sent a thrill of gladness through the societies. In reading Thomas Jackson's interesting record of the event we catch the contagion of his enthusiasm as he pictures the remarkable service in the Conference Chapel, Sheffield, when Samuel Bradburn, in the presence of the assembled preachers and people, rose and with inimitable grace and power pronounced the soul-stirring words:—

> "Ye servants of God, your Master proclaim,
> And publish abroad His wonderful name;
> The name all-victorious of Jesus extol;
> His kingdom is glorious and rules over all."

But although foiled the antagonists of Methodism only withdrew for a time. From their secret places they jealously watched the progress of the new church, and waited for a pretext, furnished by some outburst of wild enthusiasm, to renew their dismal pleas for legislative repression.

We have shown that the opposition to Lord Sidmouth's Bill did not imply that the Methodist Conference and people were indifferent to the character of those who were employed

in the work of preaching. All who are familiar with the condition of Methodism, at the time of which we write, are aware that scrupulous care was exercised in the selection of local and travelling preachers; and that, after their reception, they were watched with unparalleled vigilance. Those who were responsible for the management of Methodism, and looked at it from within its own boundaries, were more clearly cognisant of the dangers that threatened it than those complacent critics who indulged in supercilious promenades outside its walls. And they had cause for anxiety. The bitter words that had been spoken were not altogether unwarranted, nor did they fall upon inattentive ears. The biting sarcasms of hostile reviewers intensified the watchfulness of those who were responsible for the administration of Methodist discipline. That discipline was rigorously applied, and additional care was exercised in repressing those erratic evangelists whose irregular services jeopardized the good name of the Methodist Church.

One of the chief dangers which threatened Methodism, immediately after its guiding constitutional principles had been fixed by mutual agreement between preachers and people in 1795 and 1797, arose from a spirit of unrestrainable "revivalism" which manifested itself in many parts of the country. In this paper we shall dispassionately recite facts which will demonstrate the truth of this statement. But before proceeding to do so, we wish to say that we use the word "revivalism" in its technical sense. A "revivalist" is now generally understood to be a man who preaches vehemently the elementary doctrines of the gospel, and whose preaching is successful in the real or apparent conversion of multitudes of sinners. But, at the beginning of the century, the term meant more than this. It indicated a man who was impatient of the regular and ordinary process of Methodist worship and service, and who either disregarded or defied Methodist discipline. We have no doubt that such disregard and defiance often arose from worthy, however mistaken, motives. The "revivalist," finding that Methodist discipline cramped his action and interfered with the accomplishment of his purpose, made it a point of conscience to cast that

discipline to the winds. By this summary process he solved his own difficulty, and created a host of difficulties for other people. The conduct of a man who exhibits a fine contempt for law is always appreciated by a number of active spirits, and this appreciation is all the keener if untempered by a sense of responsibility. The men who are responsible, however, cannot abandon themselves to such unrestrained delights, and conflicts between the "revivalist" and the ministerial and lay authorities in a circuit are inevitable. We think that most of our readers will agree with the assertion of Richard Reece:—"If a Revivalist must be supported . . . . when he tramples the rules of our society under his feet, and that merely because he is a Revivalist, Revivalism will soon ruin Methodism."* Our sympathy with progress in evangelism leads us to condone the faults of some of the fervent workers who sprang up at this period, but we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the "evangelist unattached" is an embarrassing member of a highly organized and strictly regulated religious community. When he defies elementary rules of procedure he becomes a source of public danger. Even skirmishers obey the bugle call, and advance, extend and fall back in obedience to the word of command. If they failed to do so their undisciplined valour would imperil the regiment whose name they bear.

In 1749 Christopher Hopper, on his way from the Dales to Bristol, drew bridle at Manchester, and preached "in a little garret by the river side." The sermon was so effective that the small society there was encouraged to buy a piece of ground and to build a preaching-house. From this beginning the work advanced until Manchester won for itself a conspicuous place amongst the chief centres of Methodist enterprise. We are only concerned at present with one aspect of church life in the great Lancashire city. As early as 1784 John Pawson, who was then stationed there, discerned that "some of the people were in great danger of running into wildness." His prophetic ken perceived the elements of disorder in the society, and, in common with

* *Life of Dr. Bunting*, p. 147

others, he was filled with concern for its future. It was not long before the dreaded "wildness" broke out. Shortly before the year 1798, a Mr. Broadhurst, who was an extensive draper in Manchester, had in his establishment a young man from Hull named Francis Marris. At his suggestion Mr. and Mrs. Broadhurst, "and a whole host of young men in their service," went to hear Joseph Benson preach, and were converted. The zeal of the new converts soon found a scene for its display. Through Mr. Broadhurst's liberality a room, known as "The Band-room," was erected, and there, "with less likelihood of official oversight and check than in the chapels," the young men and their associates "pursued their own courses of action." The Band-room was not altogether dissociated from the Manchester circuit. They were linked together by the fact that the superintendent supplied the place with preachers. The conditions under which the preachers fulfilled their appointments were not always favourable. When Jabez Bunting had to preach his "trial" sermon there before becoming a local preacher, he passed through a confusing experience. One who witnessed the scene says that the "very slim, timid-looking boy" who stood in the pulpit was suffered to give out the preparatory hymn in peace. Then Sister Broadhurst and Brother Dowley insisted upon praying, and were both gratified. "But when a brother, of name unknown, sought to exercise in prayer for a third time, the wrath of honest John Burkenhead was kindled and he shouted out, 'It's time for the young man to begin.' After which the service proceeded without further interruption." * About the year 1803 the link of connection between the circuit and the "Band-room" was snapped, and the occupants of the latter separated themselves entirely from the Methodist Society. Later on the broken unity was restored by means of articles of agreement, the conditions of which serve to reveal the causes of controversy. It was agreed, first, that no one should be admitted into the Band (so called) without producing a society ticket or a note from an itinerant preacher; and, secondly, that the itinerant preachers

* *Life of Dr. Bunting*, p. 97.

should attend and direct the meeting as often as they could make it convenient to do so. By this agreement it was intended that meetings for the relation of Christian experience, held in the Band-room, should be brought into harmony with Methodist law and usage; and especially that the unrestricted admission of all sorts and conditions of men and women should be stopped. In order that these changes might be introduced gradually, it was decided that Mr. Broadhurst should, for two or three Sundays, stand at the door, and prevent improper persons from going in, and that he should publicly announce the regulations which had been agreed on; after which the terms of the agreement should be strictly enforced. Mr. Broadhurst entered on his work, and North Street Band was put on the circuit plan. But the compromise did not work smoothly. William Jenkins, who was Superintendent in 1803, says: "The people were so exceedingly irregular and ungovernable that, without saying anything to them, we, concluding their reformation hopeless, gave them up, and only resolved to keep our authority in our own meetings." * But although the preachers ceased to attend the Band-room, it was impossible for them to ignore the society that existed in connection with the place. Its leaders attended the leaders' meetings, and their presence was a constant reminder of the virtual schism. In 1806 matters came to a crisis. The question of indiscriminate admission to the band-meeting was raised in the leaders' meeting; and the preachers, supported by a large majority of the leaders, decided that such admission should not be allowed:—

"The opposers, in the first instance, appeared to approve of this conclusion; but they insisted that persons appointed by themselves, and not by the leaders' meeting, should determine what persons it was proper to admit; declining at the same time all further discussion. A friendly conference, however, was sought and obtained, at which the banner of rebellion was again unfurled, and it was frankly declared that in future no minister should be permitted to conduct the obnoxious meetings." †

No accommodation of the dispute being possible, a voluntary and final separation ensued, and the separatists formed them-

* *Life of Dr. Bunting*, vol. i. p. 273.
† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 274.

selves into a distinct community known for many years as "The Band-room Methodists."

Turning away from the Manchester wrangles, we must now attempt to discover the causes which led to the establishment of the most numerous section of the group of Methodist Secession-Churches, in order of time the second considerable off-shoot from the parent body after the death of Wesley. That we may trace the course of events which resulted in the creation of the Primitive Methodist Society, we avail ourselves of Mr. Petty's History. It is, on the whole, impartially written, and although it does not escape the defects of *ex parte* statement, it may be safely followed by well-iustructed Wesleyan Methodists. From our own point of view events wear a somewhat different aspect from that which they assume in Mr. Petty's pages; still we are not inclined to seriously challenge his statement of facts. Where we have had a difficulty in understanding them we have wished for the testimony of some competent Wesleyan authority, but that testimony is denied us. It is a suggestive fact that the circumstances leading to the rise of "Primitive Methodism" are not chronicled, as far as we know, in any Wesleyan book which deals with contemporaneous events. It seemed to the eyes of those who watched it a circuit disturbance that would soon die and make no sign. But it was not merely a revolt, it was the creation of a new organization, destined to grow into a powerful church.

In tracing the origin of "Primitive Methodism" we are led into the presence of two men whose names are inseparably connected with the "revivalist" work in Staffordshire and Cheshire at the opening of the century. Those two men are Hugh Bourne and William Clowes. Hugh Bourne was born at Fordhays, in the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, on the 3rd of April, 1772. His father was a small farmer, who also carried on the business of a wheelwright and timber dealer. He was a godless man, but a firm supporter of "our excellent Constitution in Church and State." Hugh Bourne's mother was "an estimable woman, who feared God and served Him according to the light she possessed." After a time the Bourne family removed to Bemersley, in the parish of

Norton-in-the-Moors; and here, in the spring of 1799, in his father's house, Hugh Bourne was converted, when about twenty-seven years of age. Soon afterwards he joined the Methodist Society at Ridgway, and his mother and brother followed his example. William Clowes was born at Burslem, on the 12th of March, 1780. At the age of ten he was apprenticed to his uncle Joseph Wedgwood, and by him was initiated into the art and mystery of the potter's trade. In Burslem, at that time, a far-seeing woman, named Nancy Wood, rendered great service to the Methodist Society by conducting prayer-meetings for children. At one of these meetings the potter's lad was convinced of sin. Subsequently, at a revival meeting held in Burslem, he found peace with God. Missing the help of religious companionship, he lost his religion and relapsed into dissipation. However, at a prayer-meeting held in Burslem, he was restored, and, joining a class at Tunstall, he showed at once that the change in his character was complete. The reader will not fail to note the influence exerted by the prayer-meeting and the revival service upon this remarkable man. In that hour when the spirit is roused from its slumber and is illumined by Christ, the memory records sharply, not only the fact, but also the circumstances of the deliverance. It is no wonder that prayer-meetings and revival services at all times excited the warmest enthusiasm of the man who had received inestimable blessings through their agency.

Hugh Bourne, shortly after his conversion, set up in business for himself. He began to deal in timber, and his trade led him, in 1800, to Dale's Green, a place that lies between Harrisea Head and the striking mass of mountain known as Mow Cop. In addition, he undertook the woodwork at Stonetrough colliery. By these means he was brought into association with the colliers of that wild neighbourhood, a class of men apparently untouched by Christian agency. One of them, Daniel Shubotham, was related to Bourne, and lived at Harrisea Head. He was a boxer, a poacher, and a ringleader in crime. Bourne's heart was moved by his miserable condition. He spoke to him, and had the joy of leading him to Christ. The two men were

soon joined by Matthias Bailey, who had been converted through hearing a sermon in the open air at New Chapel. Constrained to seek the conversion of their fellows, the three companions commenced holding prayer-meetings in the colliers' cottages in the neighbourhood. Crowds attended them. Those who know the character of the men who inhabit colliery districts will not require to be told that these meetings did not lack vivacity. In addition, they sometimes threatened to be interminable. The prayer-leaders did their best to close them at a reasonable hour, but the ardour of the people was unquenchable. On one occasion, when the congregation well-nigh refused to disperse, Daniel Shubotham, rushing unwittingly into the realm of prophecy, cried, "You shall have a meeting on Mow some Sunday, and have a whole day's praying, and then you will be satisfied!" The work spread until it reached Kidsgrove and the Cheshire side of Mow Cop. Finding that there was no one to look after the new converts at Kidsgrove, Hugh Bourne went there on several Sunday mornings, gathered them together, and gave them religious counsel. At the house of Joseph Pointon, which stood on the Cheshire side of Mow Cop, about a mile and a half from Harrisea Head, fortnightly preaching had been established for some years. The revived interest in religion led to craving for more frequent services, and Bourne was persuaded to give the people a special service on August 12, 1801. When he arrived at the house, he found that it would not contain the people, and so he led them into the field, and preached to them in the open air. This was his first sermon, and it resulted in the conversion of at least one person. Encouraged by this fact, he continued preaching as opportunities offered. At this distance of time, it seems to us remarkable that Hugh Bourne's preliminary evangelistic efforts escaped the attention of the Burslem superintendent. We should have supposed that their value would have been perceived, and that the ardent worker would have been equipped with a "note," and empowered to preach within the bounds of his own circuit. But, as far as we know, his work at this stage was entirely without official recognition.

Towards the close of 1804, a remarkable revival broke out

at Harrisea Head, in a chapel which had been erected chiefly through Hugh Bourne's instrumentality. The neighbouring country was roused, and Burslem, Tunstall, and other places were aflame with religious fervour, and were thronged with new converts. Two events which occurred in connection with this revival are worth noting. Hugh Bourne's spiritual life was deepened and quickened; and he came into contact with William Clowes, and formed a life-long friendship with him. From some cause the revival at Harrisea Head was checked. For at least a year no case of conversion could be recorded. We can imagine how a man of Bourne's temperament would chafe during this period of seeming barrenness. A theory which he held rapidly matured. He believed that there was too much preaching, and too little praying in connection with Methodist services. He was convinced that if the Society would give itself up to one day's continuous supplication, the dreary winter would pass, and the wilderness would become the garden of the Lord. Thinking of this as he paced the roads, the words of Daniel Shubotham—about a day's prayer on Mow Cop—came into his mind. His heart kindled at the thought. He nursed the flame until it blazed. It was fed and fanned by the perusal of the graphic details of the extraordinary spectacles witnessed in connection with American Camp Meetings, furnished in the pages of the *Methodist Magazine*. While his imagination was aglow with these backwoods' pictures, Lorenzo Dow, the American Revivalist, came to England and preached, amongst other places, at Burslem and Harrisea Head. At Harrisea Head especially he had a peculiarly sensitive and responsive audience. In the course of his sermon, he asserted that "occasionally something of a pentecostal shower attended camp meetings; and that for a considerable time as much good had been done at them in America as at all other meetings put together." We can imagine the exchange of looks across the pew tops when Dow made this stupendous statement. Here seemed a way out of all difficulty. It was undeniable that Harrisea Head needed a "pentecostal shower." Surely the way to make the heavens black with clouds, was to transform Mow Cop into a Carmel, and there Elijah-like, to plead with God, until

he sent a great rain. Hugh Bourne, possessed of this fixed idea, heard Dow's farewell sermon; and at its close purchased two pamphlets bearing on the uses and management of a camp meeting. All that was now needed was a fit opportunity for holding such a meeting, and that soon presented itself. Those acquainted with the Potteries will not need to be reminded that the "wakes' week" is a popular institution in Staffordshire. The wakes, in the days of Hugh Bourne, were scenes of brutal dissipation and immorality. While the camp meeting idea was burning in Bourne's brain, the time came round for holding the yearly wake at Norton. What could be better than to set up a counter attraction, and allure the people from their degrading pleasures? One evening, full of his project, Bourne went to the class-meeting at Harrisea Head, to ask some of the members to assist him. At the close of the class he launched his scheme, and it was warmly approved. It was determined to hold a camp meeting on Mow Cop, on Sunday, the 31st of May, 1807. The determination was carried out. On the day a flag was planted on the Cheshire side of the mountain, in a field belonging to Joseph Pointon, and the ensign on the hill caused multitudes to flock to it. From four preaching stands impassioned addresses were poured forth to excited crowds. Hugh Bourne, thus speaks of the closing scenes of this historic day:—

"The congregation increased so rapidly that a fourth preaching stand was called for. The work now became general, and the scene was most interesting. Thousands were listening with solemn attention; a company near the first stand were wrestling in prayer for mourners, and four preachers were preaching with all their might. This extraordinary scene continued until about four o'clock, when the people began to retire, and before six they were confined to one stand. About seven o'clock a work began among children, six of whom were converted before the meeting broke up. About half-past eight this extraordinary meeting closed, a meeting such as our eyes had never beheld, a meeting for which many will praise God both in time and eternity. Such a day as this we never before enjoyed. It was a day spent in the active service of God; a Sabbath in which Jesus Christ made glad the hearts of His saints, and sent his arrows to the hearts of sinners. The propriety and utility of camp meetings appeared to every one. So real was the work

effected, that the people were ready to say, 'We have seen strange things to-day.'"

The first meeting held on Mow Cop fell much below the ideal of a camp meeting of the American type. It was but a feeble imitation of those protracted religious gatherings whose proceedings were prolonged through days and nights under the shelter of American forests. The Mow Cop meeting only rose to the level of an unusually lengthy outdoor service. Hugh Bourne at once determined to approach his ideal more closely. On May 31 it had been announced that, in order to counteract the influence of the wakes, a camp meeting would be held on Mow Cop in July, and another at Norton in August, and that these meetings would last for several days. In this announcement we see that the element of continuity is introduced, and that is essential to the true camp meeting. The mere erection of a preaching stand in the open air, and the holding of a day's service is not enough. There must be an actual encampment on the ground by day and night, or the ideal is not realized. Such an encampment Bourne seems to have contemplated—that is, if one may judge his intention from the regulations which he adopted for the management of the meeting. His notes are as follows:—1. To get the ground licensed under the Toleration Act. 2. To provide a sufficient quantity of stands and seats. 3. To provide tents sufficient to defend the people from the inclemency of the weather. 4. To provide a large supply of coals, candles, lanterns, &c., to light the camp during the night. 5. To get provisions sufficient to supply all distant comers during the sabbath. 6. To defray the expenses by public collections during the meetings. As we glance over these suggestive items, our knowledge of human nature compels us to ask if Bourne had duly estimated the danger of bringing together a promiscuous concourse of wakes' people to spend the night in the shelters which he intended to erect? We cannot think that he had done so. He was too unsophisticated to realize the possibility of his camp-meeting ending in a moral catastrophe. With his face steadfastly set towards the spiritual possibilities of the meeting, he organized it in blissful unconsciousness of the risks he ran.

Although Bourne was blind to these risks, it was impossible for those who were responsible for the fair fame of the Methodist societies in the Burslem Circuit to ignore them. When the contemplated meetings were announced in Macclesfield and Burslem the ministers stationed there perceived the perils evident to all men of calm thought; they therefore consulted together, and issued hand-bills disclaiming all connection with the meetings. It is at this point that the lack of close union between Hugh Bourne and the Burslem ministers is to be especially regretted. We should have thought that a little friendly conversation between the superintendent and the enterprising revivalist would have led to some modification of his proceedings. Still, we must confess that the aspect of Hugh Bourne's portrait, which is prefixed to Mr. Petty's History, frowns upon our theory. At any rate, it convinces us that such an interview would not have passed without excitement. Mr. Petty says that Bourne was a man of "indomitable energy, and of too stern and unbending a nature to be turned aside by trifles from what he conceived to be the way of Providence." That is what we should gather from every line and curve in his strongly marked face. Stubborn as he undoubtedly was, still we must be allowed to indulge our optimistic speculation that he might have yielded to the representations of his ecclesiastical superior. That our surmise is not wholly improbable is evidenced by the fact that the action of the Burslem and Macclesfield ministers shook his resolution for a moment. But it was only for a moment. Again his resolution became fixed, and he determined that at all costs the camp-meeting should be held. By this decision he crossed the Rubicon, and virtually separated himself from the Methodist Society. His mind being made up, he prepared for the meetings. He obtained permission from a freeholder to occupy a portion of land on Mow Cop. Then he erected a wooden structure or tabernacle on it, and licensed it for public worship. Not content with this he took the decisive step of attending the Court of Quarter Sessions at Stafford and of obtaining a license for himself as a Protestant Dissenting Minister. We have already shown that the conference in 1803 had deter-

mined that in case any private member took this step he should be expelled from the Society. In spite of this declaration, if aware of it, Hugh Bourne obtained his license, and thereby, with his own hand, struck the blow which severed his connection with the Methodist Society.

The camp-meeting was duly held on Mow Cop in July, and William Clowes, who was a local preacher and class-leader, came to Bourne's help, and fully identified himself with the movement. But before the projected meeting at Norton could be held the Conference met in Liverpool. The question of camp-meetings was introduced and discussed, and the following resolution was passed:

"It is our judgment that, even supposing such meetings to be allowable in America, they are highly improper in England, and likely to be productive of considerable mischief; and we disclaim all connection with them."

The Conference having thus solemnly recorded its opinion of camp-meetings, all loyal men determined to give effect to its decision. John Riles, the Burslem Superintendent, according to Mr. Petty, called a meeting, and required the preachers to declare against the camp-meetings. By the preachers we presume that local preachers are meant. If so, it would be interesting to know whether William Clowes attended, and what part he took in the proceedings. In spite of all that had occurred, and of the strong opposition of the officials and members of the Burslem circuit, Bourne held his meeting at Norton, and "so far followed the example of the American Methodists as to sleep all night in one of the tents."* Having thus entered on his independent course, he ignored all Conference regulations, and went through the country holding camp-meetings, and preaching constantly as a duly licensed Protestant Dissenting Minister.

It is not without surprise that we learn that, notwithstanding all his irregularities and defiance of discipline, Hugh Bourne still considered himself a member of the Methodist Society. He rarely met in class; he preached in his own circuit without the authority of the superintendent, or of the

* *Petty's History*, p. 31.

local preachers' meeting; he visited other circuits without the necessary invitation and authorization; he had taken out a license in the face of plainly expressed Methodist laws; he had held a meeting which had been condemned beforehand by the decisions of the officials of his own circuit, and, above all, by the deliberate judgment of the Conference; but still he considered himself a member of the Methodist Society. With all our sympathy with his enterprising zeal, we must say that discipline, incapable of asserting itself against such a flagrant offender, would have been deserving of contempt. Mr. Petty seems to wonder at his exclusion from the Society; our wonder is that he retained his formal membership so long. Over the circumstances of his exclusion a cloud of mystery hangs. Mr. Petty says that he was expelled "at the quarterly meeting of the Burslem Circuit, held on Monday, June 27, 1808." It is here that we sorely miss light which would have been shed by a Wesleyan writer gifted with an understanding of the Methodist constitution. Quarterly meetings have no right to expel members; expulsion is an act of pastoral authority, exercised by the Superintendent of a circuit, after the decision of a leaders' meeting. The only light we can cast upon this perplexing proceeding we gather from the circumstances under which the law concerning licenses was passed by the Conference of 1803. The resolutions which were adopted by the Conference were, in the first instance, passed "in the quarterly meeting held for the London Circuit," on December 30, 1802. That meeting determined that the penalty of expulsion should be inflicted on private members taking out licenses at quarter sessions, and passed other resolutions which it decided should be printed in the *Methodist Magazine*, and "circulated generally throughout the Methodist Connexion." The resolutions were signed by Joseph Benson as chairman, and by Joseph Butterworth as secretary, to the quarterly meeting; and they appear at full length, as adopted by the Conference, in the Minutes for 1803. With such an example before their eyes, the members of the Burslem quarterly meeting may have followed in the footsteps of their metropolitan brethren; but we have no hesitation in saying that the mode of procedure is not in

perfect accord with the processes pursued in the majority of the Societies. Perhaps all that Mr. Petty's statement really means is that the quarterly meeting, when surveying the spiritual condition of the Burslem circuit, expressed an opinion that Hugh Bourne, by his public acts, had violated Methodist law, so as to deserve expulsion from the Society; and that, being justified by this opinion, the Superintendent withheld his ticket; if so, the character of the procedure may be understood, although it cannot be considered technically correct. Hugh Bourne being thus separated from the Society, accepted the disciplinary action without attempting to raise any agitation, and gave himself, with renewed diligence, to his self-denying work.

William Clowes, who, as we have said, was a class leader and local preacher, was present at the meeting held on Mow Cop on May 31, 1807, and subsequently attended and spoke on several similar occasions. By this he, of course, showed his disregard for the decision of the authorities of his own circuit, and of the Conference. It was not, however, until June, 1810, that discipline was applied to him. His name was then omitted from the preachers' plan. In September, when the new superintendent arrived, and his class was met, his quarterly ticket was withheld. From the time when Bourne was excluded from the Society, Clowes must have been aware of the Damocles' sword which was suspended above his head. The suddenness of its descent, however, seems to have surprised him. The night following the withholding of his ticket he stopped at the Tunstall leaders' meeting, and ventured to inquire what he had done amiss that his ticket had been withheld, and his name left off the preachers' plan. He was told that his name had been left off the plan because he took part in camp meetings, contrary to Methodist discipline, and that he could not be a preacher or leader unless he promised not to attend them any more. With this condition he refused to comply. He was then informed that he could no longer be recognized as belonging to the Methodist Society; so he delivered up his class papers, and, as he phrases it, "became unchurched." In this case, as in Bourne's, we have not the whole of the evidence before us, and so are not at

liberty to pronounce that the new superintendent exhibited too much zeal in his application of discipline. We confess to a sense of precipitancy in the settlement of Clowes' case. Two years had elapsed since Bourne had been disciplined. Jonathan Edmondson, who was the Superintendent of the Burslem Circuit during the interval, seems to have considered that the removal of Clowes' name from the plan was a sufficient punishment for his irregularities, and he had not touched his leadership or his membership. Doubtless, having regard to the letter of the law, the action of the Burslem superintendent can be vindicated; still, in that action, we are not so much impressed by the delicate poise of the balance of Justice, as with the exceeding sharpness of her sword.

On Wednesday evening, March 14, 1810, a meeting was held at Standley, which was attended by Hugh Bourne. It resulted in the formation of a society of ten members. This is considered the original Primitive Methodist Society. From that humble beginning a large and flourishing church has sprung. Of the great usefulness of the Primitive Methodist Connexion there is no need for us to speak. It has done a very great and most needful work among the poorest and least cultivated classes with truly "primitive" self-denial and self-sacrifice, and with unflagging industry and zeal. It has now grown up from the level of the lowest working classes, without losing hold of them, till, in some districts, it has come to include not a few of the well-to-do middle class, both farmers and townspeople. There has, happily, never been any ill feeling between the "Primitives" and the parent Society. The two have for many years past been accustomed to work side by side in cordial harmony. In the birthplace of the "Primitives," at the recent Burslem Conference, the warmest mutual greetings were exchanged between the two churches.

In this article we have chiefly concerned ourselves with historical detail. We have as a general rule allowed the facts to speak for themselves. In concluding our review it may be serviceable if we indicate the bearing of the history on some important principles.

In searching for the origin and tracing the development of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the investigator is constantly

compelled to ask, "What is the peculiarity of character, organization, and work which justifies Methodism in assuming and retaining a position which separates it from other English churches?" The justification of a separate church lies in the fact that by the retention of its position it answers a purpose, and effects moral and religious work which otherwise would be lost to the world. Methodism possesses qualities which differentiate it from all other ecclesiastical communities, and those qualities fit it for the special sphere which it is designed to fill. It is pre-eminent for its evangelistic enterprise and success. But evangelism does not exhaust its definition. Some of its most treasured and effective doctrines demand the treatment of the cool and lucidly profound expositor. In the hands of the mere mission-preacher they are apt to become sources of mental and spiritual danger. The work of the awakening evangelist in Methodism is initial. It must be taken up and continued by other men. When the "revivalist" has done his initial work, the converts whom he has won pass into other hands. The class-meeting receives and trains them, and they are instructed from the pulpit by men who are specially fitted to explain to them the deep things of God. They are led through the stages of progressive experience until they leave the first principles of the doctrines of Christ and go on to perfection. Conversion and Christian perfection are the distinguishing doctrines which especially define the objects of the Methodist Church, and both the evangelist and the "pastor and teacher" are necessary to their full expression. The ideal Methodist preacher is a man in whom these offices are united. He is equally at home in a revival prayer meeting, or when initiating the most mature Christians into the hidden wisdom of God. The mission of Methodism is to rescue men from the world, and to educate them in the highest truths of the Christian religion. The attempt to compel Methodism to consider itself exclusively as an agent for the conversion of the degraded masses is fatal to her special mission. The doctrine of conversion fascinates ardent young workers, and never loses its force of appeal in the heart of a man who has himself experienced the sorrows and joys of awakening and renewal. But those who look before

and after, and who have large discourse of reason, cannot be acquitted of unfaithfulness if they do not keenly watch questionable movements and emphatically rebuke any spirit which endangers the mission of Methodism. Whilst thus explaining the Methodist position we wish it to be understood that we have not the slightest desire to cast any reflection upon those churches in which revivalism is an exclusive characteristic. They, too, have a special work to perform; but the work that they have to do is only part of that which Wesleyan Methodism has to accomplish.

Another point we wish to note. Our historical sketch casts a clear light upon the connexional system of Methodism. Its influence on individuals, societies, and the Church at large, may be easily discerned. It is well known that the keen oversight and constant control which Methodism exercises over its members has not proved a bar to the development of distinct traits of individual character. Our libraries are rich in the biographies of men and women who were remarkable for their originality. They stand out in sharp and stimulating contrast with the thousands who move as mere shadows in an effete generation. The doctrine of John Wesley in reference to "opinions," is calculated to lead to a robust independence of thought. So long as a member of society has a desire "to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from his sins," he is welcome to cherish his own convictions on nice points of controversial theology. In Methodism, the right of private judgment is thoroughly respected, and the individual is scrupulously sheltered from inquisitorial prying into suspected heresies. But with all this care for the individual, the dangers of an unrestrained individualism are not overlooked. The original "rules" of the Society safeguard the members against a too obtrusive egoism. A man learns as soon as he joins a class that he forms part of a society; and that he has duties to perform as well as rights to enjoy. Observance of rule is essential to the continuance of membership. Still larger and more definite is the restraint imposed on those who emerge from the comparative obscurity of simple membership, and who occupy a public or semi-public position. The frankest investigation of their religious belief takes place. It is only

so long as their judgment on religious questions is in harmony with the Methodist doctrinal standards that they are at liberty to exercise it. When they stray from Methodist orthodoxy, their freedom is forfeited. Nothing remains but relinquishment of their office. The reason of this restraint of the official individual is to be found in the obligation which rests on a church, founded on the connexional system, to regard the rights of societies as well as of persons. It is impossible for such a church to sanction the proceedings of men who, without authority, nay, in defiance of authority, enter into peaceful neighbourhoods and hold meetings, and indulge in novel practices offensive to most, if not all, the members of the Church. The man who is determined to promulgate his own views of religion in his own way is speedily met by connexional discipline. That discipline first challenges his submission, and if that is refused, then it obliges him to seek a more congenial sphere of operations outside the boundaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The application of discipline is, no doubt, painful, but its necessity and its rightfulness must be judged by the permanent advantages which it confers on society at large rather than by the temporary suffering which it inflicts on individuals. To those who can read between the lines, there is much truth in Dr. Punshon's aphorism:—"In Methodism you may find liberty, almost amounting to license in every direction towards good; and restraint, almost amounting to tyranny in every direction towards evil." The justification of the liberty and the restraint is to be found in the character, organization, and work of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Another lesson may be learnt from the history we have reviewed—viz., that it is not easy for one and the same strictly organized Church to provide with efficiency and completeness for the evangelization, and for the spiritual instruction and development of "all sorts and conditions of men." The gospel itself is adapted to all varieties of class, grade, and social or national development, but it cannot be said that each, or perhaps that any particular Church is so adapted. The "Primitive Methodist Connexion" has adapted its methods and organization to the social conditions and special tastes of certain classes

of society. Wesleyan Methodism could have met the *needs* of these same classes, but if to their *tastes* and *preferences* everything else had been sacrificed, it would have lost hold of the middle classes, and would not have had a ministry adapted to deal with persons of solid thought and educated mind and character. The Primitive Methodists in their earlier history did a work not altogether unlike that which has lately been done by the "Salvation Army." Though they affected no military titles or trappings, their spirit and tone, and even many of their methods were not dissimilar. Since those earlier times the tone and methods prevailing among the Primitive Methodists have, to some extent, been modified. They have now among them an appreciable proportion of well educated persons, not a few middle-class people of good social standing, and many able ministers. They are developing culture in all directions, and find it necessary to do this, if they are not to decline. The consequences of this development, necessary as it is, are not all favourable to apparent progress—to present advance in numbers—though doubtless they will contribute to consolidation and permanence, and to eventual progress and success. The "Salvationists," with whom even the "Primitives" cannot compete in their special line, are occupying part of their field. Altogether they suffer from a temporary apparent conflict between the needs and demands of the more thoughtful and educated among their people, and the tastes and wishes of the less educated. In the end, however, true taste and Christian sobriety will prevail against their opposites. Wesleyan Methodism is now doing more work among the lowest classes than for many years preceding. Education is in fact reaching many among the lower classes, and elevating their standard of taste and propriety; while, on the other hand, thoroughly educated ministers and members of the Church, in the spirit of the Founder of Methodism, are learning more and more how to preach the gospel to the poor. Still, however, there is, and is likely to be in the future, a need among Christian Churches for "division of labour." Episcopacy, Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, Wesleyan Methodism, Primitive Methodism, and the Bible Christian body (the "Primitives" of the West of England, of whom and their origin we hope to speak in

another article), and also, we must add, although we wish we could do so with less of inward qualification and misgiving, the "Salvation Army," are all contributing to meet specific wants and tendencies in different classes of society, and are helping forward the Saviour's Kingdom. They ought to regard themselves as different branches of the great visible Christian Church, and to make it their sacred and cherished purpose to maintain "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life."

Art. III.—A STUDY OF FAUST.

ONE of the literary phenomena of the present moment is the attraction of public attention to Goethe's *Faust*. Fashionable London is going for its light amusement to what may be described as the gravest and most intricate piece of thinking that has, in modern times, expressed itself in poetic form. And to the reading world appeals are made on all sides. From Carlyle to Professor Blackie, from Dr. Anster to Miss Swanwick and Sir Theodore Martin, English culture has continually confessed the fascination of the attempt to clothe the German masterpiece in English dress. Similarly with the publishers, who are catering so actively for every variety of purse. Scarcely had Bayard Taylor's elaborate version in the original metres been reproduced by Mr. Slark, in a handsome though somewhat expensive form, when Messrs. Warne found it practicable to issue the same (with some abridgment of the notes) at the price of two shillings. In the "Universal Library" of Shilling Classics, edited by Professor Morley, the most popular volume is the one which combines Dr. Anster's translation with Marlowe's play on the same subject. And now this feat of cheap book-making has been left far behind, and by the enterprise of the same publishers, the version of Anster—which, considered as an English poem, yields, in our judgment, to none—has been made accessible to every working man who can afford to spend threepence on a book.

If an explanation be sought for popularity so varied, one is given in the poem itself, where the author, in full dramatic form, announces his purpose of pleasing everybody. The "Prologue for the Theatre" discusses the coming poem from the point of view of the manager, who represents stage traditions and popular audiences, the poet, who represents severe art, and Mr. Merryman, the embodiment of the "relief element" and mixture of gay with grave. Each clamours and protests; but as the upshot they are to give us Fancy with all her troop—reason, judgment, passion, melancholy, wit, feeling, "not forgetting the little darling, folly." Accordingly we find the poem a network of the most diverse forms of attractiveness: picturesque bits of Nature-painting, dramatic working-up of story, discussion of the deep questions of the universe vivified by the intense excitement of a crisis which has raised them, simple human emotion, of which the world never tires, scenes of magic and enchantment, now given up to wild abandon and roaring fun, now made half credible by realistic touches—these varied interests succeed and relieve one another, while the main thread of interest which binds them all into one is the life and death struggle of a human soul with temptation. And the whole finds expression in verse that changes its play of rhythm with every turn of thought and phase of emotion.

Here we are concerned with the system of thought underlying Goethe's poem. Every thinker on serious matters should be acquainted with so notable a link between the Bible and the freest of free thinking. There is no one at the present day so "advanced" but will recognize Goethe as a leader of thought; yet in this, his life work, Goethe is taking the machinery of the *Book of Job* and applying it to modern problems of life. On its human side the drama is the struggle of an individual soul against the machinations of the tempter to whom he has been given up. But an interest of thought at once arises from the fact that both tempter and tempted are more than individual. To begin with, they strangely typify, in two very different aspects, that weariness of the receptive energies which we call scepticism.

In Faust himself Goethe has sought to indicate the highest

point to which human nature can rise without faith. Faust is a type of universal culture. He has mastered all branches of knowledge, and in all of them surpassed all men; while how much more he is than this appears whenever he is brought in contact with the type of mere scholarship, Wagner. Faust is seen to be a poet in the waves of imaginative impulse that sweep over him amid the fair scenes of Nature. He has art-culture of the highest, and when the Spirits contrive pleasures for him all the fine arts seem to be fused together into one bewilderment of beauty. His human sympathies have been well developed; home associations and simple popular gaieties stir his soul to its depths. Faust has moral as well as intellectual greatness. His dominant motives are truth and the good of mankind; he is the soul of honour; he has run through the pleasures of life and learnt their lesson of renunciation. His goodness has been active, and he is one of the physicians who stood by the poor in their dark hour, and fought for them against the Black Plague. Even the sphere of revelation itself is not a blank to him. He has been in the past a man of faith and prayer, and still looks up to faith as a higher region into which he must not aspire. Accordingly, when he comes in one scene to give us a formal sceptic's creed, we find that with him scepticism means, not disbelief, but a hopeless incapacity to know what belief is; he cannot say, "I believe," he feels it would be conscious self-hardening to say, "I believe not!" Meanwhile he honours the faith of others, and reverences the sacraments that have no virtue to him; and he would die for those he loves! Thus with Faust the idea of God is certainly not eliminated. To us it may appear to have become restricted; with the loss of faith God has become to Faust a mere Spirit of Nature, and yearnings after communion with Nature constitute his highest worship. To Faust himself, on the contrary, his conception of God appears to have widened, reaching his soul through everything that is beautiful or kindly without him, and every agency that presses on his soul from within; until to give a name to such an Infinite seems to be limiting it, seems a "smoke dimming the glow of heaven."

If Faust represents scepticism at its highest, the por-

traiture of Mephistopheles includes a scepticism of a supremely low type. The root idea in Mephistopheles is *depreciation*, the antithesis of worship. Throughout the drama he opens his lips only to depreciate and belittle; insinuating cynical distrust of truth, of honour, of piety, of maidenliness, of constancy. Medical art he classifies with jugglery, and he protests his ear cannot distinguish the jargon of the witch from theological dogmatizing. He has no belief in scepticism itself, and in a noted passage depreciates his own depreciation. There is moreover a *tone* underlying his whole language and bearing which is a perpetual force for chilling veneration. The most sacred mysteries he touches with familiarity and lightness; finding the angels unnecessarily polite courtiers, and referring to the Ruler of the Universe Himself as "our good old governor." In depicting the temper which thus confounds all things high and low, sacred and profane, in one commonplace level of cheap humour, the poet will certainly not have lacked human models to draw from; and it puts only a slight strain upon our power of realization when we see Mephistopheles go a step further, and *offer to bet* the Almighty over the soul of Faust!

If there were no more in the poem than this, such contact of the lower with the higher scepticism would present a situation of deep interest. But, of course, Mephistopheles is much more than a type of human scepticism; he transcends the human altogether. Some readers, indeed, have persuaded themselves that Goethe, having a mind above such notions as diabolic agency, has in Mephistopheles merely given poetic personification to influences of a man's general surroundings. To any such suggestion the "Prologue in Heaven" is answer sufficient. By following so closely the lines of the prologue to *Job*, Goethe has certainly assumed—at all events for the purposes of the problem he is discussing—the existence of agencies for evil external to humanity; in the world of the poem Mephistopheles is as real as God. The question arises, then, and is indeed the question on which the whole thought of the poem rests, Who is Mephistopheles? Is he the Devil, in the ordinary sense of the term? or has the poet created some new embodiment of superhuman evil?

Two different modes of regarding evil may be distinguished. The simplest conception of evil is of something that has sprung up antagonistic to good, maintaining its hostility until one or the other is destroyed. The grand embodiment of this view of evil in literature is Milton's Satan, who rises to a lurid heroism in the relentless war he wages with Heaven. But from a different standpoint it has been conjectured that evil is *supplementary*, and therefore necessary, to the very idea of good; that as light implies shadow, and sound silence, so courage is brought into being by the fact of cowardice, and temperance could not exist without the appetite over which it triumphs. There may be other regions (it is urged) in which virtue can be imagined pure, just as we can conceive that there may be beings who, living in the sun, cast no shadow. But as the human world is constituted virtue can never rise high that has not felt the temptation of vice, nor goodness flourish except by a struggle against sin. In this view of it, evil may be defined as the denial of good which calls out its stronger assertion. Let a country be imagined where, as in a human ant-hill, the inhabitants without exception were led by natural inclination to work only for the public good; in such a country there would be no patriotism. But let a single selfish individual disturb the general harmony, and instantly the virtue of patriotism would leap forth to assert itself: patriotism is indebted to evil, which, by denying good, has roused the assertion of it to a passion.

Now how does Mephistopheles stand in regard to these two aspects of evil? He is certainly not "Devil" pure and simple, whether the term be used of Milton's Satan, or of a subordinate agent of Satan such as appears in Marlowe's version of the story. No doubt Mephistopheles gives himself out as this; but the Father of Lies may not be called in evidence even as to his own identity. Nor is it sufficient to say that Goethe has modified accepted ideas of diabolic agency: the divergence is radical. In the prologue Mephistopheles disowns to God the whole idea of tempting, and disavows any connection with a world after death: as the cat with the mouse, he says, his interest in Faust will cease when

Faust dies. And on the other hand, God is made to describe Mephistopheles as the least offensive of evil agencies, and as necessary to His scheme of the universe. Moreover, Mephistopheles, in the poem, recognizes the traditional tempter as something distinct from himself. Twice he applies the term "my cousin the snake" to the tempter of Eve; the poet could not have more clearly indicated that he means his Being of Evil to be something related to, but not descended from, the Devil of *Genesis*. When, however, Mephistopheles comes to be examined in reference to the other of the two aspects of evil, much more agreement is to be found. In the prologue, where we naturally look for light on such points, Mephistopheles appears as one who has not wholly broken with good; he enters "in the suite" of the Almighty, and at the end his exclamation of humorous patronizing seems to veil a sense of exclusion. He is pronounced by the Deity a Spirit of Denial, who serves a good purpose in rousing the moral activity of man; while with such human imperfection of nature is contrasted the region of the sons of God, in which beauty is without shadow, love needs no limitations, and thought can take in mystery without breaking down in despair. And generally, the whole function of Mephistopheles in the prologue is seen to be that of the disbeliever in God, who disbelieves so utterly that he cares not to attack.

One consideration more is essential to complete our estimate of Mephistopheles: throughout the drama he is *playing a part*. He is a Spirit of Denial only, but in the one case of Faust he has assumed the part of Devil. It is hardly necessary to remark on the importance of the "Prologue in Heaven," which enunciates the problem of which the play itself is the solution. In that prologue Mephistopheles, who has just spoken with contempt of the very notion of tempting mankind, nevertheless undertakes to tempt Faust. He has none of the tempter's motive, for he expresses cynical indifference as to the victim's ultimate fate; but he goes out of his way to try an interesting experiment, and win a point of argument. By so undertaking to tempt Faust, Mephistopheles makes himself Devil within the limits of this one story; and accordingly in the play itself we see him doing Devil's work,

and clothing himself with the shape and behaviour that tradition has assigned to demons upon earth. This conception of a being who is not the tempter doing the tempter's work is a main point of Goethe's drama; the subtlety of the double identity penetrates every detail, and forms a new entanglement beneath the formal entanglement of the plot. The consciousness of his two characters, the real and the assumed, is never absent from Mephistopheles' own thoughts. Once, for example, he takes us unmistakeably into his confidence. In the Student's Scene he is passing time in delivering a lecture from Faust's chair; he has run over the circle of the sciences, dropping venom of depreciation on each, when he suddenly gives us an aside: "I'm tired of this pedantry; let me play Devil true to character"—and he proceeds to fire his pupil's young blood with suggestions of sensual vice. Again, there is a point at which Mephistopheles is distinctly called upon by Faust to declare himself: we have the two identities interwoven in vivid colours as Mephistopheles puts in alternate sentences what he professes to be and what he is. He calls himself,

> "Part of the power that would
> Still do evil—"

so far he speaks for the Devil, but it is in the spirit of himself that he finishes the line,

> "—still does good":

the Arch-Depreciator will not allow that even the Devil is a success. Then he begins again with himself:

> "I am the spirit that evermore denies"—

but instantly goes on, in his argument that the logical outcome of denial is destruction, to connect himself with the part he has to play, and becomes worthy of it in the fierce enthusiasm with which he hopes for the extinction of light. Faust's dry remark in answer, that his visitor appears to be a sort of speculator who has failed in a large way and is prudently setting up in retail, recalls Mephistopheles to his natural tone; and the Depreciator is supreme, as he admits that the Destroying forces of the world are having a bad time of it, that the

"clumsy lump of filth" which calls itself existence stands its ground, while all the crowds on crowds he has buried have simply served to set young blood circulating. The same confusion of Devil and Depreciator is the basis of the strokes of irony with which the unfolding of the plot startles us from time to time. In the incident of the casket, intended to bribe Margaret but intercepted by the priest, Mephistopheles enters gnashing his teeth and shaking with suppressed laughter. As Devil it is agony to him to think how his hardly won treasure has gone to swell the coffers of his deadly foe the Church; and equally as the Spirit of Humour he is unable to resist the exquisite ludicrousness of the situation, in which he cannot now relieve his rage by swearing, because it is no use consigning himself to himself! Such passages would be the height of profanity, were it not that they are themselves a satire, from an unexpected quarter, on the profane lightness with which the world loves to speak of the powers of evil: Mephistopheles chuckles at the thought,

> "Devils that they are, they won't believe a Devil!"

In all elements of the poem, then, essentials or digressions, serious or comic, Mephistopheles playing Devil is the quintessence of the play. One remark may be added, that Mephistopheles grows to the part he is playing. It is as impossible for him as for others to maintain neutrality in the struggle between good and evil; and the being who in the prologue was so cynically superior to the spirit of temptation appears in the finale as one who "feeds on mischief and battens on destruction," rolling his Devil's eyes furiously round as he snarls of Margaret in her agony, "She is not the first!"

Such is a summary of the situation set up by the prologue, and which the scenes of the play are to unfold; and such is the interest of thought underlying the simple human interest of a troubled soul facing temptation. The temptation of Faust falls into three main divisions, increasing in intensity. The first of them is the Scene on Easter-eve, in which the temptation is internal and subjective only; Mephistopheles nowhere appears, but his handiwork is easily traced in the current of Faust's thoughts, and the way in which external circumstances

are moulded into temptations. Faust is in his study at midnight; and his first words ring with the main text of depreciation, "All is vanity!" But it is necessary to understand Mephistopheles' exact plan of attack. It is a doctrine of the poem that, even where faith in God is gone, there is still a loftiness of character open to man. Faust has the elevation of worship in his yearnings after communion with Nature; he is morally strong in his fidelity to Reason which seeks to penetrate into Nature's laws. If the tempter is to succeed he must detach him from Nature and Reason, as a condition precedent to temptations more pronounced. Now it is a story of magic that Goethe has undertaken to modernize; and he has found a use for the magic in making it a mode of forsaking Nature and Reason. If Faust can be involved in the bewilderment of the supernatural, Mephistopheles may well hope to find a moment favourable to worse yielding. Accordingly, Faust's opening soliloquy ends with a wonder whether, as a last resource, he may not get by magic an insight into the hidden truth of things which seems to mock all his other efforts. At that moment a ray of moonlight streaming through his window carries his thoughts away to the holy seasons he has had in the past, roaming by night over the tranquil scenes of Nature—but the feeling seems instantly turned to account by the tempter, and Faust begins to loathe the routine of dull learning in which he finds himself imprisoned, while under his very hand lies the Book of Spells by which he could transport himself into the heart of Nature's mysteries. At last he opens the forbidden volume, and Mephistopheles has won a point.

As he is restlessly turning over the leaves of the magic book, he at last lights upon the "Sign of Microcosm"—the narrow storm-tossed world of human passion, with all its intricate working wrapped up in a single enchanted symbol, just as the mathematician condenses the thought of a whole problem in the figure he draws. As the force of this symbol works its way into his brain, he feels in his jaded heart a birth of new strength. The calm moonlight is gone; the lamp fades and dies; strange lights come and go, and the darkness seems alive with horror as Faust braces himself to plunge a step further, and calls up the Spirit of Earth. In

the first moment of its presence Faust cowers before it, but as he rallies his will the Spirit seems to lose its terrors, and while it chants the hymn of the world it rules—the limitless ocean of time on which human lives rise and fall like restless waves—Faust advances nearer and nearer to embrace it. But the Spirit waves him off:

> "Man, thou art as the Spirit, whom thou conceivest,
> Not ME.
> *Faust* (*in amazement*). I! image of the Deity,
> And not a mate for thee! For whom, then?"

And Faust is on the verge of the truth, that he is a mate for none but God; the carefully laid train of temptation is about to be shattered, when a knock at the door breaks the spell, and all the glamour is gone from the scene as the commonplace figure of Wagner enters to beg a lesson in declamation! Mephistopheles has contrived a diversion, and the scene is relieved by an episode in which Faust, inspired by pure irritation at the interruption, astonishes the worthy Wagner with a series of sneers at each and all of the studies in which he was himself the most distinguished professor.

When Wagner is gone, Faust gives himself up to despair at the thought of having been so near fruition, and yet repelled: Mephistopheles seems to find in the very despair a new point of attack. Faust meditates on the care that oppresses life, at first in the innocent form of business perplexities or home troubles, then taking some monstrous shape like dagger or poison. We catch a hint of the new temptation, and the hint becomes clearer as Faust, traversing the apartment with a glance that turns everything he sees to vanity, lets his eye fall on a small phial, which, under a sudden glow of supernatural light, starts into relief. Faust grasps the remedy for all despair in the little phial of poison, and the temptation stands fully revealed. The thought fills him with rapture; and by an exquisite stroke of art his growing rapture is made to mingle with the signs of oncoming dawn. Faust will wait to take firm farewell of the rising sun, and meanwhile calms his enthusiasm to gaze steadily at the abyss into which he is to plunge. That the grand consummation

may be approached with all outward dignity, he draws from its time-stained velvet the most precious of his art treasures, and holding the crystal goblet to the growing twilight, he pours in with steady hand the brown liquid; then, as the first ray of the rising sun flashes upon it, he lifts the goblet to his lips. At that moment a peal of bells from the neighbouring minster thrills through his highly-wrought nerves, and on his ears fall the strains of the familiar Easter hymn, with its refrain:

"The grave is no prison,
The Lord is arisen."

Faust feels the goblet drawn from his lips, though he fights against the weakness: those sounds are not for him! But in vain: old associations are crowding upon him from the age of his faith, when Heaven's love stirred in him feelings resistless, incommunicable, and prayer was a burning ecstasy. The goblet drops from his hand, and the temptation has been finally foiled.

On this scene of Easter-eve one remark may be permitted. It may possibly trouble a reverent heart to conceive, even in fiction, of God as playing an experiment with so precious a thing as a human soul, and exposing one of His creatures unaided to the full force of supernatural malignity. Let those who feel such a difficulty examine what in this scene have been the forces for good operating against the constant force for evil of Mephistopheles. At the first suggestion of evil a single ray of moonlight was sufficient to recall Faust to that which had been his holiest feeling in the past. In the heat of the conflict a casual saying of the Spirit—springing naturally out of the accidents of conversation—led Faust to the very verge of the truth. Just when he embraced the final temptation the sight of dawn delayed its consummation till the moment which was to be the signal for rescue; and the rescue came in the form of the simple customs of Eastertide, with their associations of happy youth. There needs no angel from heaven to take care of struggling good; left to itself it finds, in the course of Nature and the simple ways of daily life, force sufficient to foil all the contrivances of a Mephistopheles.

The tempter's first effort has failed; in the second stage of

the poem the temptation becomes external and objective, and Mephistopheles is forced to take visible shape. As the process of such manifestation is being worked out the main interest of the poem gives place for a while to relief scenes; the picturesque Kermesse scene ends with the appearance of Mephistopheles in the form of a dog, and this is followed by a scene of enchantment, in which he is by a series of spells driven to assume human shape. Now tempter and tempted are face to face; and the central scenes of the drama make up a dreadful game of chess or campaign of strategy. Here again we may ask, What is Mephistopheles' plan of attack? It must not be forgotten that two identities unite in him. In playing his part of Devil he must propose some such bargain as demons are supposed to offer their victims; he must suggest to Faust to barter his soul for supernatural knowledge. But as Mephistopheles he cares nothing about the soul of Faust; he cares only to win a wager by showing that Faust can be made to "eat dust with a relish." Accordingly two separate purposes can be traced in the action of Mephistopheles, running side by side and giving unity to this series of scenes. On the one hand he seeks to enter into some compact with Faust —it matters nothing what its terms may be—as a pretext on which he can always thrust his company upon him. Then he trusts to the effect of such companionship for depressing Faust from his high tone, until he not only sins but revels in sin.

The contest commences with elaborate fencing, and indeed every one must feel the initial difficulty of any such contest. Who would listen to an offer, however fair, from one who avowed himself an agent of hell? Everything depends upon the indirectness with which the suggestions can be launched; and, as a fact, Mephistopheles makes his first serious move by craving permission to withdraw.—Why this unnecessary politeness?—Mephistopheles points to a pentagram on the floor, and explains the spirit law by which he cannot pass it.—"Then spirits have their laws as well as we?"—"Yes; with the peculiarity that they are kept." It occurs to Faust that, if this demon can be relied on to keep to a bond, he might be utilized as a means of penetrating into mysteries which Faust

would purchase with life. Thus, by what seemed merely a bit of magic by-play, the main difficulty of the story has been evaded, and the proposal of a compact is made *to come from Faust himself*. As Faust grows eager Mephistopheles puts on indifference, and is anxious to be gone; Faust insisting on detaining him, he nonchalantly proposes to pass the time with a bit of his art. Then we get the poet's wonderful *tour-de-force* of magic illusion, in which every possible dream of beauty and emotion is realized in an atmosphere of vision and song. When Faust has been lulled to enchanted slumber, a rat is instrument sufficient for gnawing in two the pentagram, and freeing Mephistopheles. Faust wakes bewildered: these visions, that tempter, are they all unreal? Is there anything real?—So Mephistopheles has made progress with both his purposes: the *idea* of a compact has been suggested, and Faust feels his confidence in his reason—the anchor of his soul—beginning to crumble away before these supernatural visitations.

In this first scene Mephistopheles had assumed the guise of a travelling scholar, suitable to an attack on Reason. In the next scene, where he seeks to depress Faust from Reason to Passion, he enters as a gay young lord, drawing attention to his velvet and gold, and, above all, to the cock's feather in his hat—symbol of the apostle who denied. He proposes to Faust to don similar dress, and come and see life.—To Faust in all dresses life is hateful.—Why, then, did he reject the poison on a recent occasion? This reminder jars upon Faust; and in the withering atmosphere of Mephistopheles' presence the holy feelings of that Easter morning seem to him one more illusion, and he bitterly curses all that is holy in life as so much illusion and mockery. Spirit voices take up his words, and in dim vision display a world crumbling to pieces as beneath a curse:

> "The fragments we sweep down night's desolate steep,
> The fading glitter we mourn and we weep!"

But again out of the ruins a shadowy world of supreme fairness seems growing, and Faust is bidden,

> "Recommence, with clearer sense,
> And build within thy secret heart!"

For a wearied spirit the temptation—if a homely phrase may be allowed—to rub out and begin again is well-nigh irresistible; and in this is wrapped up the poisonous suggestion of the words, "within thy secret heart." Faust has lived for high and generous purposes, and has found his life vanity; now let him start afresh and reconstitute his universe with his own SELF for its centre. The long-drawn attack of which this comes as climax begins to tell upon Faust, and he inquires what is to be the price? Mephistopheles would evade the question, but Faust is not to be persuaded that the Devil would do anything out of charity, and so the tempter is forced to go through the form of the traditional demonic proposal, "I will be your servant here, and you shall be mine hereafter." But the poet contrives that this proposal is never accepted. Faust is about to accept it with indifference, when Mephistopheles unwarily uses the words, "comfort, peace." Faust catches at the words, and in a burst of utter scorn proposes a different bargain. Let his tempter show him all that a Devil has to bestow, and if for a single moment he acknowledges comfort or peace, let that moment be his last. "Done!" shouts Mephistopheles, for Faust has innocently played into his hands, and conceded to the Spirit of Disbelief the right of perpetually forcing upon him his blighting presence. Mephistopheles has thus entirely gained his first purpose of a compact; his other object is more difficult. Faust has, indeed, in words expressed his readiness, now that the web of Reason is shattered, to experiment in the satisfaction of "Passion." But it soon appears that he and his tempter understand different things by that term.

> "Heap on my soul all human joys and woes,
> Expand myself until mankind become
> A part, as 'twere, of my identity."

Universal sympathy is what Faust means by Passion; to share the sorrows as well as the joys of mankind. The battle is yet to win, but the same tactics are employed. Steadily the cold stream of depreciation is played upon Faust's lofty aspirations; until, when his numbed and chilled nature can no longer see reality in anything, Mephistopheles springs upon him the

master temptation—that the one unmistakeable thing in the universe is, Enjoyment! And Faust is willing to try.

The long journey of Faust and Mephistopheles through the whole world in order to "see life," which formed a main part of the original legend, is in Goethe's version represented only by a fragment or two. One of these is the revelry in Auerbach's wine-cellar at Leipzig, in which the dramatist finds scope for the "folly" which he has agreed to use as relief from the strain of thought and serious interest of preceding scenes. Mephistopheles' first chapter in his gospel of enjoyment proves a failure. Yet he is right from his own point of view. The revellers of Leipzig,

> "With lively spirits, self-conceit,
> And little—very little—wit,"

with the same drink, the same songs, the very same jests, night after night, "like a kitten diverting itself with running round after its own tail," these certainly realize the maximum of enjoyment out of the minimum of means. In Faust they stir only contempt; and possibly it is this contempt which suggests to Mephistopheles the arch-temptation of the whole play—the man has outlived his youth: what if this were restored? A tale of magic finds no difficulty in the restoration of lost youth; and in another relief scene, given up to a riot of witchcraft, the transformation is accomplished. The third stage of the temptation is reached, in which the original situation is intensified; the temptations of youth are added to those of age, and the whole of human susceptibility to sin thus concentrated in one individual. Even under these circumstances, will Mephistopheles win, or God?

This is the part of the story which has won every heart—the episode of Faust and Margaret. In Margaret we have a picture of exquisite simplicity, and she is presented at the supreme moment of life, when it is trembling on the boundary-line between childhood and maturing womanhood: the sweetest fruit of human life is seen with all the bloom upon it. In this tragic episode the fruit is to lose its bloom, to decay and drop; the bright innocence of Margaret becomes sullied and sinks into guilt. The scenes pass like dissolving

views. Margaret, fresh from the cathedral, meets Faust as he leaves the temple of witchcraft, and haughtily repels his courtly advances. Faust, now a youthful reveller, is transported by magic to the house of his love—where the reminders all around of homely innocence and the sanctity of childhood overpower him with confusion and he flies from the spot. A casket of jewels reaches Margaret, but her mother is alarmed and consults the priest. A second casket follows—and Margaret thinks she will try the jewels on before she gives them to her mother; Mephistopheles surprises her in the act, at neighbour Martha's, and proposes to introduce to her his friend. The scene in Martha's garden gives us in perfection the union of serious and comic. Faust pairs with Margaret and Mephistopheles with Martha, and as the couples pass and repass we get, in alternate snatches, the touching simplicity of Margaret's story, and the rich farce of Mephistopheles fencing with the match-making widow who is seeking to catch the Devil himself for a husband! The scene works up to a crisis when Faust, won by the innocence of Margaret, begins to offer a true and pure love:—the sneering presence of Mephistophles interrupts, and the moment of opportunity is for ever gone.

The Margaret episode is here interrupted by a scene in which Faust is discovered meditating amid the solitude of mountain scenery. It must be remembered that, in obtaining the gift of youth, Faust had not parted with his former maturity of experience. Mephistopheles had never supposed that his was a nature which an amorous intrigue could satisfy. But, just as in his early temptations, it was the tempter's plan to shake the firmness of Reason and so bring about a susceptibility to the enticements of Passion, so now he seeks to distract Faust between opposing Passions, the higher and the lower, and produce in him a conscious instability of soul favourable for moments of sudden yielding. He thinks it good policy to give line to Faust to indulge his higher nature, confident that in the passion for Margaret he has a means of at any time bringing him down. We see, then, Faust in his lofty communings with Nature, and learn that they have never been so lofty before. But suddenly they are

interrupted by this tempter, whom he has lost the right to shake off; who comes to cloud the serenity of his Nature-worship, and then paints a warmly coloured picture of Margaret beautiful and forsaken. All the new youth within Faust is fighting on the tempter's side, and he is conscious of an impotence to resist aggravated by the scenery around which reminds him of the higher nature he feels slipping away from him. The plan of attack justifies itself when Faust, in a burst of frenzy, bids the Devil complete his work and complete it quickly!

The succession of scenes is resumed which paint the undoing of Margaret: how in her desolateness she is rejoined by her hero; how her instinct in vain warns him against his companion; how they are both entangled in hidden snares of Mephistopheles, until Margaret awakes from a love which had at first seemed so sacred, to find the guilt of a mother's soul, a brother's, and a life nearer yet, resting, she knows not how, upon her simple soul; how she wanders over the earth an outcast, and is overtaken by the pitiless hand of human justice. Then—amid the carnival of witchcraft on Walpurgis Night, which forms a fitting climax to this story of magic—the awakening comes to Faust, and a vision reveals to him all that has been happening to his love while he has been beguiled with tasteless dissipation. The passion of the drama gathers itself up in a fierce struggle between the will of the man and the will of the fiend, as Faust turns upon his tormentor, and insists that he shall take him to Margaret and they will yet save her. Mephistopheles points to the certainty of sharing her fate, and makes every resistance, but in vain; the compact which has bound Faust now binds his adversary, and Mephistopheles has to conclude his rôle of destroyer by bearing a hand in a work of saving. On magic horses they tear through the night, and arrive at Margaret's prison. Too late, for though the life is in her the reason is gone; wild ravings paint the horrors she has passed through, and when Faust would bear her away by force, she struggles against his clasping arms as the grasp of the executioner. Suddenly Mephistopheles enters the cell to warn Faust that the day is already breaking. The shock of his hateful presence rouses Margaret to a moment's

sanity, in which she gathers up her whole soul in one appeal to the judgment of God. She sinks down, and the answer to her appeal seems to come in the death that is written in her face. Mephistopheles hisses, "She is judged!" A voice floods the prison with harmony, "She is saved!" And Faust's name is heard, called by a familiar voice, now all peaceful, yet growing fainter and more distant, as of a spirit ascending to heaven. The fierce passion in Faust ceases, and he passively permits himself to be borne from the cell by Mephistopheles.

Not—as popular tradition will have it—to hell. Of so impossible an ending it would be refutation sufficient to point to the "Second Part of Faust," which in form is a continuation of the present poem, and which introduces Faust and Mephistopheles still on earth. Moreover, such an issue would be wholly inconsistent with the compact; Faust was never further from declaring the satisfaction which was to be the signal for the surrender of his life. He is borne away to resume the wearisome journey over the earth, in which the tempter is showing him the gifts his kingdom has to bestow. How that journey is to end we are not told. The last we see of Faust is the sudden change from the fierce energy which fills him while there is anything to be done for his love, to his careless surrender of all will when she is secure. Faust has forgotten himself in struggling for the salvation of Margaret. Of course he has not saved her. The poet does not even seek to indicate what it is to be "saved": that belongs to a sphere into which he refuses to intrude, and it is enough that a voice from heaven pronounces Margaret "saved." The question for the drama is, Under what circumstances is that announcement made? It comes in answer to Margaret's appeal to God, an appeal wrung from her by the shock of Mephistopheles' presence, who has been brought to her cell as the inseparable attendant on Faust. So the one solid result of all Mephistopheles' contriving is that he has at last driven a victim to her salvation! And Faust himself has at least been the *occasion* of another's salvation: the most devoted worker for mankind can say no more.

The curtain has been abruptly dropped; the problem is

left unsolved, but with light enough for each reader to frame his own solution. The prologue introduced a wager between God and Mephistopheles. Mephistopheles conditioned that he should have free scope to lead Faust on his own path with him. And he cannot complain that he has been hindered. Faust's nature has been steadily depressed, from reason to passion, from passion to lust, by this forced companionship of Mephistopheles; we say forced, for Goethe clearly means to suggest that some portion of the evil in man is beyond his own control. On these terms Mephistopheles undertook to prove that Faust could be brought to "eat dust with relish;" God maintained that, even amid sin, his servant would never cease to strive after good. No one will say that Mephistopheles has won; few will care to deny that, so far from Faust ceasing to strive, each fall of his has been followed by a more passionate struggle against the evil in which he has become entangled. If all this seems but little to put forward as a solution of the questions the poem has raised, it must be remembered that Goethe has been seeking to solve the mystery of human temptation without drawing upon the light of revelation. As a mere side-light, a contribution of human thinking alone, we may be content to note the results to which this great thinker has been led. In the drama of an individual life, when by all the force of dramatic setting we have been kept intent on the supreme question, saved or lost, he flashes at the end a surprise upon us, exhibiting Faust carried beyond the thought of his own salvation in his intentness upon the salvation of another. And the great world-contest between good and evil, in which individual life histories are but single points, he has presented as a series of struggles in which good is ever winning, but the end is not yet seen.

Art IV.—MICROCOSMUS.

Microcosmus: An Essay concerning Man and his Relations to the World. By Hermann Lotze. Translated from the German by Elizabeth Hamilton and E. E. Constance Jones. In two Volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1885.

THE appearance in English dress of this great work, by one of the clearest thinkers of Germany, has been eagerly welcomed by all English students of philosophy. Ten years ago Professor Lindsay declared that there was hardly any German thinker, under forty, on whom the Göttingen Professor had not set his intellectual stamp. Nor has Lotze's fame lost any of its lustre since these words were uttered. He has founded no school, he has given to the world no finished *system*, but he has done something better; he has taught many to think for themselves, and to exercise a wholesome scepticism regarding many much vaunted solutions of the world-problem. The Directors of the Clarendon Press have given us their estimate of Lotze's work by translating his *Logic* and *Metaphysic*, and now the Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh, have still further aided all English students by their translation of the *Microcosmus*. To many, the interest in this book will be enhanced by the knowledge that we owe the translation of most of the *first* volume to Miss Hamilton, the accomplished daughter of Sir W. Hamilton, to whom all students of philosophy owe so much. Lotze meant, had he lived, to add to his *Logic* and *Metaphysic* a third volume, on the "Main Problems of Practical Philosophy, Æsthetics, and the Philosophy of Religion," but this purpose must for ever remain unaccomplished. Fortunately we have in the *Microcosmus*, and in other works still untranslated into English, sufficient materials to enable us to form a sound judgment as to the worth of our author's speculations on these and cognate subjects. The *Microcosmus* is one of the many works born of the conflict between materialistic and spiritualistic systems. Lotze does not formally discuss questions of theology, but he does most thoroughly discuss many questions that have to be dealt with by theologians, and we are

very much mistaken if many weapons forged in his arsenal, do not, in the conflicts of the near future, play a most important part. The conclusion he seeks to establish is, that the conflict between the "sense world," with its science and its mechanical laws, and the supersensuous realm, with its ideals and its ends, is an "unnecessary torment, which we inflict upon ourselves by terminating investigation prematurely."* Lotze blames both sides in this controversy; physical science is censured because it turns away from the higher regions that lie beyond its limited horizon; not less severely does he blame the opposition to science, because of its unworthy fear, lest with the triumph of knowledge, there should come the decay of poetry, faith, and the nobler elements of man's spiritual life.

The comprehensive character of the *Microcosmus* may be indicated by the briefest outline of its contents. It consists of *nine books*, each of which is subdivided into several chapters. In the first *five* books are discussed such questions as the Body, the Soul, Life, Man, and Mind. Under these heads, our author deals with some of the burning questions of the day, such as the relation of mechanism to life; the structure and functions of the animal body; the soul—its nature and properties, knowledge, feeling, consciousness and volition; the relation of soul and body; the varieties of species; the unity of the race; the connection between man and brute, and the higher questions of mind, speech, conscience, and morality. The next *three* books are taken up with the "Microcosmic order;" the *sixth* deals with the course of the world; the *seventh* is on history, and the *eighth* is a thorough discussion of progress. The *ninth*, or closing book, is on the unity of things; in it Lotze sums up his results, and he also gives us his view of some profound questions, both metaphysical and theological, such as the Being of things; the spatial and supersensuous worlds; the real and the ideal; the personality of God, and, finally, God and the world. Dr. Lindsay recommends students to begin their study of Lotze with the ninth book of the *Microcosmus;* we can certainly agree with him that its "charming fresh thoughtfulness will, in all

* Preface to *Microcosmus.*

probability, induce them to make a study of the whole work," perchance also of the *Logic* and *Metaphysic* as well. But the whole of the *Microcosmus* must be carefully read; it contains a fresh and exhaustive discussion of some of the profoundest questions that can occupy the human mind, and whether we agree with the author or not we cannot fail to receive benefit from his thoughts. Evidently Lotze has been led to undertake this *magnum opus* by his sympathetic study of Herder. The closing words of his preface are an express acknowledgment of obligation to, and of his ambition to attempt a repetition of, the work of this great thinker. Even the Summary of his Results, in the *ninth* book, is a kind of imitation of Herder's *Ideas for a Philosophy of the History of Mankind.* As Lotze has been much influenced by Herder, a brief reference to the works of the earlier writer may help us in this study. According to Professor Flint, in his suggestive work on the *Philosophy of History*, Herder's conclusions are as follows: The end of human nature is humanity; and in order to this end God has given into the hands of men their own fate. The destructive powers in Nature must ultimately yield to the preservative powers, and they are subservient to the perfection of the whole. Since a wise goodness dispenses the fate of mankind, there is no nobler merit and no purer happiness than to co-operate in its designs. The end of human nature is humanity; man's end is in himself; and, according to Herder, these are identical propositions. It is not given to any single thinker, as Lotze often remarks, to accomplish a task so great as the one attempted by Herder, nor does the disciple altogether succeed where the master failed. According, however, to all competent judges, Lotze has done far more than Herder was able to accomplish. This success has not been altogether due to his superior ability, but rather to his greater fitness for the task. Lotze is not only profoundly acquainted with the progress of physical science, but he is himself an original investigator of the first rank, as has been demonstrated by his work in the domain of physiology and pathology. He is not only an able thinker and a successful teacher of mental philosophy, but also an expert in all matters connected with the methods and

results of physical science. In his student days he gave attention to both medicine and philosophy, and he passed as *Docent* in both faculties; he therefore brings to the tasks of his later life qualifications that were not possessed by Herder, and the result of this appears in the earlier chapters, just as his thorough knowledge of history and his intimate acquaintance with both ancient and modern thought are abundantly manifested in the closing books of the *Microcosmus*.

It is difficult to indicate the exact position of Lotze in relation to the various schools of thought; his knowledge is so profound and his sympathies so catholic, that he often appears rather as a mediator than as the champion of any one system. In truth, he does not believe that any one can form a complete system of philosophy, and he closes his essay on *Metaphysic*, "without any feeling of infallibility, with the wish also that he may not everywhere have been in error; as for the rest," he says, with the Oriental proverb—"God knows better." It is refreshing to meet with candour and humility like this in a philosopher who has attempted to map out the whole universe of thought, and this candour is one of the chief charms in Lotze's writings. According to Professor Lindsay, our author may be described as an ideal-realist in philosophy, but this description must be accepted as tentative and provisional. Not merely does Lotze protest in the interests of idealism against a hard, mechanical view of life, but he feels deeply that all materialistic explanations are worthless. No man is more familiar than he with the facts and laws of which the materialist speaks so much, but he is also familiar with other facts and other laws not accounted for on the materialist hypothesis. Nor is there any reason why we should not state the ground of Lotze's opposition to mere mechanism, as he terms it, in language that will appeal to the deeper feelings of men. However much his positive findings fall short of Christian truth, and however open to criticism many of them may be, we cannot but feel that the heart of this thinker longs for something more than the self-acting laws of realism, something truer and nobler than the highest ideals of the idealist; in short, he thirsts for the living personal God as the ultimate explanation of the phenomenal world, as well as the ultimate satisfaction, hope, and home of the finite spirit. And it is the

soul-thirst for God, quite as much as the "poetic faculty," that makes Lotze reject the empty forms of the mere Hegelian, and the equally lifeless laws and forces of the materialist. One of our author's fellow countrymen gives the following clear and tersely expressed summary of the teachings of the *Microcosmus:* "Everywhere in the wide region of observation we find three distinct regions—the region of facts, the region of laws, and the standards of value and worth. These three regions are separable only in thought, not in reality. To comprehend the real position, we are forced to the conviction that the world of facts is the field in which, and that laws are the means by which, those higher standards of moral and æsthetical value are being realized; and such a union can again only become intelligible through the idea of a Personal Deity, who in the creation and preservation of the world has voluntarily chosen certain forms and laws, through the natural operation of which the ends of His work are gained." * The author just quoted says, that repeated readings of Lotze are necessary if we are to understand his position; we can agree with this, for at first we were inclined to regard his ideas as pantheistic, but a deeper study corrected this first impression. Lotze, however, denies *reality* in the true sense to things; nothing is real but the living spirit of God, and the world of living spirits which He has created; the things of this world—things so real to the popular mind—have reality only in so far as they are the appearance of the spiritual substance underlying everything. Fully to discuss this difficult subject would require more space than is at our command, and therefore we must pass over it somewhat lightly, referring curious readers to the *Ninth* Book of the *Microcosmus*, and to the *Metaphysic*, for a fuller discussion of the philosophical problems involved. Lotze accepts, in a sense, the Kantian view of space and time, but he makes many modifications in the application of this view to thought. The case is not, he says, "that things are in space, in which they can move; but space is in things, as the form of an intuition through which we become conscious of their supersensuous relations to one another." To things, Lotze, as we have seen, attributes no

* *Encyc. Britt.*, Art. Lotze.

independent existence. A thing is real when it stands in relation to other things, and this "*standing in relation to other things gives to a thing its reality;*" at the same time our author does not exactly hold that phenomena are merely subjective, and that they have no objective existence. According to Lotze, says Professor Lindsay, a "phenomenon always stands in a twofold relation. It requires a substrate or substance *of* which it is the phenomenon, and it requires something *to* which it is a phenomenon—to which it reveals that phenomenon whose substance it is. The essential import of a phenomenon, therefore, is that it is a mean in relation to two extremes, that *of* which it is a phenomenon, and that *to* which it is a phenomenon. This is the purpose of a phenomenon, the sufficient reason of its existence. Phenomena are not therefore merely subjective, they are objective manifestations; they do not depend for their existence on being perceived, for they have an existence from their substrate apart from that; but at the same time *they are there to be perceived, and they are purposeless unless they are perceived.* "Thus," and here we have the crucial point in Lotze's philosophy, "the phenomena of the sensible world are means whereby the theological process which binds together the universe of things, and which works in accordance with ontological forms, is revealed to the mind of man, and there is a parallelism between the cosmological or phenomenal forms and the ontological forms." * Leaving the more metaphysical portions of Lotze's work, let us now pass on to what is simpler and more practically related to the subjects discussed in the *Microcosmus*. This book is emphatically a study of man, and in man the ethical element for Lotze, as for all serious thinkers, is ever the most important. His splendid protest against the mechanical theory is quite as much ethical as intellectual; his longing for a Personal God, rather than for the absolute of the philosopher, is a thoroughly ethical emotion; his exposition in defence of the existence of the soul, the validity of the testimony of consciousness, and the reality of moral freedom—all these

* *Mind*, vol. i. p. 375.

point to his undying interest in man's moral nature, obligations, and destiny.

In order to give our readers some conception, however inadequate, of the character and worth of the *Microcosmus*, we shall call attention to some of the author's discussions that have a distinct bearing upon the practical problems of our own time. First of all let us refer to what everywhere meets the student of this volume, Lotze's fundamental opposition to the mechanical view of life with its consequent materialism. In this opposition the author is influenced by no narrowness of view, nor does he write as an idealist who is unfamiliar with the methods, forces, laws, and results of physical science. Lotze is fully acquainted with all these results, and he accepts without reserve the methods of science; he protests against all one-sided solutions of the problems, and declares that the mission of mechanism in the structure of the world is absolutely universal in extent, but also completely subordinate in significance. In this view we seem to have the key to all Lotze's discussions, and only as we keep it before us can we do justice, on the one hand, to his love of science, and, on the other, to his deep conviction that there are regions of the universe absolutely unknown to the mere student of physical science. By mechanism, or the mechanical view, we are to understand the scientific conception of Nature, with its fixed laws, its orderly occurrences, and its "regulative framework," as opposed to the teleological view with its ideas and final ends; between these two there is no necessary antagonism, and we create antagonism only by imperfect knowledge, or by narrowness of mind. It is from this standpoint that Lotze attacks materialism, and hence, we venture to say, the effectiveness alike of his method and its results. Opposition to materialism is not confined to thinkers such as our author. Lange, Hartmann, and others have also strongly denounced mechanism, but their attacks have had but little force; the one offers in its place a still more barren idealism, and the other substitutes for the atoms, forces, and laws of the materialist a huge unreality, which he terms "the unconscious." Lotze's craving for reality, and his intense longing for ethical personality, save him from both these

errors. "Among all the errors of the human mind," he says, "it has always seemed to me the strangest that it should come to doubt its own existence, of which alone it has direct experience, or to take it at second hand, as the product of an external nature, which we know only indirectly, only by means of the knowledge of the very mind to which we would fain deny existence." Not less decided is his opposition to the view that would make purpose or design a mere property of organic matter.

"Now, is it credible or conceivable that, without any directing purpose, in the same corporeal structure which possesses *here* a reflecting eye, a prehensile member should *there* come into being, capable of grasping seen objects; in a third place teeth, with which to take up what has been seized; in a fourth, organs of digestion, fitted to act upon food in a manner beneficial to the whole array of parts? And this pre-designed connection of parts recurs constantly also in the formation of the single organs. Again, shall we ask whether it is credible that without any directing purpose a conglomeration of elements should have been formed whose blind, mechanical, fuller development necessarily occasioned the origination of transparent, translucent, and opaque membranes, being more or less refractive, and at the same time the arrangement of these parts in just such positions, and at just such distances as was needful, in order that a cone of rays falling on the eye should again converge on an extremely minute point on the back of it? We do not deny that, in the actual connection of things, organic formation is carried on merely by mechanical tradition; but without the assumption of a designing consciousness, we believe it is impossible to account for the origination of the germs whose blind and necessary evolution constitutes the course of Nature. And now that we have once had recourse to this guiding hand . . . . we believe in its co-operation even where we do not see it."*

Closely connected with the mechanical view of the universe is the materialistic view of the human soul. Our English scientists, until very recently, have not committed themselves to the extreme views put forward by Lotze's contemporaries in Germany, although Maudsley and others are now going very far in this direction. According to such thinkers, there is really no soul-substance or entity, and only illusions of long standing lead us to this conclusion. Lotze puts the question in the following way: "Is there within all this externality a genuinely stable point, to which all corporeal growth is but a

* Vol. i. pp. 424-5.

home and an environment?" Psychic life has generally been said to be differentiated from the whole course of Nature by three distinct characteristics; by freedom of internal self-determination, utter incompatibility of physical or psychical processes, and, lastly, by specific unity of consciousness. We have no space to do justice to the subtle analysis and fine discrimination of our author in dealing with this problem, but we may briefly indicate his results. The arguments for the soul's existence, based on the unity of consciousness, seem to him worthy of most support. "I do not know," he says, "that our consciousness of the unity of our being is in itself, by what it directly reports, a guarantee of that unity. . . . . For our belief in the soul's unity rests not on our appearing to ourselves such a unity, but on being able to appear to ourselves *at all*. Did we appear to ourselves quite different, nay, did we seem to ourselves to be an unconnected plurality, we would from this very fact, from the bare possibility of appearing anything to ourselves, deduce the necessary unity of our being," &c. *A being appearing anyhow to itself*—this is the point from which we must never allow attention to be diverted by sophistical arguments about relations or related objects. It is the grand prerogative of the soul to distinguish not only between things that differ, but between itself and all other persons and things. Readers of the *Prolegomena to Ethics*, will remember a similar argument as used by the brilliant Prof. Green. The argument is subtle but clear, and the longer we dwell upon it the more convincing will it appear. According, then, to Lotze, the "soul is a simple indivisible substance," but as every inch of territory here is fiercely disputed, we must give his definition of substance. "Substance," he says, in the *Metaphysic*, "signifies everything which possesses the power of producing or experiencing effects, in so far as it possesses that power." The soul is "what it shows itself to be, a real unity—a unity whose life is in definite ideas, feelings and effects." Man's true personality is not in body and soul, but in the soul alone. As to the much-disputed question of the immortality of the soul—a question which, in our judgment, can be finally answered only by the aid of Divine revelation—Lotze tells us that it does not

"belong to metaphysic. We have no other principle for deciding it beyond the general idealistic conviction; that every created thing will continue, if and so long as its continuance belongs to the meaning of the world; that everything will pass away which has its authorized place only in a transitory phase of the world's course." One of the most fiercely debated questions of our time is as to the meaning of conscience and the content of morality; according to moralists of the mechanical school, the present content of the ethical sanction is the outcome of ages of growth, and it has been evolved out of elements common to man and brute. Maudsley broadly states that we owe not only poetry but *morality* to the sexual instinct, and Spencer, in his *Data of Ethics*, hardly seems to us to reach anything that deserves to be called ethical. The conscience of non-theistic evolutionists is simply the sanction of hope or fear, the outcome of the love of pleasure and the natural shrinking from pain common to all sensitive creatures; just as Kant's starry heaven is supposed to have been made less wonderful by the labours of astronomers, so the "moral law within" that filled his mind with such a sense of awe, has ceased to be with many an object worthy of reverence. Lotze still holds to the older and, as we believe, truer view of man's moral nature. Four things, he remarks, may ever be predicated of humanity; man everywhere believes in the existence of truth, and he carries about with him the thought of duty or obligation. What truth is, what exactly corresponds to obligation, these have to be patiently sought out; but behind all inquiry and behind all the results of inquiry will be found these two elements, the original birthright of our humanity. Of course Lotze is familiar with all that can be said about the shifting moral standards of different races and ages; he has also heard of peoples that are supposed to have no ideas of duty, and no sense of right and wrong; but after fully balancing all these hostile considerations, and after patiently discussing all the hypotheses advanced against the older view, he nevertheless comes to the conclusion that there are original and universal elements in man, the "common and indestructible features of the human mind."

"The self-judging conscience, and the ineradicable idea of binding duty which in us accompanies action and feeling, distinguish human creatures, as members of a realm of mind, from brutes whose vital activity depends upon feeling merely. If we choose to sum up under the name of the Infinite that which stands opposed to particular finite manifestations, we may say that the capacity of becoming conscious of the Infinite is the distinguishing endowment of the human mind, and we believe that we can at the same time pronounce, as a result of our considerations, that this capacity has not been produced in us by the influence of experience with all its manifold content, *but that having its origin in the very nature of our being, it only needed favouring conditions of experience for its development.*" *

What then, according to Lotze, is man's true place in Nature? The *Microcosmus* is, from one point of view, his answer to this question, for this is essentially the theme of the book; it is, however, possible to place before our readers in few words his more definite conclusion. We need hardly say that he rejects the view of modern anthropologists; any attempt, he remarks, "to place man at the head of an earthly realm of souls, and to explain his destiny from the nature of the lower stages (this is the view of materialistic evolutionists), would be one of these brilliantly beginning but vainly ending spectacles, many of which have in succession been presented by anthropologists." He eloquently and scornfully rejects the absurd notion that man's higher mental development is due to better food or specially favourable outward conditions.

"Cold garrets, in which often no other food than an insufficient quantity of bread was consumed, have witnessed the birth of more immortal thoughts than ever came fostered by the more luxurious repasts of the men of talent of these days, and the rising generation, which has at last discovered in the application of phosphorus the road to an increase of intelligence, finds itself in possession of a store of knowledge accumulated by many centuries, when as yet this means was unknown—a store hard to be surpassed with perceptible rapidity."†

Nor has Lotze any hope of much enlightenment from the results of Darwin and his school, results that exercised a kind of fascination over the mind of Europe, in the interval that elapsed between the first and last editions of our author's works. To the last he kept his mind open to the

* Vol. i. pp. 713-4.

† Vol. i. pp. 479.

light, and he was ready to welcome all results of science; yet he firmly believed that science, by its researches, could never explain the origin and destiny of man. "Even if science could explain how, in the favourable circumstances supplied by the blind necessity of Nature, the first germ of a plant or an animal came into being, still simple and rude in contour, and with little aptitude for significant development—how, finally, under happy conditions, to which this low stage of life conduced, lower species were in the course of countless ages developed into higher ones till at last man appeared, not in the image of God, but as the first link in this chain of necessary events,"—even if science could do all this, it would not "explain the wondrous drama, as a whole, more adequately than that modest belief which sees nothing but the creative will of God, from which the races of living beings have been derived. Whatever mode of creation God may have chosen, none avails to loosen the dependence of the Universe upon Him, none to bind it more closely to Him." * Lotze thus holds not only that all this prolonged and elaborate inquiry is certain to end in abortive results, but also that from the very first it has been misdirected.

"The oft-repeated assertion that it is impossible to know man perfectly without having examined all the lower members of the animal series, at the head of which it is his proper attitude to stand, is but a caricature of profundity. What pedantry, to suppose that he alone understands man who has first learned to understand the infusoria, the insect, and the frog! What audacity to say this in the presence of thousands of years of human history, during whose course all the significance of human life has been felt over and over again in the most passionate conflict! And yet the heroes who marched to battle were not aware of their being the captains of the mammals; and the deep thinkers whose discoveries opened up new paths of progress, were not led thereto by reflections on the width of the interval that in the animal series separates man from any reptile. Knowledge of man means above all knowledge of his destiny, of the means given him wherewith to fulfil it, and of the hindrances he has to encounter; if beyond this there is a certain interest in comparing him and his life with the creatures that around him go their own ways; this is an inquiry of too trifling value or influence to be made the foundation of the other and the more important one." *

* Vol. i. pp. 374–527.

* Vol. i. p. 467.

Man, then, according to Lotze, is no mere product of Nature, no captain of the mammals who differs from his humbler fellows only in this, that he possesses a more complex organization. He is no mere cunning cast of clay, moulded and shaped by material forces, that are the expression of "the unconscious" or of some natural coincidence, or even co-operation; nor must co-operation take in our thoughts the place to be occupied only by *causation*.

Great events may have coincided in point of time with plagues and epidemics, but the latter did not cause the former; so we must not attempt to account for man by the food he eats, by the lower creatures with whom he may have many points of resemblance, or by external conditions under which he appeared in the world. Man is influenced by Nature, but this is true chiefly of the cultivated man, and the influence is proportioned to the depth and extent of the culture. Only, in fine, in the study of man's moral and spiritual nature, of his relation to the Infinite Spirit, of his ideas of truth and his reverence for right, can we find any satisfactory explanation of what he is, and of what he is intended to become. In other words, man's true place in Nature is found when we study his duty and his destiny. Hence Lotze's deep aversion to the materialistic view of life. He frankly admits that along with this view there may be combined "moral greatness and purity of life;" but while admitting the actual combination, he denies its "logical consistency." The "logical outcome," says Lotze, "of all such views can only be to let ourselves go as Nature prompts, and to use that mysterious spark of independent substantiality which shines within us with what wisdom we may, for the attaining and enhancing of physical well-being." In other words, our author clearly agrees with St. Paul, that if man's nature be explained to him in the materialistic way, most men are likely to say, "let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

Lotze's relation to Divine Revelation and to its teachings as to man's duty and destiny, is not what we could desire, but neither is it entirely antagonistic. So far as the origin of man is concerned, he distinguishes very clearly between the "possible answer to a general question, and the

impossible satisfaction of a curiosity that extends to details." The grand conception of life's meaning, the wide scope of the sublime thought that the earth and its denizens were the direct creation of the Divine hand, and the belief that human history will close with a judgment seat—all these are still possible to the man of science. Scientists may not exactly start from the "without form and void" of Bible-story, they may ascribe to evolution rather than to creation the innumerable forms of life, from lowest to highest, but this does not settle the questions that are raised. Suppose a spectator had been fortunate enough to witness the creation, to see the actual starting into being of all the myraid forms of life that constitute the majestic spectacle of creation, he would have observed nothing but the successive evolution of all things according to natural law. But this very regularity and orderly evolution of all things must have an explanation, and hence in whatever way we choose to speak of the *becoming*, we must postulate the existence and operation of creative power. Whether we attempt to account for the origin of all things, man included, by the assumption of an actual shaping by the Divine hand, or to explain by means of blind forces acting upon plastic materials, we are alike beyond our depth. Ultimately then, we have to come back to faith in a Divine creation, and thus the traditional faith is capable of scientific justification in its essential principles, if not in actual details; moreover, we must believe that "God's Almighty power is still present in the constancy of Nature's regular working, invisible, but not therefore less efficient." Lotze's discussion of the unity of the race is both original and suggestive. What is this unity? Does it in the last analysis mean that all have descended from one pair, or only that all possess certain moral and spiritual qualities? He demands for all such questions a fuller discussion than they have yet received, and he is anxious that the discussion should on both sides be free from prejudices. If the race sprang from a single pair and started from a common centre, this unity seems to have had but little influence upon its after history. Everywhere we meet with antagonism and not with unity. This unity, explain it how we may, is rather an ideal of the future than an essential factor in the *conscious* life-purposes of the past.

Our author's attitude to this inquiry is one of caution, candour, and a strong desire for "more light." Let the evidence be patiently collected and carefully sifted, and let men come to the consideration of all such questions with a simple desire to find and follow the truth; hitherto, at least, science has not displaced the ancient tradition, it has at most given a new reading of the becoming, and behind this there must be creative power.

What, then, is Lotze's relation to Christianity? Hitherto we have been dealing with problems that are theistic rather than distinctly Christian, and we have seen that he takes his place among the great theistic thinkers; not only so, but Lotze must be held as teaching that the GOOD, for which all things exist, is in its ultimate analysis a PERSONAL GOD! But it is impossible to discuss history and man's place in Nature without giving some estimate of historical Christianity. Superficial thinkers may attempt to construct theories of the universe in which Jesus Christ finds no place; but no really great thinker can help asking himself this question—What do *I* think of Christ? Nor does Lotze avoid dealing with this all-important theme; he devotes a chapter to the "Religious Life" of mankind, and however much we may regret the negative, or indefinite, character of his conclusions, we gladly acknowledge the candid spirit in which he treats questions too often ignored by philosophers, so called, both German and English. First of all he attempts to do justice to the ethical character and aim of the Old Testament religion, and to the independence and the distinctive teachings of Old Testament teachers. "*Among the theocratically governed nations of the East,*" he says, "*the Hebrews seem to us as sober men among drunkards;* but to antiquity they seemed like dreamers among waking folk." Not only did they so appear to their contemporaries, but to many in our time this is still their character. Lotze has clearer insight, and he gives to Israel a unique place in the world's history. If we compare the Mosaic account of Creation with other accounts that have been handed down to us, we find that it is distinguished by something like contempt for mere "cosmological speculation." Man is the culmination of God's creative work, and Nature but as it were the scenery of that magnificent drama of which man is the subject. God is wholly good, and to man's freedom we owe sin with all its dire

and fateful consequences. Moreover, in all their wanderings, and in spite of all their failures, the Jews never lost consciousness of their relation to God, and of His covenant with them; in short, they had through all the changes of their strange history a sense of their high destiny, and they ever believed, even in the darkest periods of their national life, that this destiny would one day be realized. Lotze also sees that Christianity is the flower and fruit of the Old Testament faith—the realization in actual life of ancient hopes and predictions. Nor does he, with some thinkers, attempt to find the explanation of the triumphs of Christianity in any merely external conditions. The "excellences and weaknesses of existing Roman civilization, combined with some special historical circumstances to favour the spread of Christianity; *but of more efficacy than all these was its own inherent power.*" Through all this discussion our author honestly seeks to do justice to the originality of the Christian ideas, as well as to their unique power over human life. He clearly sees that the grand aim of Christianity is the new birth and spiritual transformation of man; he attempts, it is true, to separate between the spirit of Christianity and its historical doctrines in a way that is utterly impossible to science; but while condemning this we gladly recognize his insight into much that is distinctive in New Testament teaching. *The Christian ground of moral obligation*—the will of God, and the command to do this will—is nobly defended by Lotze. He rejects the "ordinary opinion of more or less scientific reflection," that there is here anything like "retrogression as compared with the philosophic view of heathendom, to which the beautiful and the good seemed to be obligatory, in virtue of its own power and dignity, not as a law, even though it might be a law laid down by the Supreme will. The faithful Christian will judge differently. He will admit that he learns the interpretation of the Divine will only from the deliverance of conscience, which shows the frightful consequences that have always arisen from the admission of any other source of enlightenment; he will not conceal from himself that his conviction lays upon thought new difficulties which are hard to overcome; yet he will maintain that

through it alone he is able to understand the phenomena of conscience. For it will seem to him simply incomprehensible that through some original and primary necessity there should be laws which have binding power over actions and yet serve no purpose—serve no purpose, because their whole business is to insist upon their own fulfilment and realization, the fulfilment when it has come about being the end of the matter, as though it were some new fact, without any good being produced that did not previously exist. The Christian seeks to escape this labour in the service of impersonal laws—this mere bringing about of facts; it is only in the pleasure that God has in what he has done, that he finds that ultimate good for the sake of which all moral actions have worth in his eyes. If love is the great commandment, then that that great commandment must be carried out for love's sake is a necessary corollary; neither the realization of any idea for its own sake, merely in order that it, devoid of sensibility as it is, should be put into act, nor the residence of all excellences within ourselves, the egoistic glorification of self, but only love to the living God, only the longing to be approved not by our own hearts but by Him—this, and this only, is the basis of Christian morality, and science will never find one that is plainer, nor life one that is surer." * Lotze also defends the rewards of Christianity, and considers many of the criticisms bestowed upon these as mere "pedantry of reason." The Quixotic virtue, as he terms it, may appear very exalted, but from the "sublime there is but a step, not only to the ridiculous, but also to the inane and the preposterous," and in his view its Supreme God is simply self-esteem! The distinction then is "between the proud inflexible eudemonism of self-esteem, which is self-sufficiency, and the eudemonism of humility, which is not self-sufficiency, and seeks its highest good in standing well, not with self, but with God, and in being beloved by Him." Both these theories of morals recognize self-sacrifice, but the non-Christian form of eudemonism is ever aiming at the grand, and it finds but little opportunity to return to what is lowly; whereas Christianity "begins with

* Vol. ii. pp. 471–2.

what is joyous and attractive, and yet mighty enough to produce also what is most sublime." The Gospel "never aimed at being sublime or magnificent; and yet because it is 'glad tidings,' it is also sublime and grand." In addition to this, Christianity has added immensely to man's consciousness of personal dignity and worth. Each man is dear to God and, *therefore*, of value to himself; as our author well says, the Gospel of Jesus Christ has given "eternal significance to the soul of the individual man."

We come now to Lotze's objection to what he calls the Christianity of the Christian Church. His view of what ought to be regarded as constituting a man a Christian, may be given in his own words:—"The full joyous assurance of the truth of these doctrines (*i.e.*, the ethical teachings of Christianity, about which we have written above), the subjection in lowly humility of all one's strength to the grace of God, the consciousness not only of that imperfection which has a meaning in the cosmic order, but also of *the sinfulness which always is but never ought to be*, the impression of the inadequacy of all one's deserts, and the hope of redemption from all evil through the love of God, which no one can deserve but every one can win—all this is characteristic of a temper of mind which has been regarded by many in all times as that which entitles men to call themselves by the name of Christian. The Christian Church has judged otherwise. It has attached the right to this name to a faith which believes not only in Christian doctrine, but also in the historical account of how this came to be revealed to the world." * We confess to a belief that Lotze is not "far from the kingdom of God," if he really feels all that he here so touchingly expresses; and this belief is strengthened when we read that "*what faithful souls cling to is the living Christ, the complete personality of the Saviour, not taken figuratively or in any symbolic sense.*" † If any one, nurtured himself in a world of sceptical thought, has come really to believe in the living Christ, *the historical Personal Christ of the New Testament*, if he looks to Him for the pardon of sin, and sees in Him the

* Vol. ii. p. 476. † Vol. ii. p. 488.

outward and visible manifestation of the love of God to men, if he really feels that sin ought not to be, and if this feeling, or knowledge, or experience has been awakened in him by a vision of the living Christ, surely he is near the kingdom of God, however much he may err, or however defective his views may be about theological truth. Here Lotze hardly does justice either to himself or to the Christian Church. We quite clearly see where his difficulty lies; he is anxious to accept the moral and spiritual elements in Christianity, but he shrinks from the doctrinal beliefs and testimony of the Christian Church. He does not deny the miraculous, but he cannot accept the teaching of the Church about "Miracles"; he believes in the reality of sin, in the manifested love of God in the living Christ, but he rejects the doctrine of *substitution;* he shrinks also from calling Christ the "Son of God," and he tries to explain away the New Testament conception of Resurrection, by emphasizing the importance of a "real living presence of Christ," without any bodily mediation; in fine, Lotze all through is trying to separate between the spiritual essence of Christianity and the doctrinal form in which it has hitherto been presented to men. Nor is he successful, as any one may see who carefully studies his chapter on the "Religious Life." No one will contend that any statement, say, of the doctrine of the Atonement, is absolutely free from ambiguity and difficulty. Lotze himself knows how difficult it is for him to express some of his ideas about time and space; about the difference between existence that is real, and existence that is independent as well as real. Bearing this in mind, he ought to have distinguished more clearly between the spiritual facts and the Church's presentation of these in its symbols and subordinate standards of doctrine. At the same time piety cannot live upon metaphysical theories; nor can Lotze reach his conception of what constitutes a true Christian, save by appropriating essential elements of the Church's faith. Talk of the "living Christ," and the necessity alone of this to faith! How do we know the living Christ, save as he is revealed to us in history? And He is revealed not only as a teacher of sublime *ethical* truth, but as a worker of miracles, a teacher of substitutionary doctrines,

and, finally, as one crucified for sinners. His own distinctive teaching was, that He came to lay down His life a "ransom for many;" and the doctrine of the Atonement taught by Apostles is but the expression in words of Christ's own teachings and acts. "Direct religious feeling," says Lotze, "*meets the Church's teaching concerning the redeeming power of Christ's mediatorial death with ready faith, but this faith is not rewarded by any increase of knowledge.*" Suppose we grant this, what follows? Certainly not that the doctrine is false, but simply this, that it may never have been intended for full exhibition in formulated logical propositions, but chiefly for the wants of spiritually quickened hearts. Lotze himself often contends most earnestly for a proper soul or mind attitude, in order that truth may produce its impression on human hearts and lives. What if the doctrine of substitution, the Church's teaching about the death of Jesus Christ, were only intelligible ultimately always and everywhere to souls bowed down with a deep sense of sin, to hearts that long intensely for peace, purity, and fellowship with God? Lotze complains that the Church demands not only faith in a "seed of redemption . . . which can take root and spring up afresh in every soul and in every age," but also faith in its teaching that "once and by one act, which belongs not to earthly but divine history, the work of redemption was accomplished." Here the usually clear and subtle thinker fails to do justice to the facts of the case, and to the conditions of the problem. He can easily see behind the evolution of materialists, and he broadly affirms the existence of creative power and supersensuous beginnings. Why does he not see that by this *one act which belongs to Divine history*, Christ for ever made possible the redemption from evil for which Lotze hopes, and that this divine act is the source of that which springs up afresh in every soul and in every age. If the testimony of experience is worth anything, and no man more frankly acknowledges its philosophic value than our author, it proves that for spiritually awakened souls, the crucified Christ—who died for sinners and who is alive for evermore—is the only power of God unto salvation. Lotze also admits the existence of the intellectual necessity which gave birth to the doctrinal teaching of the

Church; he, of all men, would be the last to suppose that men can live on mere emotional experiences to which they can give neither intellectual expression nor justification. He even admits that the Church's doctrine of the mediatorial death meets with a ready response from faith, if it fails to satisfy the conditions of intellectual knowledge. Admissions such as these, and there are many more of them, are deeply significant, and on their basis we might erect a pretty solid structure of distinctively Christian doctrine. Lotze, like many others, leans too much to the view that Christianity is simply an ethical system, purer and nobler than any other, but yet one among many. We can never do justice to Christianity until we recognize that it is a grand creative act, and also a movement in history; it is a direct manifestation of the supernatural in human life, and until this is acknowledged, men will never do justice to the creed of the Church. The sense of sin, the heart's trust in a crucified Saviour, the new birth, the renewal of man's nature, and the new life of fellowship with God in Christ, a life so much above the merely ethical life that he who truly lives it can only say, "no longer I, but Christ"—these are the distinctive elements in Christianity, and they are as far above the ethical, as the truly ethical is above the barren negations of gross materialism; and until these supernatural elements are recognized, no one can understand either the creed or the life of the Church. While we must, therefore, reject Lotze's ultimate explanation of the "Religious Life," we gladly bear testimony to the value of much of what he has said. His criticisms are very different from much of the modern criticism, both German and English, with which we are too familiar. Strauss hungered in his old age for some of the *legends* of the Christian calendar; Lange, while rejecting Christianity, longed for distinctively Christian hymns to feed his *emotional* life; all this is wide as the poles asunder from the teachings of the *Microcosmus*. Lotze fails to do justice to doctrinal Christianity, but even while criticizing the intellectual *forms*, he goes far towards the recognition of the spiritual *facts*, of which these forms are the more or less imperfect expression. Most heartily also do we accept his emphatic teaching that ethical ends are the

final ends of life, and that the supreme good for which all exists, is none other than the living personal God, the eternal love by which man was created at first, in which he now lives, and from which he may hope for infinite blessing in the future. Lotze's teaching has grave defects, when judged from the Christian point of view, but, taken as a whole, the *Microcosmus* is a noble work, and a most valuable and helpful contribution to the theistic philosophy of the nineteenth century.

Art. V.—ST. AMBROSE OF MILAN.

ST. CHRYSOSTOM has found an English biographer* whose research and literary skill give all readers an adequate impression of the matchless eloquence and holy life of the great Archbishop of Constantinople. Ambrose, who fills a far more conspicuous position in the history of the fourth century, has been less fortunate. Dr. Thornton's admirable little volume† is the best general sketch of the great prelate's life, times, and teaching, but an adequate biography is still wanting. Material is not lacking. Paulinus, the bishop's notary, who wrote the first life at the suggestion of St. Augustine, has preserved many interesting particulars which, but for his loving care, would have been entirely lost. The value of this work is seriously marred by the credulity of the biographer, though the strange miracles which he ascribes to Ambrose, evidently without a doubt of their reality, throw much light on the spirit of the age, that memorable transition period in the history of the Church. The Benedictine editors compiled the most valuable life. They supplemented Paulinus from the writings of Ambrose himself, with a diligent research which excites the admiration and claims the gratitude of every one who attempts to follow them over the same ground. All later writers thus enter into the labours of those nameless workers, brethren of the congregation of St. Maur, who plied their task with such unflagging industry and rare

* "St. Chrysostom." By the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens.
† "St. Ambrose." Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

literary skill. They have laid the foundation for some worthy monument of the man, as well as some adequate representation of his times and the scene of his labours.

Ambrose is the one commanding figure of church history during the last quarter of the fourth century. Athanasius died the year before the young governor became a bishop. Chrysostom was not kidnapped from Antioch and hurried to Constantinople till the year after Ambrose died at Milan. There is, therefore, no name to challenge comparison with his. Even if the whole century is brought within the range of comparison, Ambrose will not suffer. Athanasius is the hero of the Arian controversy—in that claim on the admiration of the Church no man can rival him who stood alone against the world. Chrysostom is the sublimest and most eloquent of all preachers in that wonderful century. Ambrose is the Christian statesman, the Roman Pontiff, the Imperial Chaplain of his generation. Here he is unapproachable. More than any of his contemporaries he was honoured with the respect and friendship of the Roman emperors. Yet he never loses a particle of his manliness. He is known as the fearless champion of Christian truth and Christian conduct when the conflict had to be waged with members of the Royal house, whose action threatened to destroy the purity of the truth, or to lower the standard of Christian character. The spirit displayed by Ambrose is alike honourable to himself and to Christianity. The fourth century was a time of triumph for the Church. After generations of reproach she opened her portals to illustrious sons. The imperial purple was worn by some who worshipped in her temples. Amid the dazzling scenes of church history, which open with the conversion of Constantine, one question causes grave anxiety. We watch a Roman emperor presiding over a Christian council, and bemoaning the grievous discords of the Church; we see him preaching her truth in his palace, and we wonder what relations are to exist between the Church and the Empire in days to come. Will imperial pride claim unlimited sway in shaping the Church's policy, and thus raise a barrier against her progress; or will fear of man seal the lips of God's messengers, and make them afraid to utter warning and rebuke in imperial palaces?

All history bears witness to the enervating effect which the atmosphere of courts produces on reformers. A John the Baptist may utter both at the Jordan and on the marble floors of Herod the self-same call to repentance, but men of less heroic mould can scarcely bear the fiery trial. Ambrose ranks with John. We can give him no higher praise. The Church, long oppressed and despised, disdained to retain her new won influence by ignoring the vices of the Court, and the great Archbishop was inspired with such loyalty to Christian principle, that he steadfastly maintained the purity of the Church and approved himself the fearless champion of the oppressed, though this attitude brought him into sharp collision with the greatest emperor of the age.

The father of Ambrose, who bore the same name, was Prefect of the Gauls under Constantine and his sons. His vast province stretched from Britain to the South of Spain. Here he exercised supreme authority in all matters of justice and general administration. Everything save the control of the army was under his care. He was thus one of the highest civil servants of the empire. It is not known where the Prefect held his Court—Trèves, Arles and Lyons dispute the honour—but at one of these cities, in the year A.D. 340, the future bishop was born. The first twelve years of his life were thus spent amid all the busy scenes of a great provincial city.

When he was thirteen his father died. The mother at once returned to Rome with her three children. Her daughter Marcellina was about to take the vows of virginity. Ambrose and his elder brother Satyrus were intended for their father's profession. The study of law was the preparation for all high civil office under the empire. Young barristers began to practise in the courts and gradually worked their way to the higher posts. Ambrose received a liberal education in Rome, and began his career as an advocate in the courts of the city. His power was soon felt. His eloquence and clear judgment commended him to the Prefect of Italy, who appointed him one of his own legal advisers. Here Ambrose worked with growing success until he was chosen Consular Prefect of Liguria, with judicial and administrative power over the territories of Milan, Liguria, Turin, Genoa, and Bologna.

Probus, in whose court he had been hitherto employed, was a Christian, and sent him to his work with those prophetic words: "Go, and conduct yourself not as a judge, but as a bishop."

The position was one of great honour. Ambrose was recognized as one of the most promising statesmen of the day. In his infancy his father was walking in the court-yard of his palace in Gaul, when his attention was drawn to Ambrose's nurse, who had brought out his cradle into the balmy summer air. A swarm of bees which had settled on the child's face were crawling in and out of his mouth. When the agony of suspense was past the father said, "If the child lives he will do some great thing." The hour for the fulfilment of those words seemed to have come when the young governor entered on his high functions in Milan. He quickly established his reputation in the city by the sagacity, justice, and mercy of his administration. Ambrose had not, however, yet found the post in which he was to render conspicuous service both to his own and following generations. The place indeed was found. God had brought him to Milan, the city where the rest of his life was spent. The first step towards his future career was taken.

His transition from secular to ecclesiastical life was due to the vehement controversy which broke out in Milan, as it had broken out in Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, between the Arians and the Orthodox party. Auxentius, the Archbishop of the city, a violent Arian partisan, had been forced on the people by Constantius in the Council of Milan, which condemned the doctrine of Athanasius. He naturally exerted all his influence, during the twenty years he filled the See, to secure the spread of his own views. His death, in A.D. 374, was the signal for fierce conflict between the two parties. The rival partisans met in the principal church of the city. Ambrose, fearing some evil results from the excited gathering, went to keep the peace. When he rose in the chancel he earnestly admonished the people to lay aside their contentions and proceed in a fitting spirit to the election. He had scarcely finished his address when a little child in the church shouted "Ambrose is bishop."

The excited crowd, who regarded this incident as a miraculous interposition, clamoured for his appointment. The young magistrate's brief stay in Milan had convinced them that he was a man of high and generous feeling as well as of many rare gifts. They anticipated the best results from his election. The clergy were not less eager to secure him as archbishop; hoping thus to find an able man who was a stranger to their past quarrels. So marked was this feeling that even the rival factions joined together and requested the Emperor to urge Ambrose to yield to their wishes.

Ambrose was now in a trying position. His success in civil life was already assured. Though only thirty-four he occupied one of the finest posts in the empire with increasing reputation. He was urged in a moment to forsake all he had won and devote himself to a new life. A catechumen and unbaptized, he was to assume the guidance of a great Archbishopric with the oversight of some twenty bishops, and this at a time when party spirit ran so high that incessant care and trouble seemed inevitable.

It is not surprising that Ambrose sought to escape. He resorted to strange devices to secure this end. He pretended to use torture in the investigations of his court that he might destroy his reputation for clemency and alienate the affections of the people. He even tried to cast a slur upon his own character that he might be counted unworthy of the sacred office. The failure of such attempts—for the people knew him too well to be deceived—left only one course open. He resolved to fly. The night was dark, and he was a comparative stranger in Milan. He therefore lost his way and found himself next morning only just outside the gates of the city. The path of duty seemed clear at last. He was also encouraged by the Emperor's assurance that he would preserve tranquillity in the diocese if Ambrose would become its bishop. He therefore struggled no longer, but was baptized and consecrated at the close of the year 374. He begged that the consecration might be delayed, but the people were eager to bind him to the office and hurried forward all arrangements, so that in eight days he was fully set apart to his work. "The popular impulse," he says, "overbore all pre-

cedent." He gave his property, save what he reserved for his sister during her lifetime, to the poor of the city, and thus began that lifelong career of benevolence which endeared him to all the population of Milan. This helped to win friends, whose hearty sympathy and constant watchfulness bore him up amid many of the perils of later days. Dean Milman says that "the Old and New Testament met in the person of Ambrose." His opposition to paganism and his devotion to the interests of humanity were illustrated by every page of his history.

Ambrose at once began to study theology under the guidance of a Roman presbyter, in order that he might be able to preserve the purity of the Church's doctrine, and unfold the truths she taught. This presbyter—Simplicianus—who afterwards helped Augustine into the light, was a man of great learning and wide experience, who was elected archbishop after the death of his pupil. Ambrose was too energetic to suffer an opportunity like that now before him to remain unimproved. Happily, he was not altogether without preparation. His mother's piety and his sister's consecration to the church had brought him into close contact with the ecclesiastics of the time. He had already been a close student of theological works. His acquaintance with Greek also proved of the highest service. The fact that he wrote some theological treatise or other almost every year of his life, notwithstanding the manifold troubles and labours of his busy career, shows how zealously he strove for the advancement of truth in his diocese. He himself decribes the incessant labours of this period of his life: "Hurried as I was from the seat of judgment and the head-dress of a magistrate to the priesthood, I began to teach you what I had not myself learned. Therefore it was that I began to teach before I began to learn; and have had to learn and to teach at the same time because I had not leisure to learn before."

Ambrose at once became the counsellor of the Emperor. He embraced an early opportunity to present a petition against some abuses of the magistrates. Valentinian I. met him in a spirit as noble as his own. When an archbishop was to be chosen, the Emperor told the electors: "Let him be

such a man as I myself may be able to submit to, receiving the reproofs he may administer (for I am a man, and must needs often offend) as a salutary medicine." His reply to the petition Ambrose now presented showed in what spirit he was prepared to receive such reproof. "I knew," he said, "how bold you were, and with that knowledge I not only did not oppose your election, but voted in your favour. Apply now, as the Divine law enjoins, proper remedies to the failings of our souls." This episode does credit both to the Emperor and the Archbishop. In such hands the highest interests of the people were safe; the civil and the spiritual power were united in one common object—to secure the purity and prosperity of the empire.

Ambrose had now fully entered on his new dignities. His history, like that of the broken Spanish soldier, whom all the world knows as Ignatius Loyola, is a splendid example of the success of occasional innovations on the established order. The Church of Northern Italy had chosen a layman for her most prominent post, with the best results. A man of boundless energy, trained in the scenes of public life, presided over the Church. His extensive knowledge of men and of affairs fitted him for the arduous task before him as no years of theological study could have done. The reason why the influence of Ambrose grew stronger every year, while Chrysostom, worsted in the struggle with evil principles and habits, died in exile, is largely found in the fact that Ambrose was prepared for his labour by experience of active political life, while years of hermit-like seclusion had engendered in Chrysostom much of the spirit of the monk.

Perhaps the greatest service the Archbishop rendered to the Church was the stout and successful opposition which he offered to the reintroduction of Arianism into Milan. Ten years after his appointment the Empress Justina, "a woman of beauty and spirit," who exercised most of the functions of Government for her son, Valentinian II.—a boy of fourteen years old—demanded possession of one of the churches in the city in order to celebrate Arian worship there. Justina was already incensed against Ambrose because his influence had secured the appointment of an orthodox bishop at Sirmium in

Illyria, where the Empress had been living. She strove with all her power to obtain the election of the Arian candidate, but her plans were disconcerted by the arrival of Ambrose in person. The displeasure which she already cherished against him, because he had won back to orthodoxy the whole population of Milan, whom his predecessor had almost converted to Arianism, was rendered more intense by her discomfiture in Illyria.

Justina now demanded one of the churches for herself and some Gothic soldiers in her service. All ecclesiastical law forbade compliance with her request. The Church Councils had declared against Arianism. Justina's success would have exposed a great city once more to the insidious mischief, and would have rekindled all the fires of discord.

When Ambrose refused, the Court tried other means. They seized one of the churches by force, and began to prepare it for the visit of the Empress and her son at Easter. The curtains which showed that it was claimed by the Imperial treasury, were actually hung outside. The temper the people displayed gave them, however, much trouble. They had persuaded themselves that they only had to deal with one man; but they found the whole city on the verge of rebellion. The authorities at last humbled themselves so far as to beg Ambrose himself to quiet the people. So high had popular indignation risen, that the Arian ecclesiastics were in danger as they passed through the streets of Milan. Ambrose himself was compelled to interpose and rescue one of them from the enraged multitude. The Empress took advantage of this disturbance to seize some of the leading men of the city. They were thrown into prison and a fine of two hundred pounds weight of gold was levied. When Ambrose was urged to yield he replied, "If you demand my patrimony, seize it, if my person, I am ready to submit; carry me to prison or to death, I am willing; but I will never betray the Church of Christ. I will not call upon the people to succour me; nor try to save my life by clinging to the altar, but gladly will I die for the altar." The Empress ordered her Gothic troops to occupy the church. Their fierce and unscrupulous character caused the gravest apprehension. Ambrose now feared lest a great

massacre should begin, and the whole city be plunged into mourning. He calmly went to meet the barbarians. He told them that he had been requested to appease the people, and had replied that it was within his power to refrain from anything that might excite them, but God only could still the tempest. His bold bearing subdued even the Goths, so that they went away without having accomplished the object for which they had been sent.

That night Ambrose remained in his own house, ready to yield himself up if the Court wished to send him out of the city. In the early morning he returned to the church, which was now surrounded by soldiers. When, however, they heard that Ambrose was speaking about them, they rushed into the church, saying they had not come to fight but to pray. The leader sustained the courage of his faithful friends by many words of comfort. Ascending the pulpit, he spoke on the temptation of Job. The conduct of the patriarch's wife prompted some harsh reflections. "The hardest temptations," said the preacher, "are those which come through women. Adam fell through Eve, Jezebel persecuted Elijah, Herodias caused the death of John the Baptist." Whilst he spoke he was informed that the curtains had been taken down from the basilica, and that it was filled with people who clamoured for their bishop. There were now signs of victory. A notary sent from the palace charged him with tyranny. Ambrose replied in his usual happy style: "I have arms but only in the name of Christ; I have the power of offering up my body. . . . . We have indeed our tyranny. The tyranny of the priesthood is weakness. 'When I am weak, then am I strong.'"

The whole of that day was spent in the church. When night fell Ambrose was unable to return home, because the soldiers surrounded the building. He therefore spent the night in the smaller basilica, singing hymns with the brethren. Next day, whilst he was speaking on the appointed lesson from the Book of Jonah, the soldiers were withdrawn from the basilica, and the prisoners released. Great was the rejoicing both among the people and the soldiers. The Emperor was not far wrong when he said to his guards: "If Ambrose told you, you would

give me up bound." One of the Court officials tried to pose as a champion of the Emperor, but he was no match for Ambrose. He broke out with the question, "Whilst I live, shall you despise Valentinian? I will have your head." The Archbishop quietly replied: "God may allow you to do what you threaten. I will suffer like a bishop; you will act as a eunuch."

This first struggle, from which Ambrose came off with so much success, was at the close of Lent, A.D. 385. Next year the contest was renewed. Justina obtained from her son an edict which gave a legal status to the Arians and forbade any one to oppose them under pain of death. Ambrose was commanded to quit Milan, or to meet the Arian bishop and dispute with him before selected judges. He sent a dignified remonstrance to the Emperor, in which he clearly showed that such a consistory as was suggested had no jurisdiction, and forcibly contrasted the Emperor's conduct with his royal father's. His sermon to the people throws further light on the struggle. When he saw that his faithful friends feared that he might leave the city, he told them that he could not forsake the church. He might be hurried away by force, but he would never leave them of his own free will. "I am able to mourn, I am able to weep, I am able to groan; against weapons, soldiers, Goths—my tears are my weapons; these are the defence of a priest." During the long vigils of this second contest for the churches Ambrose introduced antiphonal chanting. Hitherto the psalmody in the West had been left to the choir. Following an example set at Antioch on a similar occasion, Ambrose now divided the whole congregation into two parts, and thus during the long hours of that strange siege, whilst the soldiers stood without the church, the faithful within chanted in alternating response the inspiring words of the Psalmist. Some of the bishop's hymns—vigorous statements of the Trinitarian doctrine—were composed and sung during these hours of watching. Monica was there—one of the most prayerful and devoted of the Archbishop's friends. Her son Augustine, though not yet at rest, was no unconcerned spectator of that prolonged controversy which convulsed Milan.

At last the victory of Ambrose and his friends was com-

plete. He had refused to leave the city unless he were taken away by force. From that the enthusiasm of the people saved him. The Empress had no adherents save her own servants, the Arians of Milan and some of the soldiers. Many of the soldiers themselves were devoted adherents of Ambrose. The struggle was brought to an end by the intervention of Theodosius, Emperor of the East, and Maximus, the Emperor of Gaul. Theodosius was himself an orthodox Christian who had enthroned Gregory Nazianzen as Archbishop of Constantinople despite the overwhelming influence of Arianism in the Eastern capital. Maximus cared little for the point at issue, but was not unwilling to take up a position which might prepare the way for the extension of his empire over Italy. Ambrose was thus left in peace. The death of Justina in the following year delivered him from his boldest and most determined enemy. Her influence was short-lived. Her son Valentinian II., trained in the strictest Arian tenets, embraced orthodoxy and became the close friend of the prelate whom his mother tried to overthrow by every act in her power.

About the time of this second struggle with Justina, Ambrose was asked to consecrate a new church in the city. The intense veneration for martyrs in the early Church made the people of Milan mourn over the dearth of holy relics in their city. Ambrose, who wished to add to the sanctity of the new building, felt a foreboding of some great event. Augustine, then in Milan, says that the bishop was led by a dream to search before the chancel of one of the churches. There two skeletons were found with a large quantity of blood. The enthusiasm in the city became intense. One man is said to have received his sight by rubbing his eyes with a handkerchief that had touched the bier on which the relics lay. Other cures are mentioned, but this was the most striking, and for this both Ambrose and Augustine vouch. Pious fraud as well as extreme credulity was not rare in the fourth century, and Isaac Taylor, in his *Ancient Christianity*, makes a strong case against Ambrose. The discovery came at the very moment when it was needed, and the Archbishop presided over every stage of it himself. We cannot say that he was not guilty of deceit, but no one who knows his writings or studies his

character will readily entertain a charge which is rebutted by every other page of his life. Augustine believed in the miracle, and we who recognize the justice of the Rev. Llewellyn Davies' words, that the most marked feature of the Archbishop's life was "a singular and unsullied purity of character," venture to hope that there is nothing more in this episode than another illustration of the credulity and unscientific spirit of the time.

The Church has had some representatives in high places who have been willing to ignore the vices of the great lest they should undermine their own influence. Ambrose, by one of the grandest acts of moral discipline on record, had the opportunity of proving that he was of a loftier spirit. Theodosius, "whose power and virtue were celebrated in all the countries of the West," one of the noblest emperors that ever wore the purple, was the firm friend of Ambrose. He had borne in good part his repulse from the seats beside the altar in the Church of Milan, which Ambrose told him were reserved for the clergy, and had modified the practice of the Eastern Church to bring it into harmony with that of Milan. He felt that the Archbishop of Milan towered above all prelates of his time. "I have known no bishop save Ambrose" was the verdict of Theodosius.

One great weakness—a passionate temper, that sometimes broke out beyond control—was the blot on the character of this great emperor. He constantly sought to maintain the mastery over himself; but as Gibbon says, "The painful virtue which claims the merit of victory is exposed to the danger of defeat, and the reign of a wise and merciful prince was polluted by an act of cruelty which would stain the annals of Nero or Domitian." This tragic event happened in Thessalonica. Botheric, the general of the strong garrison of Imperial troops stationed there, had imprisoned the favourite charioteer of the city for a brutal crime. The day of the public games found him in prison. Unwilling to lose their accustomed pleasure, the people clamoured for his release. The garrison had been much reduced, so that the people were not kept in check by fear, and when Botheric refused to yield he and several of his leading officers were murdered by the mob. Theodosius was then residing at Milan. Three years before, in 387, when he

had pardoned the gross insult offered to his family by the rioters of Antioch, who broke their statues and dragged them about the streets, he said, "If the exercise of justice is the most important duty, the indulgence of mercy is the most exquisite pleasure of a sovereign." It had been well had he acted upon that principle in reference to Thessalonica. Ambrose, indeed, persuaded him to forgive the outrage, but the Emperor's anger was rekindled by the representations of one of his ministers, and he issued orders for a signal deed of vengeance. The leading citizens of Thessalonica were invited to the theatre, the place surrounded by troops, and from seven to fifteen thousand persons were slain in cold blood. Theodosius tried to stop the terrible mandate, but before his letter reached Thessalonica the ghastly deed was done.

A thrill of horror ran through the empire. The emperor was absent from Milan at the time. When he returned Ambrose retired to the country, unwilling to meet his old friend. Thence he wrote a letter calling upon Theodosius to repent of his terrible crime. Any one who will read the letter in the Benedictine edition, or in the translation of the Archbishop's letters given in Pusey's Library of the Fathers, will find that in every sentence love and respect for the Emperor struggle with the lofty sense of duty which forbade Ambrose to condone the crime. He is faithful but never harsh. After citing various instances from the Old Testament, such as the penitence of David and of Job, he adds: "I have not written these things to overwhelm you, but that as the examples of these kings teach, you may remove this sin from your kingdom, may remove it by humbling your soul before God. You are a man. Temptation has overtaken you. Conquer it. Sin is not to be removed except by repentance and tears. Neither angel nor archangel can forgive sin; and the Lord Himself, who alone could say 'I am with you,' only forgives the sin of those who repent."

Ambrose is said to have repelled Theodosius from the church when he would have entered. For eight months the Emperor's pride forbade him to submit, but at Christmas, in the garb of a suppliant, he sought readmission to the church. The prelate, however, would not receive the Emperor into fellow-

ship until he had guarded against the repetition of so dire a calamity, by a law, which forbade the execution of capital punishment to be carried into effect until thirty days after sentence had been pronounced. The Emperor's penitence was abiding. Ambrose bears witness that Theodosius never spent a day without sorrowful remembrance of this dark deed of cruelty.

The appointment of Ambrose to the Archbishopric of Milan led to some notable improvements in the churches of Western Christendom. He was essentially a man of practical gifts, who saw what the world claimed from the Church, and set himself vigorously to meet the demand. Before his time, the Italian bishops scarcely ever preached. Ambrose introduced the custom of preaching every Sunday, and made the sermon a power in the religious life of the time. His own stirring addresses—crisp, practical, full of home-thrusts, and rich in Biblical illustration—drew crowds of listeners, and secured the highest results.

The fact that his only sister was one of the consecrated virgins of the Church brought Ambrose in early life under influences which affected all his career. He did not disapprove of marriage, but he believed that celibacy was better for the Church. Few might be able to remain unmarried, but he considered that those who did chose the better part. Such was the eloquence and power of his addresses when the young ladies of the north of Italy were about to receive the veil, that they came from all the cities around, and even from the north of Africa to take the vows. The mothers of Milan would not allow their daughters to be present at these services lest they should catch the contagion of his eloquence and devote themselves to this life.

His voluminous theological works furnish another proof of the Archbishop's untiring labours. They are not conspicuous for originality, being largely expositions and reproductions of Origen and the Greek Fathers; but they were undertaken with the noble purpose of defending and propagating the Christian faith, and were well adapted to that end. His style is distinguished by what Milman calls "masculine strength." It is profuse in illustration; full of well-turned sentences

and striking phrases. His catechumens profited largely by his excellent use of Bible history for instruction and awakening. For his clergy he prepared a course of addresses *On Duties*, modelled after Cicero's *De Officiis*, which dealt with the great questions of a minister's work, and aimed at awakening the clergy to a more efficient discharge of their duties. His letters and the funeral orations which he preached for Valentinian II. and Theodosius are the most valuable of his prose writings. No historian can overlook these. They furnish the finest picture of his life and times that we possess.

Ambrose is best known to later generations by the part it was his honour to take in the conversion of St. Augustine, and the improvements he introduced into the musical services of the Church. We have seen how he sustained the enthusiasm of the multitude that thronged the basilica in Milan during his struggle with Arianism. The chanting of the Psalter, then introduced, quickly spread through the West, and still influences our services. Like Arius, the Bishop was also a writer of hymns. He felt that immense influence would be gained if the common people were thus familiarized with orthodox views in popular form. With this end in view he became a hymn-writer. His verses are pre-eminently theological, often sacrificing beauty to condensed expression of truth. Many proofs of their wide influence might be given. In a letter to his sister, he speaks of the marked success of his hymns in recovering the people from heresy to the true faith. They were sung in the streets as well as in the churches, at work as well as at worship. Celestine, the friend of Augustine, replied to the Nestorians by quotations from them. They found their way to Spain, and our own monk of Jarrow, the venerable Bede, bears witness to their influence in his age and country. Augustine adds his testimony in the *Confessions*: "How greatly did I weep in thy hymns and canticles, deeply moved by the voices of thy sweet-speaking Church. The voices flowed into mine ears, and the truth was poured forth into my heart, whence the agitation of my piety overflowed, and my tears ran over and blessed was I therein."

More than eighty hymns or poems have been ascribed to

Ambrose. It is exceedingly difficult to ascertain which of them were really written by him. His hymns, however, form an era. They were extensively introduced into the various liturgies of the Western Church, and stirred up many to follow in his steps. The Benedictine editors admit twelve hymns as genuine productions of the Archbishop for which they are able to give strong evidence. An exact rendering of two of the shortest may show their general style. They are all written in eight-syllable metre—grand in its unadorned simplicity:—

"O blessed Trinity of light,
In essence still but one,
The fiery sun speeds from our sight,
Come lighten all thine own.

"Thee early in the morning
In songs of praise we'll sing,
Thee in the evening pray we
Thee through all ages hymn."

The word Giant in the next hymn is a favourite expression of Ambrose drawn from Genesis vi. 4, to denote the twofold nature of Christ whom he calls in another hymn "The Giant of Two Natures:"—

"In Christ the door is opened
Heaven full of grace is seen,
The king sweeps through and straightway
'Tis closed as it had been.

"The Offspring of heaven's glory
Springs from a Virgin birth,
Founder, Redeemer, Surety
And Giant of His church.

"Thy mother's joy and glory,
Thy people's endless trust,
Death's bitter cup thou drinkedst,
Our sins lie in the dust."

St. Augustine furnishes one of the most striking contemporary testimonies to the great Archbishop. The young African rhetorician had found his way to Rome, whence he passed on to Milan as public professor of rhetoric. The *Confessions* describe the early impression produced on the stranger:

"To Milan I came, unto Ambrose the bishop, known to the whole world as among the best of men, Thy devout servant. . . . . To him was I unconsciously led by Thee, that by him I might be consciously led to Thee." Augustine already knew the fame of Ambrose and "studiously hearkened to him preaching to the people" that he might try whether his eloquence "came up to the fame thereof." He was in Milan at the time of the struggle with Justina, and felt himself strangely moved by the ardour of popular devotion, and by the strong faith and firm purpose of the great leader. "The pious people kept guard in the church, prepared to die with their bishop, Thy servant. There my mother, Thy handmaid, bearing a chief part of those cares and watchings, lived in prayer. We, still unmelted by the heat of Thy spirit, were yet moved by the astonished and disturbed city." The words of Ambrose soon became a power with this new attendant on his ministry. "Whilst I opened my heart to admit 'how skilfully he spake,' there also entered with it, but gradually, 'and how truly he spake.'" The light was dawning on the troubled soul. Gracious impressions deepened, till at last Ambrose had the joy of baptizing that convert, whose influence was to live through all ages as a leader of Christian thought.

The *Confessions* give us some pleasant glimpses of Ambrose and his work. The prelate's high regard for Monica, who loved him as an angel of God on account of his influence on her son; the crowds of busy people to whose infirmities he ministered; the brief moments of reading snatched from such cares, which Augustine feared to intrude upon, though he often came and sat long in silence waiting for an opportunity —all these are seen in the pages of his convert's story.

Such were some of the abiding influences of the ministry of Ambrose. The end found him the foremost leader of the Western Church, distinguished above all ecclesiastics of the time for intrepid courage—the bulwark of Church and State. God leads His servants in different paths. Chrysostom, persecuted to the end, died amongst strangers, breathing his last breath in the arms of enemies. Ambrose went home in honour, secure in his high position; mourned by the Court as well as

by the city. Theodosius died in January, 395. Two years later—on Good Friday, 397—Ambrose entered into rest. His loss was felt as a national calamity. Stilicho, the Imperial lieutenant, on whom the extreme youth of Theodosius' son entailed a heavy burden, felt that the Archbishop's death foreboded the fall of Italy, and sent the worthiest men of Milan, beloved by Ambrose above all others, to beseech him to pray that his own life might be spared. His prayers had been so effectual for others that Stilicho thought God would listen to His servant's petitions for himself and spare him a little longer to the Church and the empire. The dying man gave the messengers an answer worthy of his blameless life and strong confidence in God. "I have not lived so many years to be ashamed to live longer; but neither do I fear death, for we have a good Lord." His parting hours were filled with unutterable peace. In the quiet of his chamber he seemed to see Christ before him, smiling graciously upon His servant. He lay quietly with his hands crossed upon his bosom, his lips moving in silent prayer, till at length he passed quietly to his rest.

The great archbishop was buried in one of the churches of Milan, among the people he had loved and served so well. Jews and heathen, against whom he had been a stout, sometimes even a bigoted, champion, joined in the universal tribute of respect paid at his burial, and the multitude of miracles said to have been wrought after his death, show how large a place he filled in the religious reverence of his time.

The influence which Ambrose exercised on the Roman emperors can scarcely be exaggerated. Valentinian I. was his friend—prompt to join him in all measures for the good of the people; his son Gratian perished by the hands of his enemies with the bishop's name upon his lips; Valentinian II., though schooled from infancy in Arian principles, became the friend of Ambrose as soon as his mother—Justina—was dead; Theodosius submitted himself to the reproofs of the great churchman in a spirit that does him abiding honour; even Justina herself—the most obstinate enemy the bishop ever had—was glad to avail herself of his mediation when the usurper Maximus threatened

to march upon Italy. She thus owed the peace of her empire to the hated bishop. Such influence, never used for any purpose save the interests of truth and righteousness, constitutes one of the highest claims that Ambrose has on the honour of all generations.

Nor was his influence on contemporary history less noteworthy. Milan was the "court-capital of the West" in the fourth century. Its schools were so famous as to win it the name of the Athens of the West. No other city of the ancient empire could rival it save Rome. The old capital retained its place as the empire-city of the world, but no one can read the history of the fourth century without seeing that in its last years Milan enjoyed far more of the emperor's presence than Rome itself. Its splendid position at the foot of the Alps and the Apennines made it the watch-tower of civilization, looking out towards the camp of the barbarians who threatened to sweep over Italy. It also formed the meeting-point for the highways from Constantinople, from Gaul, and from Spain. It was thus inevitable that Ambrose should be familiar with all the emperors of his time. He played no small part in the history of that troubled epoch. When Valens sustained his terrible defeat from the Goths at Hadrianople, Ambrose sold even the sacramental vessels to redeem the captives who had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, and thus began the work of the Church for the redemption of the slave. When Maximus slew Gratian and usurped the throne, Ambrose ventured to his court at Trèves as the ambassador of Justina. We find him there again when that usurper was preparing to invade Italy. Twice he fled from Milan when it became the head-quarters of rival claimants of the throne. Maximus and Eugenius both held Court there before they were crushed by Theodosius.

Ambrose was also the most active leader of the Church. He was the successful champion of Christianity against the repeated attempts made to induce the emperors to restore the altar and revenues of Paganism in Rome. In one respect his influence was unfortunate. His commanding position prepared the way for the abuse of hierarchical power. "Everywhere else throughout the Roman world,"

Milman says, "the State and even the Church, bowed at the foot of Theodosius. In Milan alone, in the height of his power, he was confronted by the more commanding mind and religious majesty of Ambrose." The archbishop himself knew the limits of his power, and cannot be accused of any abuse of his position. In him "the culminating point of pure Christian influence" was reached, but the Roman pontiffs of later generations gave the world many a caricature of that sublime act of discipline which banished Theodosius from the temple of God, till he bowed his head in penitence for the outrage he had done to humanity.

Ambrose did not always rise above the prejudices of his time. He constituted himself the champion of the Christian incendiaries who burnt a synagogue near Aquileia, and by his dogged pertinacity he compelled Theodosius to rescind an order that they should rebuild it. Such an attitude all must regret, but we may set over against it his conduct at the Court of Maximus, where he refused to hold any intercourse with the Bishops, who had persuaded that usurper to put Priscillian and some of his followers to death for heresy. We have here his protest against the persecuting spirit which in other generations caused the Church to repeat the atrocious scenes of martyrdom once familiar to pagan Rome. Ambrose incurred the displeasure of Maximus by his conduct, and was ordered at once to leave the city; but he had made it plain to all the world that he at least would hold no fellowship with those who used the sword to maintain the purity of the Church.

Milan still preserves the memory of its greatest archbishop. The Church of St. Ambrose, probably built on the foundation of his own church in the ninth century, is the most precious and venerable ecclesiastical building in the city. It is full of memorials of Ambrose. An ancient portrait of him is seen on a pilaster opposite the great reading-desk, and in the Baptistry is a representation of that event, which links together two of the greatest names of the Church—the baptism of St. Augustine by St. Ambrose.

Other and more precious memorials are not wanting. The late Bishop of Lincoln, in his Journal of *A Tour in Italy*, says

that it seems as if the ancient spirit of religion, such as dwelt at Milan in the days of St. Ambrose, loved to linger here. The great ambons, or reading-desks, at the intersection of the nave and transept of the Cathedral, prove what pains is taken to read the Gospels "in the ears of all the people." Catechetical instruction, as arranged by Cardinal Borromeo, is still given every Sabbath to the children of Milan, and one of the most distinguished members of the Italian Parliament at the time of Dr. Wordsworth's visit told him that, in his judgment, the most favourable place in Italy for making those efforts on behalf of reform which the corruptions of the Roman Catholic Church rendered imperative was the city of Ambrose. The literature, arts, science, commerce, and intelligence of the city; the intelligence and respectability of its clergy compared with those of other parts of Italy; the ancient independence, and the peculiar usages and ritual of its churches—all marked it out, in his eyes, as the place from which the new stream of light should burst forth.

A comparison between the Milanese Calendar and that of Rome will point the contrast between the two churches. The 5th of May, in the Romish Calendar, is the festival of Pius V., who is honoured for "having discharged the duties of an inquisitor with inflexible courage," and having "crushed the enemies of the Church." For such a saint enlightened Christian feeling has neither sympathy nor respect. We turn with a sense of relief to Milan, for on the same day she celebrates "the Conversion of St. Augustine by St. Ambrose."

Art. VI.—AN EX-DIPLOMATIST ON HIS TRAVELS.

1. *A Travers l'Empire Britannique* (1883–4). Par M. le Baron de Hübner, Ancien Ambassadeur, Ancien Ministre. Paris: Hachette. 1886.

2. *Through the British Empire.* By Baron von Hübner, formerly Austrian Ambassador in Paris and Rome. London: John Murray. 1886.

WE are constantly being reminded that our empire is one on which the sun never sets; and yet a good many of us talk as if such an empire was hardly worth the trouble of holding together. A book like Baron von Hübner's is an excellent corrective to such unpatriotic notions. The Baron has no sympathy with that mawkish humanitarianism which shows its tenderness for others' rights by ignoring one's own. He is always temperate in speech, as befits an ex-minister and ambassador. When he has anything strong to say he puts it into the mouth of some presumably well-informed stranger. But, while *m'a-t-on dit* plays a great part in the *aperçus politiques* with which he winds up his several chapters, one sees that his own feeling is often as conservative as Mr. Froude's, though he studiously avoids the personalities to which the author of *Oceana* is so prone. What astonishes him is not so much the extent of our dominions as the small number of those by whom it is upheld. It is everywhere the same. On board the *Nubia*, coasting from East London, the port of King William's Town, to Durban, he hears all about the new factory in Pondoland. "There are sixty of us," says one of the clerks, "and yet we feel quite safe, and manage, after the day's work, to amuse ourselves with amateur theatricals and such like." It is an axiom with the whites in South Africa that the blacks never can combine to cut them off. If they do plan anything, the native servants are sure to give some hint. Besides, the Kaffir is such a braggart "that he is safe to let us know what mischief he intends doing us." He was told that with a firm, light hand you may manage any number of natives. You may punish, too, only you must first convince your culprit that

he deserves to suffer; fail to do this, and you incur his undying resentment. That is the secret of Kaffir and Zulu wars; we did what perhaps was right from our point of view, but what from a native standpoint was unbearable injustice. Of course, in India the disparity in numbers between the rulers and the ruled is even more apparent. The Baron was present at a grand review at Bangalore. Nothing in all his travels made such an impression on him as this wholesale mixture of European and native troops:—

"Here the conquerors are so few as to form a scarcely appreciable percentage; and yet they fearlessly take the conquered into their service, and use them in maintaining order and civilization by keeping up the British rule. Surely it is the boldest conception that ever entered the mind of man. What justifies the system is, first, its long-continued success, rather confirmed than otherwise by the Mutiny, *which was repressed with the help of native troops;** next, the impossibility of doing without it. England has not white troops enough to garrison India; she must either keep up a native army or abandon the country."

We manage India, thinks the Baron, by physical force; but behind this there is our prestige. And here lies the danger; our prestige may be impaired in any part of the world, and the effect will be at once felt in India. Moreover, prestige is based on faith, and faith is sorely tried by freedom of discussion.

Prestige may survive ill-success; it will certainly not survive discussion, unless indeed it continues to be based on a real superiority. The discussions on the Ilbert Bill, the tone of Mr. Cotton's little book, and Mr. W. Scawen Blunt's remarks, come at once to mind as we read Baron von Hübner. From Mr. Blunt he differs *toto cœlo*. For instance, the late Sir Salar Jung is one of Mr. Blunt's heroes; he paints him not only as a successful finance minister (which he certainly was), but also as a patriot struggling to recover for his country a province unjustly withheld by the overmastering power of England. The Baron is told that "Sir Salar never loved us, as his conduct about Berar proves. His one aim was to recover that province." True; but if, as Mr. Blunt asserts, the province, pledged for a debt which the

* Sikhs and Ghoorkas, who had not till 1857 been in the English service.

Nizam was able and anxious to repay, was unjustly withheld, we can understand his pertinacity. It is a question of fact, on which we shall not attempt to decide, following herein the Baron's lead. He simply insists on the contrast between "Berar, quiet, thriving, happy under the English government, and the wretched condition of the Nizam's subjects." In any case, Sir Salar was able to hold his own against the self-seeking nabobs who were anxious to displace him. Not only so, his influence outlived him; and Lord Ripon chose his son, a lad of nineteen, to fill his place. This installation of the Nizam, in his capital of Hyderabad, never before visited by a Viceroy, the Baron rightly takes to have been a very important event. The grandeur of the accompanying *fête* astonished him, as it did even the most experienced Anglo-Indians. Visiting Mr. and Mrs. Grant-Duff in the late Sir Salar's Italian villa, with rooms full of copies of Raphaels and Titians, and statues after the antique set here and there in the gardens; noticing, too, at the banquet how the great lords used knives and forks and china plates instead of dipping their fingers into a great metal dish, he remarks:—

"How strange it is that these people, who do not love Europeans, yet imitate them in so many ways. . . . A plain proof that they recognize our superiority and want to raise themselves to our level. And yet you English, who may well be thankful that this recognition exists, are always, in schools and colleges, dinning into their ears the worn-out fallacy about Equality. They now feel that it is a fallacy; but how if by-and-by you succeed in persuading them that it is a truth?"

He is not at all satisfied with our system of education: "its fruits are the scurrilous newspaper that lives by extorting hush-money from rich natives, and the Baboo whose aim is to make himself a lawyer and grow rich on the disputes of his fellows." Macaulay thought the native press did more good than harm; the Baron thinks otherwise, but he admits the impossibility of taking a step backward. His own sympathies are with *le bon temps jadis*, when the axiom *cujus regio ejus religio* was carried out in compulsory conversions; and a visit to Goa is made the text of a discourse on the superiority of the nominally Christianized Goanese to the heathen around them. But the day of compulsion is for ever

gone by; and therefore, as we cannot officially teach the Veddas or the Koran, we are bound to have undenominational schools. But, despite his alarm for the future, his picture of present results is very brilliant—*pax Britannica* instead of perpetual civil wars; moderate taxes instead of the ruinous exactions of native princes; justice even-handed and incorrupt instead of the old violence and venality; no Thugs, Pindarees, or other marauders; cruel customs repressed and yet thorough freedom in all that does not outrage humanity; even famines mitigated by facilities for transporting food. It is a slightly rose-coloured sketch. We might cavil, for instance, at the Law Courts, where, though the English judge is incorruptible, corruption is still so rife; we might urge that, under the English Land-laws, the ryot suffers and the money-lender thrives to a degree unknown under the old system, which never allowed the land to be alienated for debt. But, in the main, the Baron is right. The grand thing is for us to develop along with the development of our Indian fellow-subjects; not in mushroom growths called forth by the catch-words of European democracy, but soundly. The attempt to weld all the divers peoples of Hindostan into one nation is a dangerous one, because for a long time the resemblance can be only superficial. That we shall grow as well as those whom we are educating, is recognized by the more intelligent of those subjects. Many of them are content with our *raj*, because, if we went, chaos would follow; but some at least feel like that Hindoo who met his fellow's argument: "Before long we shall be as clever as the English, and then we can do without them," with the reply: "You are wrong. The English will be getting wiser too. You speak as if, because my brother is two years older than I am, therefore in two years I shall have given him the go-by." So long as England grows too, the growth of Indian ideas can only be a danger to her in the event of a European crisis; and such a crisis means an organized attack on the part of Russia. This danger the Baron thinks very remote. Russia is bound to extend her empire just as we cannot help extending ours; but very few Russians have any desire to provoke a collision. He smiles at the idea of "Herat" (which we have handed over to the Emir) "being the key of India." Were it so, the Anglo-

Indian Empire would indeed be built on the sand. "The incident of Pendjeh," he says in his Appendix, "has led England to think much less of Herat, and to look to the Hellmund and to that Candahar, which she so foolishly abandoned, as her true base of operations." On one point Baron von Hübner's testimony is specially pleasing. What struck him more even than the material prosperity of British India was the bearing of the natives towards their English masters :

"They show none of that abject cringing which, in other Eastern countries, so shocks the new comer. The relations between the civil and military officers and the people are just what they should be. The proof of this is that, all over India, the native prefers an English magistrate to one of his own race; and a more flattering testimony to the British *raj* it would be impossible to find. And this vast empire has thriven through the fearlessness and wisdom of a few statesmen; through the bravery and discipline of an army made up of a very few English and a great many natives and officered by heroes; lastly, and mainly, through the self-devotion, the intelligent courage, the perseverance, the ability and incorruptible integrity of the handful of civil servants who manage it."

Such praise, from one whose long experience of public service gives him the right to speak, may well make us all glad that at last the Baron was enabled to carry out his life-long wish of seeing India. His having done so accounts for these volumes. He had been round the world before; some of us have perhaps read the *Promenade*, describing his former journey. But he had not seen India, and India was to him what the tropical vegetation of America was to Canon Kingsley; and his chapters on it have the same title to be called "At Last," as has the Canon's glowing description of his West Indian trip. His account of how he came to set off is amusing. In his *Promenade* he had said he should visit India; and every time he passed his bookcase, and saw the handsomely bound volumes containing that work, and the various translations that have been made of it, he felt a pang of conscience.

"I banished the books into an out-of-the-way corner [says he]; but one day chance took me there; the sight of them recalled my old longing. I went to my doctor; he said that I was as sound as a roach, and that travelling was good for old men if they take care of themselves. 'Donc, partons pour l'Inde, cet Inde que j'ai rêvé des mon enfance.' But I won't go by that commonplace Suez Canal; I'll double the Cape; I'll

stop there; and, then taking Canada on my way home, I shall have seen pretty nearly the whole of the British Empire."

At Vienna his friends—the ladies especially—looked askance at the project; but he persisted, and came to London to get credentials from Lords Derby and Kimberley. "I hear that at the Travellers' Club they say of me: 'What a plucky old fellow he is!' If any mischance comes to me they will say: 'What an old fool he was!'" Landing at Cape Town, he was delighted to find one colonial capital without those broad streets at right angles, and tall houses all exactly like one another, which Greater England is everywhere borrowing from America. Things are not quite as the Dutch left them. The canal, shaded with oaks brought from the mother country, which ran through the chief street, is filled up; but there are many old Dutch houses; and, unlike the English, the Dutch merchants live in the town, and also continue to live there after they have retired. This gives the Dutch element an importance in Cape politics beyond its numerical value. They are a settled population. The English are birds of passage. Dutch families, too, are in general much more numerous than English—ten children being the average; and even at the Cape the Dutchman is at heart a Boer. He looks on this giving votes to the blacks, suppressing forced labour, making all men equal before the law, as nineteenth-century fads. He is sure, above all, that the plan of paying the Kaffirs with muskets will end in disaster. "We never allowed them to carry arms," says he. "Now, when there is any public work to be done, the temptation, 'You'll be able to save your wages and buy a gun,' is used to attract the black fellows." On the whole, South Africa seemed to our traveller in an unsatisfactory state; the title, "sick man," he thinks, is just as applicable to it as to the Turkish empire. There have been too many changes, and government must always be a hard task where there is a vast frontier open to the incursions of savages whose kinsmen in most of the colonies greatly outnumber the whites. The Transvaal business, too, made it still more difficult. Two-thirds of the whites at the Cape are Dutch; hence, if a national spirit is so far roused as to drive them into politics, the English will be swamped. Mr. Froude forgot this (says

the Baron) when he went about speechifying on the advantages to the Dutch of federation, of which he constituted himself the prophet. They listened, and were converted to federation; but not of the kind that Mr. Froude meant. Another difficulty is the black vote—not that the blacks are ever likely to take the initiative—but they are made use of by whites who want them as labourers; and thus, instead of paternal care, they have nothing but this sham of political equality, which enables their oppressors, by means of their own vote, to defeat the Governor's measures for their protection. "The best thing that could happen to the Cape" (thinks the Baron) "would be to do what Jamaica has done—become once more a Crown Colony."

Other evils are—intervention in neighbouring savage States, necessitating military help from home, and frequent change of Governors. "Hence action is paralyzed among public men; everybody seems groping in uncertainty, with no fixed central thought to look to for guidance. England must elect either to consolidate what she has, or to push on without limit, making South Africa (except the colonies of other European nations) another India; or to give it all up except a coaling station at the Cape or elsewhere."

This last plan, he thinks, would bring inevitable disaster. The Dutch would try to found another Transvaal, the English settlers would resist, there would be war; and discord among the whites would give the blacks the upper hand. Between the other two plans, it is simply a question of preference. "Do you like to go ahead? You need not; but, if you once begin, you can no more leave off than Russia can in Central Asia." One thing he insists on—the blacks ought not to be placed under the local governments. In Africa, as elsewhere, the rule holds good which is laid down in the Report of the 1884 Commission on the Western Pacific, that colonial legislatures can never deal impartially between white and coloured populations. "Let the white communities govern themselves; but don't allow them to govern the blacks." In his Appendix he notes the recent annexation of Pondoland (to get the start of the Germans), and the Bechuana expedition (forced on us by the necessity of keeping open our only line of communi-

cation with the interior). We shall end, he thinks, by carrying out Sir Bartle Frere's programme and annexing Kaffraria, Basutoland, and Zululand and the territory between the Transvaal and Delagoa Bay. The difficulty is when to act; for the information sent to the Colonial Office is sure to be coloured by the feelings of the senders. The disagreement between Sir Hercules Robinson, who though High Commissioner for Africa was also Governor of the Cape, and Sir C. Warren, the Special Commissioner for Bechuanaland, unpleasantly proved how hard it is to work the colonial machine.

"Bechuanaland was a dangerous chaos—tribe fighting tribe, the chiefs giving grants of land to white allies; and Sir C. Warren was sent to put things right. He did just what Sir H. Robinson had undertaken to do, two years earlier, but had by the Home Government been forbidden to attempt. Now, however, Sir Hercules, as Governor, thought he had to support the Colonial party who dream of an African Australia reaching up to the Zambesi, against the Imperialists who would prefer a second India. Hence he took the extreme and impolitic step of annulling all Sir C. Warren's arrangements; and the Home Government acquiesced in his so doing."

That is the Baron's sketch of our latest African trouble; and he looks on it as a matter full of unpleasant augury for the future. He saw a good deal of the country, crossing the Drakenstein through Baines' Kloof; and visiting busy Port Elizabeth, where he found the English element predominant, and where he was struck with the fresh grass plats round the houses in Upper Town and with the fine Botanic Garden—both due to the abundant water brought in from thirty miles off. Thence, through what seemed a continuous ostrich farm, to Graham's Town, which, with its public buildings and fine churches and chapels, "looked most ecclesiastical;" indeed, when he was there introduced to a gathering of Anglican bishops and clergy, he began to ask himself: "Am I really in Africa?" At King William's Town Hospital he found them training some young Kaffirs for infirmary work: "I hope for the patients' sakes they won't be allowed to practise as surgeons." He has very little faith in the intellectual development of the natives. "Of their character the magistrates who live among them generally speak well; the merchants and farmers hate them right cordially." At

Durban England seemed to be forgotten; "everybody talking about coolies and Kaffirs and sugar-cane and ostriches. They are very loyal; but distance draws a veil between them and the mother land."

Unable to get direct to India the Baron went from Cape Town to Melbourne and thence to Bluffs, near Invercargill, in the far south of New Zealand.

"It is the loneliest voyage on the whole globe;" and he seems to have found it a dull one, scarcely enlivened by the diatribes of a Presbyterian missionary who gave him his book: *Christian Missions to Wrong Places among Wrong Races and in Wrong Hands*, and argued that since all "natives," except the African blacks, the Hindoos, and the yellow race, are dying out, it is a grand mistake to waste money and effort in trying to convert any others.

In Southern New Zealand he was struck with the Arctic appearance of the landscape. In October, round Lake Wakatipo-u, the snow on the mountains came quite down to the steppe of tussock grass at their feet. "A bare country, with none of those luxuriant valleys which add the charm of contrast to Alpine scenery." The people everywhere seemed well-to-do, and the dignity of labour was so thoroughly understood, that he found "croppers," * if well-behaved and educated, were admitted after their day's work to the best tables in the land. In Christchurch, which reminded him of an English cathedral city, Sunday was so well-kept that after service began he had the streets to himself. He was charmed with Wellington Bay, and with the *dolce far niente* of Nelson, which chosen home of retired *employés* he nicknamed *Pensionopolis*. Kawhia, in the King country, is (he says) the port of the future, being 600 miles nearer Sydney than Auckland. "This means the opening of the King country, despite treaties, for which the landsharks and other speculators care very little." Of course he saw the hot lakes, staying at Wairoa "in a pretty little hotel which would be an ornament

* A cropper hires for two years, at a low rent from a squatter, a bit of waste land, undertaking to clear it and grow wheat on it. After this it is ready for English grass. To succeed, a cropper must work hard with his own hands, beginning of course with capital enough to keep a plough-horse or two.

to the Isle of Wight. Except one or two missionaries, the innkeeper is the only European in the country. He began life as a shepherd, and his wife kept pigs at Auckland, and then took a nurse's place, educating herself as she went on. Everything about her house is neat and well-managed." At Wairoa he saw the working of that undenominational system, under which he was told "the name of God is never mentioned." Just as school was over, a child ran up, and impudently asked for money. Getting none, he shouted out, "God d—n you!" and ran off. Our land-hunger has been (he says) the greatest hindrance to Christianity. "You bid us fix our eyes on Heaven," said a Maori chief; "and while we are doing so, you steal our lands." "The Maoris, however, are going like the tussock grass, and the Ti tree, and the native fly. The remnant is sadly demoralized by rowdy European visitors, who bribe them with strong drink to go through their unedifying dances." Of King Tawhao, our visitor two years ago, the report he received was very unfavourable. He thus sums up the case:—"The white man has nothing now to fear from the Maori; the Maori never had anything to hope for from the white man. The Maori question is done with." The missionaries, he thinks, are less sanguine than they were before the spread of Hauhauism. "The Wesleyans were first in the field; but just now they are concentrating all their efforts on the Oceanic archipelago, and send few new men among the Maoris. The Catholic bishop of Auckland has several flourishing little missions, but regrets the fewness of available priests. Still we must not say that nothing has been done when we remember that up to 1840 cannibalism was universal." The land question has far more interest for Baron von Hübner than the condition and prospects of the natives. About eleven hundred squatters own some eleven millions of acres, bought of the State, at a nominal price, with money borrowed from England. Those men can always secure a parliamentary majority, and so keep the Government in their hands. True, the Governor names the members of the Legislative Council (Upper House), but he does so in concert with the Ministers who are either squatters themselves or squatter's friends. They were powerful enough to get rail-

roads made which increased the value of their lands tenfold, and yet to escape paying their fair share of the cost. Jobbery, too, is rampant; when a Railway Bill is to be brought in, Ministers' friends get a hint, and thus are able to buy up the land which the new line will at once make valuable. No wonder there is much grumbling among the smaller men and the new comers. Sir G. Grey hopes to enforce sales by a progressive land tax; the Radical party goes much further, and would make the State sole proprietor. It is curious to find how soon questions which in the old world have taken centuries to ripen are, at the antipodes, already being pushed forward. In New South Wales it is war to the knife between squatters and free selectors, and the impending changes in the land laws will favour the purchase of small lots. Unhappily the selector is not always a *bonâ fide* buyer, and often manages to do a thriving trade at the cost of both big and little farmer. Of federation we read: "Against it there is the refusal of New Zealand to become a dependency of Australia, and the certainty that things are not ripe for it in the sense in which the Chamberlain school demands it. In its favour there is the growing feeling that we cannot give up our colonies. The idea is certainly popular in Australia, for the Australians are loyal; but they will have to be humoured, account being taken of the influence of the Radical party. They are spoiled children; and, if the mother country goes on spoiling them, all will be well." Of the New Guinea difficulty the Baron says very little. "The annexation fever is kept up by land speculators; the idea of anybody being seriously afraid of escaped convicts from New Caledonia is simply laughable." In Melbourne every one was convinced that Victoria is the best country in the world, and by discouraging emigration the working classes were determined to keep it so. At Sydney there was just such a meeting as that which in London resulted in the wreckage of clubs and shops. There everything passed off quite quietly. In Queensland everybody said the reports of cruelty to the aborigines have been greatly exaggerated. "But go they must," is the universal opinion. "No one has time to be philanthropic. If it is God's will to rid us of them, so much the better. Trying to civilize them is no use." And

yet the Baron notes that the extraordinary development of their language seems to point to these poor creatures having sunk from a higher level.

From Brisbane our traveller made for Batavia, where the strictest authority over the natives is combined with a *sans-gêne* in dress which is necessitated by the enervating climate. As we follow him, by-and-by, through India, we cannot help thinking that this sojourn in Java prejudiced him against our freer system. From Java he crossed to Singapore and thence to Ceylon, where the natives grumble against the taxation—"lighter than that of their native princes, but inflexible in its rigidity"—as Irish tenants may be expected to grumble when they have exchanged their landlords for the English Government. On the way to Hyderabad he visited the gorgeously sculptured temples of Conjeveram, the position of which is so unhealthy that a native is appointed as collector. Here he had an interesting talk with the collector (a Sudra) and a Brahmin priest. "Do you believe in Vishnu?" asked the Baron. "No," replied the priest; "I lost my faith while learning English in the college at Madras." "What do you believe, then?" "I think there is probably a God who elsewhere will reward me according to my deserts. I dare not breathe a word about this for fear of losing caste, so I go through my duties at the temple. The Brahmins who have not been to college, are all believers; they make idols, and then worship them in sincerity." It seemed strange to hear this man talk thus before a brother priest who didn't know a word of English, and before the collector, who would take care to keep to himself all he heard—strange, and certainly unsatisfactory. In Bombay the Baron asked a young Mahometan, who had spent some years in Europe, "Do you believe that Mahomet was God's prophet?" "Why not? What he taught was the symbol of philosophic truth." They went on talking about idols, and the Mahometan said: "A Brahmin who has been in an English school must feel that idols are only symbols of philosophic truth." "You are fond of that phrase; now what do you mean by it?" The youth looked sad and said nothing.

Here again we see the danger of leaving a void in the heart.

"You must fill up with new convictions, or the man will catch at the first empty formula that he comes across." Salsette, Mount Aboo and its temples, Jodhpore and its Maharaja, Jeypore and the Khyber Pass, Umritsir, Delhi, the Baron sees them all *en prince*. At Jodhpore, for instance, the Maharaja sends to meet him a richly caparisoned elephant, a palanquin, and a big English carriage drawn by four splendid "walers." No wonder he admires Rajistan, and gives it perhaps a little more importance than it really deserves. With Sir Alfred Lyall he discusses our exclusiveness, and how disappointed a Mahometan gentleman must be to find that, when he has donned European costume, he does not thereby gain the *entrée* to society. Hindoos of course cannot mix with us, unless, like him with whom the Baron dined at Sir Alfred's table, they have turned Christians. At Darjeeling he saw the tomb of that martyr of science, the Hungarian Cosma de Körös, who, in order to get a thorough knowledge of Thibetan, managed to spend three years in the lamaserais of Ladak, hitherto sealed to Europeans. A few days in Calcutta during the hot weather, which had driven all the great people off to Simla, and a visit to Pondicherry, where the *pousse pousse*, a jinrikisha with three coolies to do what one lively Jap does, finish his six months' tour in the land he had so longed to see. Of Government House, he only saw the outside, but was struck with its grandeur. At Bombay, and elsewhere, he, accustomed to Courts, and to the ceremonious splendour of diplomatic life, had admired the *luxe sobre élégant et nullement théâtral* of the high officials. "From a European point of view this sumptuousness seems exaggerated; but the English are wise in determining that their great officers shall live as splendidly as Maharajas do. Orientals measure power by the richness of the halo that surrounds it."

From Ceylon, where he felt the heat, the Baron sailed in April for Australia, and in the middle of May started on board H.M.S. *Espiègle* (Capt. Bridge) for Oceania. It was a rare opportunity. "There is no other way of seeing the groups, unless you have a yacht, or choose to put up with the discomforts of a whaler, or a labour-ship." His first halting-place was Norfolk Island, which he evidently did not think a success.

"They want new blood. . . . . The very cattle degenerate, so do the

oranges, which might else be readily exported to New Caledonia. . . . . Strangest of all, marriage is getting out of fashion; of the marriageable people not much more than a sixth are married. . . . . 'We must let in the outer world,' said one of the chief islanders to me. 'And yet we should like to pick and choose. We don't want the scum of Australia to come in and worry us out.'"

From Norfolk Island it is a four days' run to the Fiji group, which already has its two little light-houses, one on shore, the other on the hill-top, and both in the axis of the narrow channel which is the only opening in the coral reef. At Suva he met Mr. Thurston, who, having gone quite young to seek his fortune in Australia, became King Thakombau's friend and counsellor, and was the go-between under Sir Hercules Robinson during the annexation business. He is now colonial secretary. At Suva, as everywhere in the Pacific (as well as in South Africa), he found Germans; and everywhere he found them sober, hardworking, and therefore prosperous. His visit to Mbao was enlivened by a solemn dance (*méki*) given by the great ladies of the royal tribe (among them the obese Princess Andiquilla) in honour of the king's son's return from the Suva parliament.

The natives, he thinks, improve on acquaintance. If you can overlook their coarse features and shark mouth, their gaiety and good-humour and well-bred independence make them pleasant to get on with. He has a good deal to say about the missionaries—"Father Breheret, the apostolic prefect of the group, who has been here forty years, and of whom the Wesleyans say 'he is a saint;' and Mr. and Mrs. Webb, the Wesleyans, the former trained at Newton College, Sydney. Most of the Methodist and Congregationalist missionaries are sons, I was told, of small shopkeepers in Melbourne and Sydney." To us these chapters on Oceania are the most interesting part of these volumes. Many of our readers will, from missionary reports, &c., be able to check the remarks about the condition and prospects of the island missions. We shall, therefore, simply quote without comment. In general, with diplomatic reserve, the Baron abstains from giving his own opinion. Thus, of Fiji, his summing up is: "England, in taking possession of these islands, did a good action, and also a good stroke of busi-

ness" (ii. 374); and the authorities on which this view is based are the most conflicting that can be imagined. For instance, one side asserted that Sir Arthur Gordon has done the very best for all parties, and, by maintaining the authority of the chiefs, and acting through them on the native population, has given that population its only chance of continuing its development. The planter faction, on the other hand, maintained that the Fijians were fairly civilized before the missionaries came. Some actually hinted that the charge of cannibalism is a calumny, though Baron von Hübner not only saw, in Mbao, the two stones against which the heads of the victims used to be broken before they were cooked for Thakombau and his fellow-revellers, but also met a "beach-comber" who had actually shared in these horrid feasts. Such sceptical optimists were but few; all the planter interest, however, agreed on one point—that the native gets unduly favoured in the law courts.

"The Government party replies, 'there is no reason why the Fijians, who, though excellent workers, don't take to hard unintermittent toil, should be *exploités* for the planter's benefit. We are not unfair, but we maintain the law, and what this is the newer settlers knew before they came; while the old established are most of them men of the shadiest antecedents, Australian bankrupts, escaped Sydney jail-birds, scoundrels who made Levuka a byword for the slave-traffic."

Of these men the Baron hears many shocking stories. He gives one, which he is assured is typical, of an agent on one of the Kingsmill Isles, who, wanting to try a new gun, aimed at and shot a native who was climbing a cocoa-nut tree a little way off. In one particular the planters are right; the chiefs under the native *régime* were controlled by the public opinion of the tribe. If they outraged that they were pretty sure to be knocked on the head, usually by some near relative. Now, the tribe cannot get rid of the chief, no matter how tyrannical he may be, for the Governor naturally sides with him.

Of the Sandwich Islands we are told that

"Sixty years of Christian teaching have not eradicated the old vices. Considering their relatively high culture in other respects, the Islanders were strangely low in the moral scale. The family which exists amongst the most degraded Australians, was unknown; the language has no words for father, mother, brother, sister, son,

daughter. Free love appears to have been the basis of society. Now, if they have but little advanced in morals, in politics their progress has been gigantic. They have a Cabinet, which numbers among its members one solitary Kanaka; a Privy Council, of which about one in eight are natives; a Chief Justice and Circuit Judges (all Americans) and District Judges, some of whom are natives. The missionaries have much influence. There are Congregationalists, Episcopalians, &c., all with churches; and, of the two Catholic churches, one is for the Chinese. . . . The coronation ceremonial last year was based on that of Moscow; the unhappily successful revolt against the liquor law was dictated by zeal for 'the rights of man!' The government machine is complete; the governable material is evaporating as fast as it can."

The islanders won't work for wages; the imported workers are Chinese, and Portuguese from the Azores. These, thinks the Baron, will amalgamate (unless the latter disappear like the natives). The Americans, who are rapidly becoming the chief landowners, won't be able to stand against the cheaper farming of the Chinese; and they will end by selling off, and leaving their competitors in possession. The Baron's Sunday drive at Honolulu he gives as an instance of how the laws are kept. "Driving on Sunday is strictly forbidden; but my Jehu, an Italian half-caste, said he should pay the fine out of the extra fare which he demanded."

In missionary work throughout the Pacific he concedes the foremost place to the Wesleyans, who were first in the field, and whose congregations in Fiji alone he reckons at 906, with 11 white and 51 coloured ministers, 63 catechists, 1080 teachers, 2254 schoolmasters (all these three native), and 26,000 members. He notes how careful the teachers are not to baptize until they are fully assured of the convert's steadfastness; and yet he is infected with commonplace doubts as to the reality of the work. Nor does he think this of Wesleyan missions only; even the labours of his own communion are, he more than suspects, condemned to unfruitfulness. Naturally he prefers the Roman Catholic system:

"The Protestant missionary brings his family and his comforts; chooses by preference a spot where there are already some white residents, and becomes all at once an important person, far more important than his position at home warranted.* . . . The Catholic priest comes poor

* The Wesleyan's home is his centre; thence he itinerates. His importance is necessary, because he governs a widely extended native mission.

and lonely, sticks to his work, keeps amongst the natives, accommodating himself to their ideas, their food, and, as far as may be, to their usages. Both are philanthropists."

The Catholics have 1 bishop, 2 vicars-general (of Tonga and Samoa), 32 priests, and 6 sisters. The flocks number 2000 in Tonga, 4000 in the Wallis group, 1600 in Futuna, 5000 in Samoa.* The grand principle of the Catholic missionaries is isolation. They do not believe in educating their converts, and then sending them out to influence their still heathen kinsfolk. To do this is to ensure a relapse into savagery. It takes several generations, say the Catholics, to get Christianity thoroughly into the blood; and so they prefer to work in communities.

"The funds for these missions are wholly provided by the *propagandas* of Rome and Lyons; the Wesleyans, on the other hand, make their converts pay a poll-tax. (!) But, though they are accused of being traders, the charge is unfounded; nearly the whole of the native contributions is spent on the missions. . . . At Apia, in Samoa, are four priests, along with the bishop, who has bought a large estate, on which he keeps his flock apart from heathen and above all from white neighbours. Here I heard Mass one Sunday, and was delighted with the musical voices, so different from those in Chinese and Coptic churches."

In Samoa, politics are managed by the triumvirate of consuls: Churchward (British), Canisius (United States), and Stübel (German); but trade is almost wholly in the hands of the great Hamburg houses of Ruge and Weber. Both have large estates in the islands, worked by Kanakas from New Britain and New Ireland. They have even taken to breeding labour hands. Their imports have almost killed out the native manufactures.

"The German, sober, persevering, economical, satisfied with small gains, and not fond of risk, is sure to make his way. In the second generation, though he goes in for a few comforts unknown in the Fatherland, he remains a German still. He takes firmer root than the Anglo-Saxon, and by virtue of his relatively better education adapts himself more easily to new conditions. He is a splendid farmer, perhaps as good as the Scotchman."

In 1883 the number of German ships that came to Apia

* There are also eleven priests and five sisters (all French) in Fiji, where the baptized and the catechumens number 9000. The Baron claims that in the Wallis group and Futuna (where there are only Catholic missionaries) the numbers of the natives are really increasing.

was 92 (tonnage, 19,400; value of imports, £58,360; of exports, £50,900), against 35 English (tonnage, 3800; imports, £9103; exports, £1180), and 18 American (tonnage, 2776; imports, £26,146; exports, *nil*). We regret to say that at Apia the Baron and Captain Bridge were entertained by Consuls Churchward and Stübel at a *soirée dansante* (*sava*). One of the dancers, the daughter of a great chief, *une vertu et une beauté*, took part, despite her virtue, in what our author describes as "une ronde infernale indescriptible. Terpsichore, voile la face." At this stage the Captain and the Baron discreetly left, but the younger officers remained. The baron's Italian valet came away with him, exclaiming: "Questo é l' inferno. Io l' ho veduto depinto. Era tale quale." [This is hell. I've seen it painted. It was just like that.] "And these girls who dance in that style, with nothing on but a wreath of flowers, will go to church or chapel next Sunday clad in the regulation chemise and carrying a big hymn-book. No wonder this labour of the Danaides embitters the good missionaries' lives." Then why, we ask, did the Baron give his countenance, why do so many white visitors countenance and consuls permit such demoralizing spectacles? On them, and not on the poor creatures whom they lead into temptation, rests the blame.

Baron von Hübner admits the superior civilization of the Tonga group, and attributes it to Wesleyan missionary influence, but these islands he did not visit. On the labour trade he says a good deal, pointing out that the Act of 1875–7 has diminished the efficiency of the cruisers. Naval officers are not likely to do anything which may bring them into collision with the High Commissioner, and this functionary is by no means ubiquitous. The law is therefore a dead letter for the less frequented groups as far as British subjects are concerned, while no cognizance is even attempted to be taken of outrages committed under another flag. Strong language is useless; but we cannot understand the supineness with which the case of these poor islanders is regarded by our philanthropists. Sir A. Gordon's Commission has lately pronounced the state of things "highly unsatisfactory"—the black-birding, the decoy ships, the sham mis-

sionary, the reprisals due to the native feeling that all whites are *solidaires*, and that therefore one set may fairly be punished for the misdeeds of others. As Captain Karcher of the German navy says, in his report to the Berlin Admiralty, "It is just the slave-trade under another form," while Captain Moor's evidence is, "if the Government agents followed their instructions, most of the labour-ships would go back empty. They shut their eyes, and are satisfied with the captain's report that all has been done in order." The Baron adds: "The enormous mortality among the Queensland labourers seems well established, and the recruiting grounds are getting exhausted."

Not far outside Samoa (where they named the spot Hübner Bay in his honour) the *Espiègle*, by preconcerted signal, met the *City of Sydney*, which took our traveller across by way of Honolulu to San Francisco. He had been in America before, and was glad to note improvements. "People don't spit or cock their legs up on a table, and they don't speak half so much through their nose as they used to." Well, it is useful to see ourselves as others see us, especially when the observer is a man who knows much of the world, and has had special opportunities of cultivating his judgment. The Baron is cautious as becomes an ex-ambassador; he is certainly a more trustworthy guide than the impetuous Mr. Froude. And he is a delightful writer, full of fun, always telling something amusing about himself or others. We thought we had had enough of globe-trotters and their books, but we are heartily glad that he has added another to the already long series.

In conclusion, we would direct the reader to Baron von Hübner's very serious remarks on Chinese immigration. The last war broke down this moral Great Wall; and since then the world is being flooded with men who in the long run are sure to undersell, and therefore to drive out the white man. It is so in California, where the *Morning Call* of the 30th of last October, tells how the Chinamen in the cigar mills struck till their white fellow-workers were sent away; and the owners had to give in, not being able to get white workmen at the price. It is the same in South America; in twenty years more than 200,000 Chinese have immigrated into Chili and Peru. The Chinese are sober, honest to a proverb, good all

round in handicrafts, specially good in gardening and cooking. Will the counter-current of Teutons and Irish be able to make head against them? This, the Baron thinks, is one of the problems of the twentieth century; and his discussion of it is not the least interesting part of his very interesting book.

ART. VII.—CERINTHUS AND THE GNOSTICS.

1. The Treatises on "Gnosticism" in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*, and in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, by R. A. LIPSIUS; in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, by Dr. JACOBI; in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by Principal TULLOCH; and in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, by Dr. SALMON.

2. *Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme.* Par M. J. MATTER. Three vols. Paris. 1828.

3. *The Gnostic Heresies.* By Dr. MANSEL. 1875.

4. *Heresy and Christian Doctrine.* By E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D. (Translation.) Hodder & Stoughton. 1873.

THE inquiry into the character, origin, and results of that remarkable development of early Christian opinion known as Gnosticism, has now attained a practical importance. The better delineation and exposition of its phenomena are necessary before any solution of great controversies respecting the rise of the Church and the growth of the New Testament now in progress can be attained.

But Gnosticism has a bad name. Students stigmatize it for its obscurity, if not for its heresy. It is only in recent times that it has been regarded as anything better than an eccentricity of human thought. Wesley, who knew the systems as recounted by Mosheim, declared them to be "the whims and absurdities of senseless and conceited men." The objurgations, fulminations, and censures heaped upon them by Irenæus, Tertullian, and Augustine, have formed the

vocabulary of Rome against all whom she has elected to call heretics. They are yet quoted by Churchmen when they would point their exhortations against dissent. Such speculations could not, in many ages of the Church, obtain calm and impartial investigation. But orthodoxy cannot be wholly blamed for its supercilious ostracism of the Gnostic systems. Even now they can be studied only as historical relics, and scarcely for edification. Through his scornful disregard for the track of ordinary thought, the Gnostic forfeited his claim to be a permanent instructor of mankind. His love for conceptions which the uninitiated could not receive betrayed him into a traffic with falsehood which was soon detected and never forgiven. The more grotesque and unearthly the creation of his favourite hierophant, the more agreeable it became at length to what has been called "the fantastic genius of the Gnostic."* The fancy of the rabbi, the fervour of the dervish, and the subtlety of the sophist, commingle in his vortex of theosophy. Such theorizings seem to the modern Western mind—with its prosaic instincts and simple methods, its hurried intuitions and ready verification, and the antipodes of agnosticism always in sight—to be as incoherent and as useless as a madman's dream. Yet as they spread in a few years "from Lyons to Edessa," and impregnated Christian thought for centuries, modern criticism could not overlook them—could not avoid a fresh and most careful examination of them.

An accurate estimate of the various systems has been hindered by the loss of documentary information; and this, again, has been occasioned by the neglect into which the subject has fallen. The only records are furnished by opponents, or by those who lived only when the principal representatives had passed away. No treatise of Cerinthus, Cerdo, Basilides, or Marcion survives. One fragment—the Pistes-Sophia—is supposed to have come down from the followers of Valentinus. Irenæus, the principal authority, gives no chronological account of the various schools, and does not always discriminate between them. Hippolytus

* Lechler: *Apostol. Zeitalter*, p. 213.

adds but little to the information given by Irenæus. A work of Justin Martyr, who lived in the days of Basilides, Marcion, and Valentinus, has unfortunately perished; but it is believed that other writers have largely borrowed from his *Syntagma*.* Tertullian wrote against Marcion when that heresiarch had been dead fifty years. Eusebius and Epiphanius in the fourth century could not fully authenticate the new statements which they produced. After that day the traditional judgment prevailed; and criticism has only now begun to separate the substantial from the supposititious history. Bunsen has said that "nothing written about Basilides before Neander is worthy of notice." This is a severe judgment; but, *cum grano*, it may be applied to the case of all Gnostics mentioned in ecclesiastical literature.

In this way it has come to pass that writers and readers in church history have been content with a passing glance at Gnosticism. The traveller has found that the nearest path over this quagmire lay round its edges; or, as in the tropical forest, choked with the overgrowth of ages, successive explorers have followed others' track lest they should be lost in thickets of darkest mystery. But a fresh interest—not likely soon to pass away—was added to the subject when Protestant theologians began to discern that there was a hiatus between the simple Christianity of the Apostles and the elaborated catholicism of the "Fathers," which could only be filled up by ampler knowledge of the intermediate grades of thought and practice. By no one was this more clearly discerned than by Neander. F. C. Baur, having lit his torch from that of his illustrious countryman, rushed into the darkness, and very soon declared that he had found the long-hidden route by which the early Church had been brought out of its pristine simplicity, and, through the gradations of Gnosticism, into the breadth and clearness of New Testament ideas. Petrine Ebionism and Pauline Gentilism had, he alleged, passed through Gnostic developments into the Catholic faith and forms.

This, as every one now knows, was a rash anticipation of

* *Die Quellen der Aeltesten Ketzergeschichte neu untersucht.* Von R. A. Lipsius. Leipsig. 1875.

the judgment of time. The career of Gnosticism was collateral with that of the Church during the century after the death of the Apostles. Researches into its origin have already thrown light upon the genesis and formulation of several dogmas of Catholic orthodoxy. Not only, indeed, the creeds in their formulas respecting the Divine-human Personality of Our Lord, but the Romish legends of Peter and Clement, Romish doctrines of the corporal presence of the Redeemer in the sacraments, and traditions which issued in Mariolatry and in the dogma of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, all owe something to this source—*fontium qui celat origines.* And the questions of our time between the Romanist and the Protestant, between the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian, and especially those between the orthodox and the Rationalist, await some part of their solution from these investigations. At present the darkness which lingers over the whole subject affords shelter for very contrary opinions. But the light is increasing, and no doubt the time is at hand when this realm of shadows will be added to the ever-growing empire of the truth.

Before proceeding further, we might be expected to define Gnosticism. What is this system, or aggregate of systems, of which we speak? The demand is most legitimate; and if we hesitate to reply, it is only because authorities which we are bound to respect decline to furnish precise definitions. Descriptions of the views of the various schools of Gnosticism abound, and they are made to serve the interests of very different theories; but a really philosophic or scientific exposition has yet to be supplied. The title was claimed by one of the Gnostic sects—the Ophites; and there are also other indications that the name originally had an honourable association. But each expositor differs as to what should be included under the term; and the art of vagueness in definition has on no subject been carried farther. The disadvantage has followed that, as "Gnostic" began to be identified with that which was unchristian, some features of the life-process of the church were lost in the obscure ignominy to which the heresy was consigned. As the "Great Sahara" served formerly to represent populous and fertile regions as well as solitary and

barren tracts, so under the reproach of "Gnosticism" some precious as well as many worthless elements of ecclesiastical development have been lost.

One of the latest attempts to define Gnosticism is that of Dr. Salmon, who says that "usage confines the word to those sects which took their origin in the ferment of thought when Christianity first came into contact with heathen philosophy." * But this statement is only intended to fix the time within which Gnosticism is supposed to have operated. It does not imply that Gnosticism was owing solely to "contact with heathen philosophy," and it ought not to mean that all the "sects" of that period may be included under that designation. The now lamented Principal Tulloch, in the opening sentence of his article, was extremely cautious. He only recognizes in Gnosticism "a general name applied to various forms of speculation in the early church."

From Dr. Dorner we might expect to learn something about the inner characteristics of the system, but he is content with some general observations. He points out its "opposition to the simple empirical faith," and its attempt to apprehend "the spiritual contents of Christianity in a spiritual manner." † Gibbon, who had an instinctive dread of theological complexities, formulates a very different theory. He insists that the leading Gnostics were Gentiles, and that they "blended with the faith of Christ sublime and obscure tenets derived from oriental philosophy, concerning the eternity of matter, the existence of two principles, and the mysterious hierarchy of the invisible world." No wonder that, "under the guidance of a disordered imagination, and the paths of error being various and infinite, they divided into more than fifty particular sects." If all these things had been in it, they might as easily have divided into fifty thousand sects.

Neander thought the simplest classification of the Gnostic parties was that which regarded their friendliness to or alienation from Judaism. Baur added to this a consideration of their attitude towards the heathen systems. Hagenbach openly asserts that "all the Gnostics are opposed to Judaism,"

* Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biography*, ii. p. 679.
† *The Person of Christ*, *I.* i. 120

yet afterwards admits that Cerinthus might have been a Judaising Gnostic, and that the "subject demands more careful investigation.* Dr. Schaff sums up Gnosticism as "a one-sided intellectualism on a dualistic heathen basis." † Ritschl asks for more light before he can believe that a man would accept the "Law," and then speak of it as the work of an inferior deity. M. Matter, who has written a detailed account of the Gnostic systems, is content to follow a geographical outline, and discusses the various schools as they occur in Asia Minor, Syria, Italy, or Egypt. ‡ Baur thought Matter's system too mechanical, and adopted a modification of that of Neander. But Matter's great work has been a treasury, with materials already arranged, from which English writers like Burton and Mansel, as well as continental writers like Gieseler and others, have freely drawn.

The result is that no satisfactory definition of Gnosticism, nor adequate classification of its various sections, is forthcoming. Traditional prejudice and legendary colouring disfigure the early portraits of it, and modern investigation has, so far, failed to fix its real elements. A singular contradictoriness in the representations supplied by those who have written upon it—most perplexing to the inquirer—seems to cling to all authors, from Hippolytus down to Dorner, from Origen and Eusebius down to Schaff and Harnack. But one important advantage has been recently gained. Its importance in the earlier centuries to the onward progress of the church is more generally allowed. Its dreams, if such they were, are now recognized as the signs of an awakening which roused the world. Its problems deepened the intellect and sharpened the wits of the post-apostolic generations. It tempted the Christian to forsake his practical duties as a servant of Christ, and to spend his time in protracted contemplation; but it revealed to him the vastness of that world of thought into which his new revelation enabled him to enter, and where—the ancient occupants, sophists and cabbalists, driven out—he should be the sole possessor and ruler. The barriers to the extension of knowledge having been broken down by the

* *Hist. of Doctrines*, pp. 43, 46. † *Hist. of the Christian Church*, ii. p. 444
‡ *Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme*, par M. J. Matter. 1828.

admission of Christian ideas, there rushed in a flood of influences from heathenism and Judaism which threatened to overwhelm the church. But the change also made the church accessible to multitudes who could only approach it, like the Magi, when led by a star which shone in their own sky. Then, since "there is nothing new under the sun," its multiform theories anticipated all further developments of Christian and even unchristian thought. Romanists delight to insinuate that Marcion was the first Protestant.* Protestants rejoin that the Petrine and Clementine legends are of Gnostic invention. It is, again, very easy to detect the affinity between Gnosticism and Hegelianism. "The aim of the Gnosis as of the Hegelian philosophy," says Lipsius, "is, in a word, the absolute knowledge." He might have added that the application of the Hegelian method in the Tübingen inquiries has rendered them nugatory; though they are now being followed by investigation more strictly scientific. Almost all our disputes in Christian philosophy, and even in New Testament criticism, were strangely prefigured in the Gnostic controversies. Several of the New Testament writings are first referred to by the Gnostic teachers. Their imitation gospels are among the earliest witnesses to the integrity of the evangelical narratives. Cerinthus used the Gospel of Matthew; Basilides and Valentinus probably made use of all the current Gospel histories; while Marcion corrupted that of Luke. It was a true instinct which prompted the fathers to entitle their refutations of the Gnostics —"Against all Heresies;" for a falsified Christianity can scarcely assume a form which would be altogether strange to this pristine development.

The earliest name associated with the doctrines of Gnosticism is that of Cerinthus. His name (κήρινθος) is of Celtic origin, and he was probably a native of that Asiatic Gaul with which his heretical activity is usually connected. He is reported to have been trained in the Hellenistic schools of Alexandria; but there is not much value to be attached to the statements of Epiphanius that he had been a pupil of Philo, and that he also bore the name of Merinthus (a cord).

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* See Möhler's *Symbolik*, s. 27. This book led to Baur's *Catholicismus*, in reply.

Ephesus is the scene of the meeting of St. John and Cerinthus in the bath. "Let us fly," said the aged apostle to his companions, "lest the thermæ fall upon us." Canon Farrar objects to the whole account as inconsistent with the spirit of the loving disciple, and also because St. John would not use the public baths.* Epiphanius admits this, but argues that John must have gone on this occasion "by the Holy Spirit." Irenæus rehearses the story, on the authority of Polycarp, who was a personal follower of St. John. The tale bore too strong a moral against heretics to be forgotten by church-writers; and in Jeremy Taylor appears with an apocryphal addition, though not of his invention—viz., that the bath did fall, and Cerinthus was killed! However, all the accounts so persistently agree in associating Cerinthus with Asia Minor, and with St. John's life there, that, if we believe in him at all, we must admit that this was the sphere in which he moved. If, as is usually alleged, the gospels and epistles of John were written against the doctrines of Cerinthus and his party, then these heretics must have flourished during the apostle's life. Dr. Farrar unhesitatingly accounts him to have been "a Jewish Christian, the earliest of the Jewish Gnostics . . . . and one of the founders of Docetism." Bishop Lightfoot (Col. 107) finds in him "a distinctively Gnostic school existing on the confines of the apostolic age." But Epiphanius (A.D. 374) asserts that he was a ringleader of the Jewish sectaries, who stirred up the disputes about circumcision against St. Paul in Jerusalem (Acts xi.), and in Galatia and Corinth. If this and the other statement of Epiphanius, that he was a student under Philo, were correct, it would make Cerinthus an exact cotemporary of the original apostles. It is quite possible, as Lipsius and others have alleged, that the opinions of later heretics have been attributed to him.† Only it would be strange, if he had been an opponent of the apostles' doctrine in so many forms, that he should not have been expressly named in their writings.

The connection between Cerinthus and the Johannine

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* *Early Days of Christianity*, p. 26.

† See Nitzsch's note in *Bleek's Int. to N. T.* ii. 24.

writings is so generally received that the Tübingen writers venture to place him far in the second century. Schwegler says that it "was a later form of Ebionitism which the church-fathers comprise under the name of Cerinthus."* Lipsius holds that he was later than Basilides. But this would reduce Cerinthus to a mere myth or a name. The uncertainty respecting him caused Ritschl and others to doubt whether there ever was such a thing as a "Judaistic Gnosis;" for if Cerinthus was a Gnostic he was also a Judaiser. But Neander's hints respecting the connection between Gnosticism and Judaism have been successfully followed by Uhlhorn (1851) and by Lipsius (1860). The latter especially, has made it clear that the system "has its roots in Judaism." The writings of the latter author are necessary to all who would understand the complicated questions relating to early Church literature. The philosophy and theology recently fashionable in Germany have too much influenced his judgment on some questions, but all allow that his spirit is candid, and his learning immense. He fully recognises the prevalence of Jewish ideas in the Gnostic systems; but, as he clings to the development theory, he would postpone Cerinthianism to a date later than the first century. Otherwise, he finds the elements of Gnosticism in a saying of our Lord: "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven;" and a "mystery" in St. Paul's view of the relation between the Jewish and Christian dispensations. Lipsius also holds that in Justinus—a Gnostic mentioned only by Hippolytus, the transition from Judaism to Gnosticism may be observed. But the Book of Baruch, attributed to Justinus, contains the Gnostic ideas in an advanced stage, and his ophitic scheme indicates a later attempt to identify Bible stories and heathen myths. In blasphemous novelties, as Hippolytus points out, it excels all known heresies.

M. Renan is in favour of a mythical theory of Cerinthus.† He thinks that the heretic might have been the adversary of John, and yet the writer of his books. "The earnestness

* *Nachapostol. Zeitalter*, i. 191.

† *L'Église Chrétienne*, par E. Renan. Paris, 1879.

with which both Epiphanius and Philaster oppose this view [of the Alogi and others] suggests that there is something in it. Cerinthus wished to put his teaching under the name of an apostle—and this would explain the secrecy under which the fourth gospel lay for fifty years. If the Church, in venerating it as the work of John, is the dupe of him who is regarded as one of the most dangerous of the apostle's enemies, it would not be strange in presence of the mistakes of religious history."

It is not necessary to frame a sober reply to such criticism as this. Neither is it clear that M. Renan is right in his statement that St. John in his first epistle "opened the attack on the Docetics." The probability is that the Docetics, properly so-called, belonged to a later time. Neither was Cerinthus a follower of Basilides. Their systems of genesis do not agree. Basilides derived being from not-being, and spoke of hebdomads and ogdoads of æons. On the contrary, Cerinthus placed the "Higher Power" at the head of all things, and asserted that Jesus was a "mere man," while Basilides docetized the humanity. Basilides is said to have spoken of a "sperma," or seed-mass, from which all things have been produced; and, as this expression is used in the first epistle of John (iii. 9), it has been claimed as an evidence that this writing came from Cerinthus, the follower of Basilides. Except for such exegesis as this, there is no difficulty in our accepting the ancient opinion, supported by Neander and Lightfoot, that Cerinthus appeared towards the end of the first Christian century, and that his doctrine forms a link between the heresies opposed in the epistle to the Colossians and in the pastoral epistles on the one hand, and the later Gnostic forms on the other.

The principal topics on which Gnostic speculation was exercised were Creation, the relation of Christianity to Mosaism and Heathenism, and the person and work of the Redeemer. Irenæus and Hippolytus, who lived a century later than Cerinthus, both seem to have followed the same authority respecting him, and they give the following report of his opinions. They say that "Cerinthus was a man of Asia, educated in the wisdom of the Egyptians, who taught

that the world was not made by the primary God, but by a certain power far separated from him, and at a distance from that Principality who is supreme over the universe, and ignorant of Him who is above all."

If this account could be fully accepted it would at once place Cerinthus amongst the Gnostic teachers. All of these made this distinction between the highest God and the author of creation. But there is a possibility that Irenæus attributes to the earlier heretic views which belonged to later errorists with whom Cerinthus agreed in other respects. It is also singular that Cerinthus is not mentioned in the lists of heretics supplied by Hegesippus, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian. However, at one point in his doctrine of creation, he coincides with the Jewish angelology rather than with Gnostic notions about the æons. Judaism had already become familiar, through Old Testament teaching, with the conception of angels as mediators between God and man. The rabbis taught that angels were the "Elohim" with whom God took counsel, when He said, "Let us make man in our image." The "morning-stars" rejoiced together at the Creation, and Moses received the Law from an angel on the mount. An angel led the people through the wilderness, appeared to Gideon the deliverer, pointed out the site for the Temple, closed the mouths of the lions for Daniel, and protected the "three" cast into the furnace of Nebuchadnezzar. Cerinthus, therefore, was not going far beyond the limits of orthodox Jewish teaching when he taught that the world-framer was not the supreme God, but a power or principality (ἀνθεντεία). He is not credited with the fabrication of Archons, Æons, and Hebdomads as are Basilides and Valentinus, nor with the affirmation that good and evil are eternal, as is Marcion. He held the Jewish doctrine of the ultimate unity of God, but believed also in subordinate energies which existed "at a distance from the supreme principality," and were even "ignorant of Him who is above all."

A reference to the history of Jewish thought will help us to understand how such a combination of opinions as that which is attributed to Cerinthus would naturally arise. After the Babylonian captivity the Jewish mind experienced a complete

reaction against the worship of the powers of Nature to which, formerly, it had been prone. The national thought became perfectly clear in its conception of the universe as a monism. All effects were traced to the supreme intelligence and will. But the monotheistic system could not readily account for the variety and conflict presented, not only by human life, but even by the animal and physical worlds. Polytheistic and pantheistic heathenism had attempted, in various ways, to account for these phenomena. When Christianity dawned a singular toleration was springing up throughout the Greek world, and the symbols of every form of worship were included in the Pantheon. At Athens, lest any deity should be overlooked, they adored "an unknown God." The associations of commerce and of general life brought the Semitic monotheism and the Japhetic polytheism face to face. In the Alexandrian schools, especially under Philo, Plato and Aristotle were in great honour among Jewish scholars. Though Jewish exclusiveness was a proverb with Latin poets and orators, yet Jewish speculation gave undoubted signs of the influence of Pagan theories. It was beginning to be allowed that beneath the infinitely transcendent Deity—the Supreme Ruler—there might be inferior principalities, having the control of æons, cycles, and economies. This system of thought was comprehensive yet eclectic. It had its foundation in earlier systems, yet encouraged speculation anew. It preserved, for the monotheist, his view of an aboriginal spiritual being, the fountain of all existence: but it opened the door for the admission of secondary powers who ruled over lower spheres. It seemed to meet the improbability that this material world, with its perplexing limitations and liabilities to evil, should have been made by the Supreme God. Nothing faulty or fallible could have been made by Him. He dwelt in the eternal silences—in an abyss so profound that being and not-being were the same.

Into this circle of Judæo-Hellenistic ideas, Cerinthus would be brought by his Egyptian education. But while unwilling to ascribe the worlds of matter with their attendant miseries to the Highest God, he was content with the ascription of them to the angels or powers, already recognized in Jewish opinion, and he did not traffic with the more Hellenistic æons. Yet, even

in this departure from strict monotheism, he violated the true spirit of revelation. Eusebius, with a singular crassness, cites the testimony of Caius and Dionysius to the effect that Cerinthus was the real author of the Apocalypse. Modern objectors, like Renan, have eagerly seized this empty conjecture. One statement in the book of "Revelation" might have made these ancient authorities and modern readers hesitate before they accepted this fable. In ch. iv. 11, it is said, "Worthy art thou, our Lord and our God, to receive the glory and the honour and the power: for Thou didst create all things, and because of Thy will they were, and were created." Here, the "primary power" is the Creator. God and creation are not at variance, nor at an irreconcileable distance from each other. If Cerinthus held Gnostic doctrines about creation, and if he wrote an apocalypse, it could not possibly have been that which so appropriately crowns the New Testament canon.

It is generally allowed that Cerinthus was a follower of the Jewish form of Christianity; though this fact is only attested by Eusebius and later writers. Whether the member of a Pharasaic sect, or of an Essene, he followed the traditions of the fathers. If he lived after the destruction of Jerusalem he yet taught that there would be a millennium for the saints in the holy place in the latter days. It is said that he used that gospel alone which was ascribed to St. Matthew, and which was chiefly in use among the Jewish Christians. It is quite possible that he corrupted and mutilated, for his own purposes, the Apocalypse of John. This would account for his reputation as a millennarian, and as an antagonist of the beloved disciple. Like all the Gnostics he appealed to apostolic documents and traditions.

It has not been sufficiently recognized that most of the ideas and systems known as "Gnostic" are little more than perversions of apostolic teaching. They may be accounted for as highly wrought parodics of the revelation of Jesus Christ, and dependent on the oral or written teaching of His servants. It does not fatally subvert this view, that Christianity might be only an accident—yet very important, in the history of Gnosticism. Bishop Lightfoot, who in this matter agrees with Lipsius, Neander, and others, thinks that Gnosticism

existed before Christianity, and that the Christian Gnosis was only one form of it. There can be no doubt that Essenism, Alexandrinism, and other elements of Gnosticism existed before Christianity. But the fusion of these in Gnosticism is usually marked by prominent pretensions and characteristics of Christianity, and all known forms of it are more or less Christian. All had a Christology, and all include the Saviour among the Divine emanations. Generally, the systems pretended to apostolic authority; some followed Peter, some James, some John. Many were indebted to Paul, but did not confess it, as did Marcion, who stands in strange contrast, in many respects, to the rest. But in Cerinthus we seem to obtain evidence, confirming that which is supplied by the Pauline Epistles, that they who first attempted to link the doctrines of the Judæo-Hellenistic philosophy to the teachings of Christ and the Apostles were the professors of the Jewish form of Christianity. Bishop Lightfoot says in his recent great work on Ignatius (vol. i. p. 364) that both the Pauline and Ignatian epistles "alike illustrate the truth, which is sufficiently confirmed in other quarters, that *the earliest forms of Christian Gnosticism were Judaic.*" In his commentary on "Colossians" he had said that "Gnosticism presupposes only a belief in one God, the absolute Being, as against the vulgar polytheism. All its *essential* features, as a speculative system, may be explained from this simple element of belief, without any intervention of specially Christian or even Jewish doctrine."* But was not monotheism an essentially Jewish tenet? The firmness with which this doctrine was held amongst the Gnostics seems to suggest a Judaic influence from the first; and all that the bishop says, in his striking account of the Essenes, points in the same direction.

The *Christology* of Gnosticism was, therefore, a very important point in all the systems. The view of Cerinthus differed from those held by several of the leaders of the Gnostic school, but he agreed with them that the Son of God had not come in the flesh. He was one with all of them in the supposition that the higher Power came down upon Jesus

* *Ep. to Coloss.* p. 80.

at his baptism, and that it left him at the crucifixion. Beyond this point the doctrines separate into many and strange varieties. All denied the true divinity and Christhood of Jesus; the latter forms of Gnosticism denied the reality of his human nature. None of them allowed that a Divine Person was associated with Jesus in the humiliation which belonged to His birth and death. But Cerinthus, Carpocrates, the Ebionites and Elkasäites held that He was a real man. Basilides and Valentinus, as well as the Ophites—though wavering on the question as to what Jesus really was, yet asserted that He was born of a virgin. Cerdo, Marcion, and Saturninus held that Jesus was a man only in appearance; and the followers of Basilides and Valentinus inclined to the same views.

In consequence of the unfortunate confusion and indistinctness which have prevailed over the whole history of these sects, the authorities have never agreed as to what should be called *Docetism*. Some allege that Docetism proper is that opinion only which represents the body of Jesus to be a phantom, or mere appearance. Others apply the term to every doctrine which represents any side of the person of Christ as unreal. Dr. Salmon says* that Docetism is "the doctrine that our Lord had a body like ours, only in appearance, not in reality. . . . . It is more natural and more usual to use the word 'Docetism' only with reference to those theories which refuse to acknowledge the true manhood of the Redeemer."

It may be more "natural" to make this distinction, but we only wish that it had been "usual." Gieseler and Dorner use the term ambiguously, and apply it to any doctrine which attributes unreality to either element in our Lord's person. Dorner says (*Person of Christ*, i. 188) that "Ebionism views the divine in Christ docetically as Docetism (proper) does the human." Canon Westcott says that the false teaching with which St. John deals "is Docetic and specifically Cerinthian." † Bishop Lightfoot also includes under the head of

* Smith's *Dict. of C. Biog.* i. 868. He repeats his judgment on the subject in the more recently published *Introduction to the New Testament.*

† *Epp. of John*, pref.

Docetism not only the heresies opposed by Ignatius—which made the body of Jesus apparitional, and the doctrines of Valentine and Marcion, but also the views of Cerinthus. He is, however, careful to discriminate between the views of the earlier Gnostics and those of the later.*

There is no clear evidence that a fully docetic doctrine of the body of Jesus was announced in the apostolic age, not even in the times of St. John. The antichrist, against which he contended, had already insinuated that "Christ" had not come in the flesh, but it does not seem to have denied that Jesus was a real man. Its favourite doctrine was that the "Christ" had not been associated with Jesus at his birth, but descended upon him at his baptism. The New Testament is full of denials of this heresy. John wrote his gospel that men "might believe that Jesus is the Christ," and his epistles that they "might have fellowship" with those who had seen and handled the Word of Life. If Jesus had not been really Christ, it would have been a reflection upon that "truth" which (as Dr. Westcott shows) is one of the apostle's watchwords; it would have brought a shadow over the "light" in which God not only dwells, but which enters into His nature.

We have no reason, therefore, for suspecting with Dr. Salmon that "Diotrephes may have been tainted with that Docetism against which the apostle so earnestly struggled," since that which Dr. S. calls "Docetism proper," does not appear to have existed in St. John's time. It is not said that Cerinthus held it; and the accounts given of Simon Magus are too mythical to decide anything. To adduce the testimony of Ignatius would be to reason in a circle. The Ignatian letters oppose the doctrine that Jesus only "seemed to have suffered," and thereby indicate a later date than the first century. Bleek, Huther, and many others altogether repudiate the notion that the developed Gnostic Docetism had appeared in the days of St. John. It is usual certainly to quote against this view the opinion of Jerome that, "while the apostles were still surviving, and while Christ's blood was yet fresh in

* *Epp. of Ignatius*, i. p. 366.

Judea, the Lord's body was asserted to be but a phantom." This passage may suggest that the birthplace of all Docetism was Judea, or among the Christians who were attached to that country; but on a critical theological point Jerome's word should not be taken too literally.

Cerinthus, therefore, though not a Docetic in regard to the body of Christ, yet denied the Incarnation. He held that Jesus, the son of Joseph and Mary, born like any other man, came into full contact with the Christ at his baptism. All the Gnostic sects emphasized the baptism of the Saviour, and among some of them its anniversary was a principal celebration. It was no donbt in answer to this opinion already accepted in his day that St. John (1 Ep. v. 6.) says, "This is He that came by water and by blood, even Jesus Christ, not with the water only (as at baptism), but with the water and with the blood." The same Christ, who received the baptism, also suffered death by shedding of blood. Elsewhere (1 Ep. iv. 2, 3) St. John says, "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God." An ancient reading of 1 John iv. 3 refers to the error as one that "loosed," or separated Jesus from the Christ. This is what Cerinthus did.

It is in the Judaism of the false teachers against whom St. Paul writes that we find the link between them and Cerinthus, and even with those of the time of Ignatius. In the pastoral Epistles they are represented as "giving heed to Jewish fables," while they delight in "the oppositions of knowledge which is falsely so-called." At Colossæ they were critical "in meat or in drink, or in respect of a feast-day, or a new moon, or a sabbath-day," and they cultivated "voluntary humility and worshipping of angels." They spoke of the Pleroma, of "principalities and powers;" but insisted on ordinances and circumcision. St. Paul replied that the Pleroma dwelt in Christ, to whom all "Powers" were subject. All "oppositions" were reconciled in the body of Jesus — where the supernal God and lowly matter, the Infinite and the Finite found a meeting place. In the cross all ordinances received their fulfilment. He blames these deserters from the true doctrine for "not holding the Head." They

separated God from man in Christ. There is no reference in St. Paul's writings to the Docetism which denied the reality of the body of Jesus. But throughout his Epistles he carefully associates the terms, "Christ Jesus," as though already there were those who would separate the Christ from the manhood. It is not impossible that this was the error of the Christ-party in Corinth.

All the facts, therefore, point to the conclusion that these heresies of the apostolic age prevailed chiefly among those who were prevented by their Jewish prejudices from understanding or receiving the gospel of universal salvation. Bishop Lightfoot, as we have already noticed, and Lipsius, following Neander and Buddeus, agree that the oldest Gnostics were of the Judaistic school. Professor A. Harnack, in his interesting contribution to the *Expositor*, opposes Bishop Lightfoot's view that the Docetics and Judaizers opposed in the Epistles of Ignatius composed one party.* Although some of the letters aim chiefly against Judaism, and others against Docetism, yet in the *Epistle to the Magnesians* the identity seems to be demonstrated most clearly; but Dr. Harnack refuses to recognize it. It is quite another question whether, as Bishop Lightfoot alleges, "the type of Docetism assailed in the letters is a proof of their early date." It is, certainly, a type of error much more advanced than anything indicated in the writings of St. John.

It is surprising that in these inquiries more attention has not been paid to the intimations given by St. Paul respecting the point at which the Jewish mind turned away from the gospel. It was at the doctrine of the cross. To be "hung on a tree," was to be "accursed of God." Hence, "Christ crucified" became to the Jew a scandal, as to the Gentile it seemed to be a folly. St. Paul clearly saw that in this doctrine was implied the surrender of Jewish prerogatives and exclusiveness; yet he gloried in "the cross." He saw that by enduring its bitterest penalty Christ had annulled the law of ordinances—becoming "a curse for us." But we do not find that this glorying in the cross, so openly avowed by the apostle

* The *Expositor* for December, 1885, and January and March, 1886.

of the Gentiles, was shared by the older apostles. Peter and John, in their epistles, never mention the cross even when they speak of the benefits of the redeeming death. The Epistle of James does not refer to the death of Christ. Reticence on this subject is a conspicuous feature of all the early writings which proceed from the Jewish-Christian school. The subject is conspicuously absent from the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, from *The Shepherd* of Hermas, from most of the Apocryphal gospels, and from the Clementines. Many of these writings advance the Gnostic theory of the separation of Christ from Jesus before the end. Rather than allow that the Christ had died, some alleged that it was Simon Magus who died, or even Simon the Cyrenian. But instead of commencing their inquiries at this point, investigators have too often assumed that dualism—a philosophical element—rather than Jewish antagonism to the central doctrine of the Gospel was the beginning of Gnostic Docetism.

This presents another reason why Cerinthus could not have written the book of "Revelation." He would not have spoken of "the Lamb that was slain," as "in the midst of the throne"—the centre of a work of redemption made effectual by "his own blood." As a Judaizer, he could not have portrayed the great multitude, drawn from every nation and tongue, and made to stand before the throne. Cerinthus could not represent Christ as saying, "I am He that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore."

This also was the critical point of evangelical doctrine at which St. Paul became so objectionable to Ebionites and Gnostics at first. The Jewish-Christian was willing to receive the teaching of Him who sat on the mountain side, who blessed the poor; who taught fishermen and farmers, and even publicans. He carefully cherished that gospel narrative—written, probably in his native Aramaic, which did not detail the miraculous birth, but showed that Jesus was mighty in deed and word among the people. He believed that Jesus was superior to most men in righteousness and wisdom, and that he had been endowed with a heavenly spirit. But he maintained that the holy spirit (ὁ χριστὸς ἄνω) which was the anointing or the *Christ* (was there not a temptation in the

name?), though it came at his baptism, left him before the crucifixion. Subsequent speculation wrought out wonderful varieties and enlargements of this theory, and added to its contents from many sources. But in some form it ran throughout all the early heresies from the days of Cerinthus to those of Apollinaris and Nestorius.

Gnosticism, therefore, bears its witness to the mighty ferment which the gospel leaven introduced into the Jewish world. Unhappily, it did not leaven the whole lump; or, the whole mass being infected, the growth became to a large extent corrupt and monstrous. The process left Judaism worse than ever. Meanwhile, Christianity succeeded in extricating itself from the soil out of which it sprung. In resisting its progress, Judaism called in the aid of the mystical philosophies of Greece and Egypt. The miracle was so great that the magicians thought they must do so with their enchantments. But though their rods turned into serpents, "Aaron's rod" swallowed them all up. They boasted much of their originality and wisdom which saw into "the depths," but the wealth of the Gnostic systems was pilfered from the gospel treasury. Their apocryphal gospels tell us nothing new about the infancy of Jesus, or of His word and work. Apocryphal "Acts" add little but useless legend to the history of the Apostles. As to their "philosophy," which Hippolytus and others trace to Greek sources, it had been brought through the channels of Jewish theosophy, and under the manipulation of Philo and his followers had lost much of its pristine integrity. They started out with the assumption that their "gnosis" could explain both Judaism and Gentilism; but they perverted both. St. Paul might have had them in view, if it had been possible, when he said, "Professing themselves to be wise they became fools."

Art. VIII.—THE WORKS OF PRINCIPAL TULLOCH.

1. *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century.* By Principal Tulloch, D.D. Two vols. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1872.
2. *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century.* By John Tulloch, D.D., LL.D., Senior Principal in the University of St. Andrews. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1885.
3. *Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion.* By John Tulloch, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

JOHN TULLOCH was appointed Principal of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrews in 1854. He was only thirty-one years of age, and was little known outside his obscure Scotch parish and the narrow circle of his personal friends. He owed his nomination to Sir David Brewster, and to the influence of Baron Bunsen, whose esteem he had won through an appreciative review of *Hippolytus*. His first book was not published until he was well settled in his new office, though it was composed a little earlier. Much of his later work is still scattered over a number of *Reviews* and other periodicals. Nevertheless, a goodly array of books witnesses to his literary activity. Of the three the titles of which stand at the head of this article, the first is chosen because, undoubtedly, it is the one upon which his repute as a writer must rest ultimately, and the other two because they are his latest productions. From the three, moreover, a just idea may be obtained of his merits as an author and a thinker, and of the position he occupied in theology and philosophy.

At any rate in his later life Principal Tulloch was one of the recognized representatives of religious thought in Great Britain. And this not wholly, perhaps not even chiefly, on account of his authorship. His individuality and his office rendered him a force in the Established Church of Scotland. He possessed no inconsiderable power as a preacher, and his dignity as one

of the royal chaplains obtained for his discourses a wider auditory than they might otherwise have reached. To him was vouchsafed the rare gift of strong personal influence, and the impression produced spread far beyond those who received it by actual contact. But all this is not our present concern. We must confine ourselves strictly to his writings.

These range over a fairly extensive field—from *Beginning Life*, with its shrewd and kindly, almost homely, counsels to young men, to *Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion*, which treats of the most perplexing and pressing problems of our day. Only two of them can properly be classed as theological—*The Christ of the Gospels and the Christ of Modern Criticism*, a review of M. Renan's *Vie de Jésus;* and the Croall Lectures for 1876 on *The Christian Doctrine of Sin*. The former lacks width and depth, and is scarcely satisfactory in some of its critical views, but it vindicates with much earnestness, with occasional outbursts of eloquence and with unusual glow of feeling, the true divinity of our Lord and Saviour. The latter traces the development of the doctrine with courage, keensightedness, and exegetical skill. Its effort to show that the idea of sin has ineradicable roots in human consciousness, and that the Biblical teaching on the subject corresponds to that consciousness, has peculiar value. Yet the exclusively historical method followed omits to notice essential factors, and the discussion of the relation of sin to death tries rather to escape from St. Paul's statements than to interpret them. Other works are partly philosophical and partly theological. His earliest book gained one—the second—of the Burnett Prizes offered for essays upon "the evidence that there is a Being, All-powerful, Wise, and Good, by whom everything exists." Since the date of its issue the theory of Evolution has so changed the character of the Theistic argument in its application to current thought that the Burnett treatises seem to leave the sceptic's most cogent contentions untouched. The Principal's essay, however, is closely reasoned, and may still be consulted with advantage, especially for its examination of the moral objections to the Divine wisdom and goodness, and for the care and solidity with which it lays its metaphysical foundations. To this class obviously

belongs *Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion*, articles collected from the *Edinburgh* and the *Contemporary Reviews*.

Another set may be called biographical. His publishers tell us that the first of these, *Luther and other Leaders of the Reformation*, remains now his most popular book. It consists of sketches of Luther, Calvin, Latimer, and Knox. These sketches are slight in texture and deficient in warmth, but they indicate nearly all Principal Tulloch's highest qualities as an author. The style can hardly be pronounced graceful, but it is finished and exact, and strikingly free from every species of vice or trick. The reader is impressed with the anxiety of the author to be scrupulously fair to the men about whom he writes. He endeavours to estimate their words and deeds from their own standpoint, to see what they meant by them, to allow for stress of circumstances, and the influence of the then modes of thought and procedure. With all this sympathetic breadth of view are combined nicety of critical judgment and candour of comparison which preclude exaggeration, and ensure appreciation not merely of effects wrought upon contemporaries, but of the permanent worth of work done and principles inculcated. Every page testifies to conscientious carefulness in both matter and manner. In a somewhat smaller degree these remarks apply to *English Puritanism and its Leaders*, but the faults of the Puritanic temper and tone are precisely those which jar most violently upon the author's tastes. The exquisite little monograph on Pascal in *Foreign Classics for English Readers* completes the series of biographical studies.

Principal Tulloch's most important literary achievements were accomplished in a species of composition in which biography, theology, and philosophy meet. Of this kind are his *Rational Theology*, and his *Movements of Religious Thought*. Each consists of a number of distinct but more or less closely connected essays. The first volume of the former work is devoted to a set of thinkers of whom Lord Falkland formed a sort of social centre; the second to the Cambridge Platonists. The method of treatment varies scarcely at all. An ample biographical sketch is followed by an account of the writings of its subject and an exposition of their contents. An

estimate is then given of the actual value of the thought in relation to its time and in its subsequent influence. Frequently we have also a comparison of present-day opinion and reasoning on the topics discussed, and a brief application of the arguments to controversies now current. The plan of *Movements of Religious Thought* is not dissimilar, except that the chapters are much shorter, and both exposition and criticism much less elaborate, purposely suggestive rather than exhaustive.

Regarding the larger work purely as literature, it would be difficult to speak too highly of it. The field was selected happily. Few men deserving to be remembered have been forgotten more generally than the "Liberal Churchmen" of the first half of the seventeenth century, and the Cambridge metaphysicians of the second. Amongst the latter most people were familiar with the name of Ralph Cudworth and the title of his greatest work, but the very names of his coadjutors had well-nigh perished. The memory of the earlier band had been better preserved; yet, with the exception of Chillingworth, they were known chiefly from other causes than their aid to "rational theology;" and the finest thinker of them all, "the ever-memorable Mr. John Hales, of Eton," had sunk into nearly complete oblivion. Nor is it only that remarkable men are rescued from vanishing into obscurity. From the quiet retirement which nearly all of them affected, there went forth streams of thought which are beneficially traceable in the theology and philosophy of to-day. It required keenness of insight as well as affinity of taste to perceive this little knot of thinkers at the background of a stage unusually crowded with famous actors, soldiers, statesmen, ecclesiastics, and even authors, and to discern the intrinsic value and far-reaching influence of these half-concealed students. As a chapter of scantily understood history these records were worth writing. The volumes are as trustworthy as entertaining. They hold beautiful bits of quiet description and modest yet discriminating analysis of character. Nothing can be more admirable of its kind than the accounts of the doctrines taught by these thinkers, and the ways in which they expounded and supported them. Sometimes we are led in egular order through a condensed summary of the most im-

portant writings of a particular author. Sometimes illustrations of principles and methods are gathered from many sources and arranged under appropriate heads. But always the reader can be confident that he has before him the genuine opinions and characteristic phraseology of the subject of the essay, and not notions of the essayist's own. Nothing essential is omitted, nothing misleading added. The impartial honesty of the interpreter is joined to mastery of his theme. The facts are presented in a clear, colourless medium which forbids distortion.

Nor is this all. No individual thinker or system of thought ever stands alone. Not only are both related to predecessors and successors, but there is a soil out of which they grow, an atmosphere by which they are stimulated. Principal Tulloch invariably points out this relation and renders it intelligible. He observes rigorously the limits of time which he sets himself, but the opinions he exhibits plainly constitute parts of a process. The volumes will repay study as examples of the art of philosophic exposition.

Principal Tulloch rarely or never obtrudes his own views on the subjects discussed, and the nature of the work encourages such reticence. It is obvious that he sympathizes strongly with both Liberal Churchmen and Platonists: indeed, isolated expressions intimate that he adopts their opinions. On the whole, however, this conclusion would not rest upon direct evidence, but upon mere inference. We turn therefore with much interest to a quasi-authoritative statement by one whose sisterly intimacy with him allowed ample opportunities of judgment. Mrs. Oliphant* says—

"The position which he took up from the beginning was that of one to whom all truth is reasonable, to whom the warm consent of the soul is always necessary. Not, indeed, that he attempted or desired those processes of proof by which every spiritual act must be made comprehensible to the mind which can conceive of nothing higher than material evidence. This was never his point of view. But he liked to trace a nobler Reason, to obtain a profound response, to show how in all times God has silently demonstrated Himself to His children by that internal conviction which is greater than evidence, and that the analogy of all

* *Blackwood's Magazine*, April, 1886.

that is reasonable and human is on the side of faith. He adopted this as the subject of his researches and his thoughts, in their earliest phase, and he kept it unbroken to the end. His mind knew no departure from this leading principle. He had but little regard for those doctrines which are supported by tradition alone, and found little interest in the contentions of different systems. He was a member of a Presbyterian Church by nature and circumstances. . . . . But he would not have gone to the stake for Presbytery. The constitution of the external Church was more or less indifferent to him."

He maintained a corresponding attitude in the conflict between Religion and Materialism or Agnosticism, "the whole consistent purpose of his work being throughout to identify as the true pillars of the temple, equal in form and of perfectly harmonious poise and balance, the two principles so often supposed to be antagonistic—Reason and Faith."

This is vague enough in itself. Doubtless there are few educated Christian people who would contest the claims put forth on behalf of either faith or reason, or of their alliance. Nevertheless, the quotation serves its purpose; it throws helpful light upon otherwise obscure personal references. It warrants us in considering certain opinions discussed in *Rational Theology* as identical with the Principal's own.

The title of the volume suggests an inquiry as to its meaning: what *is* "rational theology"? It is difficult to fix the answer unless we are allowed to say the theology which results from and is animated by "the spirit of rational inquiry." In both question and answer we have the term "rational," and it is this adjective which, above all else, requires explanation. In the preface, however, we read: "The 'Rational' element in all Churches is truly the ideal element—that which raises the Church above its own little world, and connects it with the movements of thought, the course of philosophy, or the course of science—with all, in fact, that is most powerful in ordinary human civilization . . . . the Church which has lost all savour of Rational thought—of the spirit which inquires rather than asserts—is already effete and ready to perish." It would appear, then, that the rational constitutes but one element in theology, and makes no attempt to cover the entire ground. Room is left for dogmatic theology, for the spirit that asserts rather than inquires. The history of

theological opinion, and especially of theological controversy, consists, in great part, of contentions between these two factors—the "rational" and the dogmatic. Each in turn has striven strenuously to exclude the other from the field. We may say safely that each has established a legitimate claim to a place in the theology of the Christian Church. Assuredly the Church is entrusted with a "good deposit" which it must hand down from age to age undamaged and undiminished. Assuredly, too, she must take the position of learner as well as teacher. Her duty does not require her to close her eyes against fresh light that may proceed from progressive philosophy, physical science, historical criticism and discovery, and other quarters. The problem is to determine the relative domain and supremacy of the rational and the dogmatic. Has the latter the right to limit the scope of inquiry? may the former expose dogma to its tests and researches? On the one hand, authority must show just warrant for removing any matters from the sphere of investigation, for prohibiting the exercise of human reason upon them. On the other hand, lies the more real danger of regarding instability as the normal state of the Christian creed. We seem driven to choose between infallibility and confusion. This, of course, is the dilemma which the Romanist presses continually and effectively.

Let us see what help the two volumes immediately before us bring to the solution of this dilemma. The main questions discussed by both Liberal Churchmen and Cambridge Platonists were the rule of faith and the ideal of the Church; though in the later school the rule of faith passed, as a subject of inquiry, into the source of certitude, the ideal Church into the nature of true religion, and both led up to the endeavour to construct a Christian philosophy upon a distinctively spiritual basis. Space will not permit us to trace the development of thought through Principal Tulloch's luminous pages. We must perforce content ourselves with a rapid glance at one or two salient points. Our author draws a dreary picture of the intellectual bondage and stagnation of Protestantism at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Perhaps the portrait is a little too darkly coloured, but its main lines cannot be altered.

While liberty of private judgment received the fullest theoretical recognition, it scarcely dared to lift its head in practice. Calvinistic confessions of faith had usurped the throne from which the Pope had been expelled. Complete justice is done to Arminianism for its successful revolt against this tyranny. If the Principal's own proclivities hindered due acknowledgment of Arminianism as a system of theology, he yet declares that "its presence may be traced in all the subsequent developments of Protestantism, in another and more comprehensive thoughtfulness and freshening life, if also here and there in a weakened and reduced Christianity and defective religious interest." Nowadays the name of Arminius is connected so exclusively with his antagonism to the Calvinistic doctrines of election and reprobation, that we overlook that, though his work historically began with this and sprang out of it, he accomplished so much more than this, that it is dwarfed into a comparatively small service to theology. By showing that the Scriptures possess a "directive," not a "co-active," authority over belief, he and his school rendered the employment of physical force for the conservation of doctrine logically impossible. By assigning to confessions of faith merely expository power, they prepared the way for liberty of conscience and of prophesying. By distinguishing between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines, they inculcated tolerance of difference of opinion and genuine charity towards all who "hold the Head." These principles attained an extensive influence over many who could not join in repudiating "the decrees."

Arminius maintained the supremacy of Holy Writ, but regarded its interpretation as a matter concerning which each individual is responsible to God alone. This doctrine was opposed by Puritan and Papist alike, but it gradually triumphed until it was accepted by the great majority of Protestants, though the struggle was continued to very recent times, even if now it may be said to have ceased. To all intents and purposes this was the position of John Hales, but it found its clearest expression and its most incontestable argumentative support in William Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants.* He boldly meets the Romanist's demand for an infallible inter-

preter on pain of chaotic uncertainty, and the extreme Puritan plea for the authority of confessions by manifesting that the impossibility of reaching agreement on fundamentals is purely imaginary: all Protestant Churches do agree upon them. On points not fundamental, agreement, however desirable, is unnecessary. Error on these last puts no man to the risk of salvation. Substantially, Protestantism has never advanced beyond this position. The difficulty raised by the Romanist exists in theory, and is perhaps speculatively unanswerable, but it is practically unimportant. The individual intelligence, sincerely desirous of truth and duly enlightened by the Holy Ghost, does not commit serious mistake. On essential questions the Bible speaks plainly and decisively enough. About these there can be no division amongst them that admit its authority.

These volumes enable us to follow the growth of this theory, and exhibit its logical supports in condensed and convenient form. Their author appears to deem it quite satisfactory, and to need no supplement. Certainly, so far as personal responsibility to God is concerned, it is impregnable and sufficient. We may not lose sight, however, of the existence of a Catholic faith guaranteed by something more than and intrinsically different from individual adhesion, however numerous. Perplexing as the Vincentian canon often is in its application, it at least testifies to the unity of the Church and to the *consensus* of the corporate body, Divinely directed if not inspired. As we shall see in due course, our rational theologians admitted the necessity of dogma, and attempted to ascertain its amount. But their purpose was rather to settle terms of communion than to estimate the Church's authoritative teaching. To say the least of it, this aspect of the question received scant notice from them. Contending against overbearing authority, they may be excused if they failed to enforce its legitimate claims. But their historian scarcely seems to perceive their defect, if he does not count it an excellence. The solvent of "rationality" was used without fear of consequences or restriction of range. It is to these theologians that we must credit the germ of one of the mischievously popular ideas of to-day. The Bible must be subject to "rational inquiry" no less than its

doctrines. Whilst they surrendered the Scriptures themselves to the freest investigation and held hypotheses as to their nature, composition, and inspiration to be matters of indifference, they sought to save all that was valuable by the now familiar assertion that the Scriptures are not revelation but contain it. There is no need to dwell on the illogical plausibility of this indeterminate hypothesis. It suffices to point out that Principal Tulloch accepts it, and regards it, or some equivalent to it, as indispensable to all truly rational theology. No question can be made that the right of private judgment extends to the nature and amount of Scripture equally with the interpretation of Scripture. If every one is permitted to ask, what says Scripture? no one can be forbidden to inquire, what *is* Scripture? That the practical difficulties of the second interrogation are enormously greater for the unlearned than those of the first may be left now out of the account, though it strongly affects the right of the individual to call himself an unbeliever. But the effort to separate the substance of revelation from its form blinks most serious aspects of truthfulness and trustworthiness, so long, that is, as assertions involved or expressed in the form are disregarded. To stigmatize the Bible's own declarations about its composition as "traditionary opinion," and as therefore lightly and safely to be set aside, is in the highest degree irrational. It simply shuts the eyes to a mass of pertinent fact. The adjustment of the Christian creed to the established propositions of historic criticism must proceed on very different lines. So far as the evidence before us goes, Principal Tulloch did not consider any vigorous assault upon the framework of Holy Writ resistible, or the thing assailed worthy of defence. The letter of Scripture, he believed, might readily be divorced from its spirit. He displays clearly the origin of this idea in modern English theology, but he carries us to issues from which its parents would, probably, have shrunk.

The Cambridge Platonists, it is true, insisted upon the subjective evidence of revelation almost to the exclusion of the external. This attitude, however, does not appear to have been taken up deliberately. It was forced on them by undue exaltation of the current ecclesiastical statements of the objec-

tive evidence, by the attempt to silence conscience at the bidding of human authority. Their historian approaches dangerously near to abandoning the Scriptures to the sole support of an inward testimony, which is the less positive because the mystical element in it is dominated by "culture," literary taste, and refined sensibilities. Spite of many sentences that might be quoted recognizing the necessity and the reality of Divine illumination, it is the unsanctified Reason that holds the position of supremacy. It is the Written Word which must be brought into harmony with the intellectual atmosphere of the times, and the cost must not be counted. Love of reverent and candid examination and inquiry passes into license of selection and rejection, limited chiefly by philosophical canons.

Slight and insufficient as has been our discussion of these questions and of our author's relation towards them, we must turn at once to the "rational" view of the Church. With even more confidence than before we can assume that Principal Tulloch's views coincide, in the main, with those which he explains. The logical outcome of the right of private judgment is toleration of different opinions and practices. Permit men to think for themselves on matters of religion, and you cannot punish them for divergence from a fixed standard. The theologians classed as "rational," and others, speedily perceived that on some of the most fiercely debated subjects—*e.g.*, Episcopacy *versus* Presbyterianism—the Scriptures laid down no decisive rule, and that on many doctrines and points of Biblical interpretation honest disagreement was more than possible. In the absence of other authority co-ordinate with that of the Scriptures, it would be utterly irrational to unchurch a man for holding opinions which the Bible cannot be shown to condemn. After rejecting human rule, you cannot reasonably set it up again to explain the Divine. The same practical conclusion was reached by other roads. From the distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines, it appeared that a man might believe the first while in error about the second. You cannot determine a man's spiritual or ecclesiastical position by the less important, to the exclusion of the more important factor. Again, religion, our

theologians taught, is not essentially the performance of certain ceremonies or adherence to a certain set of dogmas: it is a life, growing from "a deiform seed" into godlikeness. They who possess the reality of this life and manifest its force must be accounted truly religious. The Cambridge Platonists dwelt chiefly upon this aspect of the case. Whether the accusation often brought against them, that they under-estimated the necessity of a lively faith in Christ and continual communication of supernatural grace, can be substantiated or not, there can be no doubt that they taught the truth on this matter, so far as they went, and that they perceived accurately its bearing upon the question of toleration and the constitution of the Church. You may not deny the title of Christian to those who support their claim to it by genuine piety.

Neither the earlier nor the later school of theology could be satisfied without some doctrinal definitions, the acceptance of which must be essential to church-membership. These, however, must be brought within the narrowest possible compass. This irreducible minimum was found in the Apostles' Creed, which was considered a fair and sufficient test. Thus far the line of argument proceeds consistently in the direction of liberality and charity. One would imagine that the next step would inevitably be the recognition of various denominations as constituents of the one Church. But the age was not ripe for this, and even now the principle is understood imperfectly and often applied arbitrarily. "What is known as the 'Voluntary principle' was then unknown and would not have appeared to 'these theologians' a principle at all." "Let men differ as they may in religious opinion—this was no reason, according to our divines, why there should not be a common worship and a common national Church." But who is to determine the form of this comprehensive national Church, its ritual, its rubrics, its canons? The Church "is the nation itself in the aggregation of its spiritual activities—its collective Christian life and wisdom working with freedom, yet subject to the common order and law. The true rule of the Church is, therefore, neither with bishop nor with presbyter, with ecclesiastical council nor royal will, but with the supreme national

voice." The theory thus outlined Principal Tulloch calls "constitutional," and opposes to it, on the one hand, the "sacerdotal" theory, of which the logical issue is Popery, and the "dogmatical" theory, which can lead only to "Protestant Dissent," which, on Principal Tulloch's showing, "exists to propagate its own notions of Christian truth as necessarily the truth, and by the pressure of its special dogmatisms to crush all further spirit of Christian inquiry, and within its own pale, or as far as it can, all freedom of thought." Further—

"Whatever may be thought of the Latitudinarian or constitutional theory, it is at least the only theory of the Church which has been found consistent with Christian science, and the cultivation of intellectual fairness no less than spiritual piety and charity. Not only so, but it is the only theory not discredited by the course of civilization. A national Church which can embrace all the varied activities of Christian thought and life—which can appropriate instead of repelling the results of scientific discovery, and modify instead of banning even the froward energies of communistic thought—is a possibility in the future. The wildest powers of our modern scientific and social life may be brought within its control and purification. Before such powers Popery and Separatism are alike helpless. Systems which have nothing to learn—which have long ago laid up and embalmed, as splendid antiquarianism, their theories of the Divine—have nothing to teach. The most living and powerful thought of the age passes by them without notice. Mediævalism broods as a spectre on the face of modern civilization. Sectarianism faintly solicits its mind and heart. Neither really move and vitalize it while it goes onward its unknown way."

Dr. Tulloch does not often declare his own views so plainly and positively. The tone and terms indicate that he is expressing his most cherished convictions. There is no use in asking ourselves here whether such a Church as is described above lies in the womb of the future. Possibly—though scarcely probably—the world may one day see a comprehensive Church of India or China. But to suppose that reverent freedom of thought and elasticity of organization cannot be maintained elsewhere than in a "national" Church involves an audacious assumption. To say nothing of practical difficulties —*e.g.*, the certain existence of a dissenting minority, the frequently arbitrary division and aggregation of nations—the scheme mistakes the nature of Christian unity. It perpetuates

the old mischievous confusion between "one flock" and "one fold." In reality it differs little from the extreme Broad Church theory as formulated by Dean Stanley, except for an unmistakable "Moderate" flavour. It overlooks the distinction, clear as daylight though it is, between cultured indifference to diverse views of truth—which indeed are generally but different and too isolated phases of it—and that synthesis which gathers all aspects of truth into one picture, all elements of truth into one consolidated and harmonious sphere. It endeavours to ensure the unity of the Church by a purely external and therefore artificial bond, instead of seeking for communion where alone it can take its rise—in a common experience of divine things. Some inkling of the real nature, source and guard of Christian unity the Cambridge Platonists had, though they made little or no use of it either in thought or in act. But it does not seem to have come within the mental horizon of their historian. His eye never penetrated, nor cared to penetrate, to the inner oneness beneath outward diversity, and could not perceive the body of Christ with its component parts, "distinct as the billows and one as the sea."

There may be no objection to regarding Popery and "Separatism" as two opposite logical poles. In that case, however, the principle represented by neither can be safely lost sight of. We are not careful now to defend Protestant Nonconformity against the expressed and implied accusation of Separatism. But we do enter an earnest *caveat* against the supposition that the existence of various churches in one given nation *necessarily* militates against the real unity of Christ's Church any more than the existence of different churches in different nations. Surely a number of religious bodies freely and frankly acknowledging one another's ministry and church-membership, exhibiting no mutual jealousy, but having fellowship with each other, would keep "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" more intelligently, effectually, and lovingly than the Erastian establishment Dr. Tulloch desiderated, which would reflect the moods and tempers of the populace rather than the doctrines of Holy Writ, and which might *ex hypothesi* be as worthily Socinian as Christian. And if adaptability to the

changing circumstances of advancing years, if power to assimilate the highest thought and to turn intellectual forces into their noblest channels be criteria of the true Church, a "national" Church, inevitably both the battle-ground of factions and the resting-place of indifference, would possess strength neither for digestion nor direction. It is conceivable that a nation consisting entirely of genuinely Christian men might bring all churches into visible accord, but the Church which should be fashioned and governed by a nation but partially Christian, which should correspond to the capacities of unspiritual as well as spiritual men, would speedily reach the acme of weakness and discord. Such a heterogeneous crowd would be quite incompetent to perform the functions of Christ's "militant, embodied host," to represent Christ in and to testify of Christ to the world.

Principal Tulloch's error arises from his grasping Christianity almost entirely upon its intellectual side. This cannot be studied without coming into contact again and again with its experimental aspects. Hence he takes account of them and formally admits their existence and their importance. But he separates the kindred elements sharply, instead of allowing the one to interpenetrate the other. The demands of the cultured intellect loom so large that they more than half conceal the requirements of humble, living faith. Anxiety, laudable in itself, to place theology *en rapport* with the times too hastily overlooks and too lightly estimates the authority and significance of the Scripture's own voice. One can hardly avoid considering Dr. Tulloch as a distinguished, not to say a typical, representative of the "Moderatism" of the last half century. Certainly it is an improvement upon its predecessor. For purely literary culture we have learning directly associated with the sacred writings, and for gentlemanly carelessness about religion a sincere desire to ally religion with modern thought and a genuine, if not very profound, recognition of its spiritual power; but there is still the same invincible and all-pervasive disposition to assign disproportionate weight to evanescent forms of thought and culture, and to yield cherished and precious truth at their first summons. Beyond all doubt, Principal Tulloch was spiritually greater than his books, but

their "stream of tendency" assuredly runs with the currents we have just referred to.

His *Movements of Religious Thought* confirm this judgment. Most of the lectures are exclusively expository. They set the movements described in a clear light and abound in incisive sentences. The writer has performed grateful service by his clear analysis of Carlyle's religious teaching and his estimate of its negative and positive relations to Christianity. His criticism of John Stuart Mill strikes us, for its space, as extraordinarily complete and conclusive. But throughout we feel painfully defective sympathy with religious earnestness, and something near akin to indifference to—or perhaps lack of perception of—the great evangelical verities. The only work which, as representing the point of view of evangelical, yet liberal, theology, can, for purposes of comparison, be placed side by side with these essays, is the treatment of a portion of the same subject in *Modern Anglican Theology*—a book with which Dr. Tulloch was avowedly acquainted—and the difference of tone and appraisement is very evident. The two books start with dissimilar purposes, and Dr. Tulloch's contains a valuable historical element, but this does not alter his theological position.

So far as they go, the essays on *Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion* win our heartiest approbation. They press with consistent effect the indubitable proposition that unless there is a spiritual nature in man there can be no proof of the existence of a Personal God; but the one being granted the other necessarily follows. The author's clear, if rather cold, thought has here a field well adapted to itself. He excels in giving his readers to understand the real points at issue and the bearings of the arguments employed. And this is no small benefit.

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY.

A YEAR'S GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Theologischer Jahresbericht. (Annual Survey of Theology.) Edited by R. A. Lipsius, et al. Fifth Vol., containing the Literature of 1885. Leipzig: Reichardt.

THIS volume is a remarkable monument of German industry and thoroughness. It contains a survey, as nearly complete as human work can be, of every department of theological literature. French, Italian, American, English, Greek, as well as German, publications are noticed; although, as many of the foreign works did not come under the reviewer's own eye, the references to them are often mere announcements of the titles. The German works are described at adequate length. Pamphlets, articles in magazines and encyclopædias, are not overlooked. Catholic as well as Protestant theology is included. As the editor and reviewers are more or less closely connected with the "critical" school, discrimination has to be exercised by the reader at certain points; but, on the whole, the tone is dispassionate and impartial. Of the scholarship and ability of the respective reviewers there can be no doubt.

The survey of *Old Testament* literature, by Prof. Siegfried, alone fills nearly a hundred pages. It includes twelve departments, which are again divided and subdivided. Thus, the first head enumerates works on Egyptology, Assyriology, Arabic and Ethiopic, Aramaic, Phœnician, Semitic Palæography; on Manuscripts and their editors; under Judaism the Talmud, Aggada, Midrash, Post-Talmudic, and modern literature are reviewed. Notices of about forty criticisms of the new Proof-Bible testify to the interest taken in the proposed new German translation. A new edition has appeared of H. Strack's *Hebrew Grammar*, which is published both in German and English, and, from its brevity, and supplying only the essential elements, is well suited for learners.

Dr. Holtzmann, in his review of *New Testament* literature, is as able but not as judicial as Dr. Siegfried. He thinks that the value of Dr. Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament* is more literary and classical than theological. The reviewer's own *Einleitung* may be taken as a counterblast on the critical side, and is one of the most considerable publications of the year. In it he gives us his most mature

opinions on a subject which he has specially studied. The work is one of a series (*Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher*), which will be valuable for the material it will give, though not for its conclusions. Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* (vol. i.) and Weizsäcker's *Apostolische Zeitalter* have already appeared. On the other side Zöckler's *Handbuch der theolog. Wissenchaften*, in three stately volumes, with equal learning, maintains a far sounder position. It now appears in a second and revised edition. Beyschlag is now writing a new *Leben Jesu*, of which the first part only has yet appeared. As this volume is devoted to an investigation of the sources to be used, the work is not likely to be a brief one. The reviewer indicates its character by comparing it to Neander's *Life*, which tried to mediate between rationalism and orthodoxy. P. Schmidt's exposition of 1 Thessalonians (*Der erste Thessalonicherbrief, neu erklärt.* Berlin: Reimer), is strong on the exegetical side. Keil is proceeding rapidly with the commentary on the New Testament. The volume on the Epistle to the Hebrews has just appeared.

Church History is reviewed in four periods by as many writers. It is impossible here to give a just idea of the extraordinary number of general, local, and individual histories, great and small, which are noticed. They fill nearly 200 pages. The veteran, Karl Hase (born in 1800) has published the first part of his *Church History on the basis of Academic Lectures* (*Kirchengeschichte auf der Grundlage, &c.* Leipzig). His works are distinguished by "picturesque description of men and times, philosophic reflection, perfect mastery of the matter, suggestive remarks and parallels, a concise, often proverb-like, style." The excitement occasioned by the discovery of *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* is subsiding. Yet Prof. Lüdemann notices above thirty new works about it, and "these are only a selection." The different views expressed respecting its date and purpose are excellently summarized. Sabatier puts its date before Paul's Epistles; Lightfoot, Ménégoz, Langen, Wordsworth, Romestin, Bickell, Venables, Caspari, Farrar, Schaff, at the end of the first century; Harnack, Addis, Holtzmann, Lipsius, Hilgenfeld, from 120 to 165 A.D. Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, Macedonia, are advocated as its place of origin. Some make it the original of Barnabas, others reverse the relation, others again make both "The Teaching" and Barnabas dependent on an earlier work. Allard (*Histoire des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles d'apres les documents archéologiques.* Paris: Lecoffre), has something new to say on an old question, or rather he appears as an advocate of the old views against modern critics. A German *Library of the Fathers*, in very cheap form, is now approaching its completion, the number of volumes it includes now exceeding four hundred. Hurter's series (*Sanctorum Patrum Opuscula Selecta.* Innsbruck), also in cheap form, now numbers nearly fifty volumes. About twenty publications attest the revived interest in the prince of the scholastics, Thomas Aquinas. A notable event is the publication of a new and splendid

critical edition of Luther's works under Government patronage (*Kritische Gesammtausgabe*). Three volumes have appeared. The price is high, but such a standard edition was greatly needed. Other editions at a more moderate cost are proceeding. The great edition of the *Corpus Reformatorum* has also added a volume of Calvin's works. The continued interest in Luther's life and work has produced a further crop of biographies and discussions. Bugenhagen's jubilee is celebrated by the publication of above twenty essays and volumes. The German, Swiss, French, Dutch, and Austrian sections of the Reformation are illustrated in a great number of new works, the Abolition of the Edict of Nantes alone having quite a literature of its own. The Papal Counter-Reformation is similarly discussed with almost equal voluminousness.

Theology is reviewed under the heads of Encyclopædia, Philosophy of Religion, Apology, Polemics, Symbolics, and Dogmatics. The sixteenth volume of Herzog's great encyclopædia has appeared; another volume should complete it. It is a vast thesaurus of knowledge on all questions relating to theology and the Church. The Catholic encyclopædia of Wetzer and Welte is also going through a second edition. Tschackert's work on the Roman controversy (*Evang. Polemik gegen die römische Kirche*) is well spoken of. The reviewer points with alarm to the skill with which the agents of Rome use the rivalries of different parties and classes to advance their own ends. Second editions of two very different works are noticed, Biedermann's *Christliche Dogmatik*, a pantheistic system, and Frank's *System d. christl. Wahrheit*, speculative in spirit but orthodox.

The principal new work in *Ethics* is the posthumous volume of Dr. Dorner's *System der christl. Sittenlehre*, which is quite worthy to stand beside his Dogmatics. The German reviewer commends the thoroughness of its exposition and the wealth of its material. We sincerely hope that the promised English translation will be an adequate one. Other important works have appeared in this field.

In *Homiletics*, Bassermann's *Handbuch der christl. Beredsamkeit* is a weighty work, reproducing and expanding Schleiermacher's ideas as to the function of Christian preaching. Both Protestant and Catholic writers deal with *Church Law and Constitution* in numerous volumes. A brief review brings to notice a number of works on *Home Missions*, *Jewish Missions*, and *Foreign Missions*. Dr. Warneck examines the slanders of Romish writers on Protestant missions (*Prot. Beleuchtung der röm. Angriffe auf die evang. Heidenmission*). *Sermon-literature* still multiplies. Lorenz (*Audachtsbuch aus Luther's Haus-Postille*, Breslau) gives the pith of Luther's Haus-Postille, omitting all the matter which has become obsolete. Monrad's *World of Prayer* (*Aus der Welt des Gebetes*) is in an *eighth* edition in German; in English the first edition still hangs fire. In German it passes through a new edition a year. Wiener (*Das Gebet, historisch, dogmatisch, ethisch, liturgisch und*

pastoral-theologisch betrachtet. Gotha: Perthes) promises much and performs a great deal of what he promises. He maintains its objective as well as subjective influence. Many other edifying works, noble in thought and language, we omit.

Nature and the Bible: Lectures on the Mosaic History of Creation in its Relation to Natural Science. By Dr. F. H. REUSCH, Prof. of Catholic Theology, Bonn. Translated by KATHLEEN LYTTELTON. Two vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

This work is a noble addition to modern Apologetics. It sweeps the whole ground in debate between Scripture and Science, and the author's spirit is as excellent as his treatment is masterly and thorough. Dr. Reusch belongs to the "Old Catholic" party, of which he is a distinguished leader, and he writes from the Catholic standpoint; but the questions discussed are anterior to the internal controversies of Christianity. On some points, as we shall see, the author goes farther in the way of concession than seems to us necessary or right. The weakest point in the work is the reference to English authors. Cardinal Wiseman's essay, often referred to, is rather out of date. So also is the incident of the signing of the paper in 1864 (vol. i. p. 86), which the translator might surely have omitted. We could scarcely expect her to compress the matter of the lectures; but it was unnecessary for the author to reproduce the occasional redundancies and repetitions which are useful in oral address. The translator might, however, have corrected the proper name Ausland into McAusland. Still, these and some other matters are comparatively slight defects. The knowledge and learning displayed are ample; the style is remarkably perspicuous and flowing. Dr. Reusch borrows largely from Protestant exegetes and scientists, to whom he renders generous acknowledgments. Indeed, in the expository portions of the work, his chief reliance is on Delitzsch, Keil, Dillmann: Catholic exegetes are nowhere. Hugh Miller, Prichard, Pye-Smith, and others are often quoted. The translator has done her part excellently.

Dr. Reusch's main principle is that Scripture is concerned only with the communication of religious truth, and that in everything else it is content to fall in with current ideas. In the history of creation, not only its cardinal but its sole doctrine is, that all things were created by God. This secured, everything else is matter of free speculation. The Mosaic history of Creation, the relations of Astronomy and Geology to the Bible, the Deluge, Spontaneous Generation, Darwinism, Man and the Animal World, the Unity of the Race and its Antiquity, are all discussed on the ground of this postulate. While the postulate is true enough, there is room for considerable latitude in its application, and in some directions our author goes very far. For example, while holding that spontaneous

generation has not been and is never likely to be proved, he still sees nothing wrong or dangerous in leaving it an open question (vol. ii. 4). We wonder what the authorities of his old Church would say to this. Certainly the demonstration of spontaneous generation would give greater strength to Materialism. Nor is the author disposed to contest the possibility of error in Scripture in non-religious matters. Inspiration is only concerned with the correct transmission of tradition without endorsing its contents. The supposition that the accounts of antediluvian longevity are mistaken is regarded as quite admissible (ii. 251). Speaking of the Flood, he also says (i. 406): "I think that, theologically speaking, we may consider as admissible the theory that the narrative in Genesis, although historical in all essential points, contains legendary elements with regard to details which are not of religious importance—for instance, in the statements about the size of the ark, and such like." In these and other instances the writer almost seems to say, "Scripture means everything you like to make it mean." We do not think that much is gained by ascribing to it such almost unlimited malleability. We only say this to keep the reader's caution awake. On the main questions at issue the author's position is as clear and decided as could be desired. We note with special satisfaction the emphasis with which in the two lectures entitled "Man and Beast" (vol. ii.), he repels the attempts to assimilate man and animal. The difference made by the possession of reason outweighs all the resemblances of physical structure. The supposed anticipations of reason in animals are examined. The lowest man has what the highest ape has not; the two are parted by an impassable gulf. "The fact that man is a being gifted with reason is undoubtedly more fitted to be used as *differentia specifica* than the fact that he has a vertebral column and brings forth living young." The patent method for bringing man and animals near together, and reducing the difference between them to one of degree, is to idealize the animal and degrade man, a course as far removed from scientific impartiality as is conceivable. The animal receives more and the savage less than justice. The author concludes his discussion by saying, "To speak frankly, it has only been with some repugnance that I have discussed the theory of our relationship to the ape in detail."

It is impossible for us here to give an adequate idea of the interest and richness of the discussions of these volumes. We only further note one or two points. After an elaborate and valuable exposition of the text in Genesis in three lectures, the author states the four equally admissible theories held respecting the creative days. These are—first, that the days are ordinary ones; secondly, that the days are ordinary, but were preceded by a creative period of indefinite length; thirdly, that the days are indefinite periods; fourthly, that the days mean, not successive periods, but different contemporaneous aspects of the creative act. The second is the Restitution theory, which regards the work of the six days

as a restoration from a lapsed state, the third the Concordistic theory, the fourth the Ideal theory. In former editions of his work the author held to the third theory, but he now sees insuperable difficulties in it, while he states and advocates the Ideal theory. The lectures bearing on this point (xviii. and xix.) are of special interest. To attempt to give an outline would be to do them injustice. Haeckel's militant atheism receives justly severe castigation. In his honour the supposed primordial organism, the first birth from the inorganic, was called Bathybius Haeckelii. Its very existence, however, is now questioned. A German naturalist says: "The Bathybius only exists in the dark depths of scientific superstition." Haeckel himself naïvely says: "The spontaneous generation of Monera has no doubt not yet been certainly observed; but it does not seem at all impossible in itself, and for general reasons it must be assumed as the beginning of the peopling of the earth with living beings, as the origin of the animal and vegetable world." Of some of his pictorial illustrations another naturalist writes: "I have no hesitation in asserting that the drawings, in so far as they are original drawings of Haeckel's, are partly extremely inaccurate, and partly simply invented." "Considering the overbearing and positive manner in which Haeckel states his views, it is not superfluous to remind people how inaccurate and inexact he is in his treatment of facts, and to show that Rütimeyer is quite justified in saying that the *History of Creation* and the paper *Ueber die Entstehung*, &c., are a kind of fancy literature which reminds us of times long gone by, when observations were employed only as mortar for the stones given us by fancy"—*i.e.*, not only Haeckel's inferences, but also his facts, are largely imaginary. And yet his so-called *History of Creation*, which is to supersede Moses, has been reproduced in English under high auspices.

1. *Creation and its Records: a Brief Statement of Christian Belief with reference to Modern Facts and Ancient Scripture.* By B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E., F.R.S.E. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

2. *Theism and Evolution: an Examination of Modern Speculative Theories as related to Theistic Conceptions of the Universe.* By JOSEPH S. VAN DYKE, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Two worthy additions to the apologetic works called forth by scientific scepticism. The author of the first is an English layman, of the second, an American minister; and their works, while traversing mainly the same ground, are excellently adapted to their different purposes. The first is brief, and addressed to a general audience; the second enters more thoroughly into the philosophical questions involved, and appeals to

well-informed students. Mr. Baden-Powell's volume is based on lectures delivered at Simla, and retains much of the ease and freedom of spoken address. While modestly disclaiming scientific accomplishments, the author is at home in handling scientific facts and theories, and quite abreast of the most recent discussions; the recent passage of arms between Mr. Gladstone and Professor Huxley is often referred to, the Professor always being mentioned with profound respect. Not the least merit of the volume is that the scientific argument is conducted in untechnical language. In the first part the author insists, with much skill and force, on the necessity of designing intelligence at each step in the process of creation or creative evolution, in the very formation of atoms, as well as at the emergence of life, intelligence, and moral ideas. A molecule of ozone and one of oxygen are indistinguishable by any skill of chemist, and yet their behaviour shows that their properties are radically different. So, again, dead protoplasm and living are identical to every test; the protoplasm which develops into a plant and that which develops into an animal are the same externally. Of these and a hundred other marvellous facts only Theism furnishes an explanation. "Those who want a specimen of the way in which extreme evolutionists will *romance* (it can be called nothing else), will do well to read Dr. Haeckel's *History of Creation*, only they must be on their guard at every step. The author constantly states as facts (or perhpas with an impatient 'must have been') the existence of purely hypothetical forms, of which there is *no kind* of evidence." The author's Second Part is not so successful. Nothing, indeed, can be more effective than his refutation of the attempts to explain away Gen. i. as fable or poetic license, and his putting of the distinction between the teaching and the interpretation of Scripture. But when he proposes his new interpretation we hesitate. His view is that Gen. i. describes not actual but ideal creation—*i.e.*, the creation of the ideal forms of all things, a sort of Platonic creation. The theory is supported by ingenious reasons. But even admitting it, we ask, as the author asks of the day-period interpretation, what is gained by it? How are we brought nearer to a harmonizing of the order of this ideal creation with the scientific order? However this may be, the spirit and the main argument of the volume are excellent.

Substantially the same questions are discussed by Dr. Van Dyke on a broader scale and with more elaboration of argument. The volume has not been hurriedly thrown off, but is evidently "the result," as Dr. Hodge's Introduction says, "of very wide reading and of mature reflection." The first ten chapters prove in very masterly style that man's physical, intellectual, moral, and religious nature cannot be explained as the mere result of evolution. The headings of two chapters, "The Father of the Animal Kingdom," Haeckel's "Pater Familias, the Moneron," are suggestive, and the chapters contain some awkward facts for atheistic evolutionists. Bathybius was first of all hailed as "the

progenitor of all living creatures," the scientific Adam. But Bathybius turned out to be mere sulphate of lime, and was forthwith repudiated. "Poor Bathybius, named so grandly, honoured so greatly, praised so unstintingly, has been laid to rest. Though his brief life was an imposing pageant, his birth, it seems, was a blunder, his old age a burden to his friends, his death the removal of an embarrassment, and his burial a relief." Under the author's dissection Haeckel's Moneron turns out just as miserably. The writer has a way of reasoning by interrogation, which, however troublesome to opponents, makes his book as animated as a barrister's cross-questioning. He justly thinks that the truth of evolution, within certain limits, will strengthen the theistic argument. "The new teleology may prove more successful than the old. The theistic view of Nature may have a more secure foundation than it now has." Evolution will serve to explain many facts which are now an enigma. "If animals and plants have been endowed with the power of evolving new species after the lapse of centuries, the argument from design is not weaker than when it did noble service in the hands of Paley." The author thinks that "the struggle for existence may yet evolve a second Bishop Butler; if this should prove to be the case, much of the *à priori* reasoning of modern scientists would become in his grasp mere hay, wood, and stubble, in the burning of which new light would be thrown on final causes." He also quotes Prof. Tait's translation of Spencer's well-known definition of evolution: "Evolution is a change from a nohowish, untalkaboutable all-alikeness, to a somehowish and ingeneral-talkaboutable not-all-alikeness, by continuous somethingelseifications and sticktogetherations." Chaps. xi. xxiii., on Matter, Mind, Force, Life, and their mutual relations, are exceedingly able.

1. *Apologetics; or, the Scientific Vindication of Christianity.* By J. H. A. EBRARD. Translated by the Rev. W. STUART, B.A., and Rev. J. MACPHERSON, M.A. Vol. I.
2. *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.* By E. SCHUERER. Second Division. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR and the Rev. PETER CHRISTIE. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

Ebrard is not an inviting author. The matter of his work is adapted rather to German than English wants; the style is cumbrous, the spirit harsh and repellent. And the difficulties of the original are increased by the first translator. Mr. Macpherson's share of the work is good, but not so Mr. Stuart's. His translation is as literal and unidiomatic as a translation can be. We need go no farther than the first Preface or the Table of Contents for proof. In the latter, "Positive Development" evidently means Positive Exposition or Statement (see also p. 24). Again, what can

be made of "The Onset-point of Pantheism," "Design-setting Author," "Self-End," "Subject-Existence," "The Feeling of Constraint to Know God"? Almost every page teems with purely German idioms. "Proved as absurd" is not English, nor "It is so many years since I made my first philological studies." But these are intelligible. Other phrases, we fear, will only be intelligible to one who can mentally construe them into German. The translator should have made his first attempt on a less difficult work.

The other volume completes the second division of Schürer's invaluable work; the first division has not yet appeared. The contents deal chiefly with the different forms of Jewish literature—the Palestinian-Jewish, Græco-Jewish, Historical, Epic and Dramatic Poetry, Philosophy, Apologetics. The style is as clear as the matter is accurate and full. The work, when complete, will be a mine of information on the subject.

Modern Discoveries of Science anticipated by the Bible Account of the Creation: the Design Argument, and Man an Independent Creation, Vindicated against the Theory of Darwinian Evolution. By B. C. YOUNG, Author of "Remote Antiquity Man Not Proven," &c. London: Elliot Stock. 1886.

Mr. Young is not a master of style, as his title-page might suffice to show, nor is he a man of high or finished education. He is evidently a self-educated man. But he is a very able man. His former work on the age of mankind received our strong commendation when it appeared. The present volume is one which merits close study, especially in its criticisms on the subject of evolution. The earlier part of the book does not appear to us to possess equal value with the latter part.

The Growth of the Church in its Organization and Institutions: being the Croall Lectures for 1886. By JOHN CUNNINGHAM, D.D., Author of "Church History of Scotland," "The Quakers," "A New Theory of Knowing and Known," &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

Some years ago—from the pen of the late Dr. Cunningham, one of the leaders of the Free Church of Scotland—was posthumously published a weighty volume on *Church Principles*. The author of the volume before us teaches principles and views very different from those of his distinguished namesake. He represents for Scotland and Scottish ecclesiastical theories a school of thought analogous to that represented in England by the late Dean Stanley and by Dr. Hatch. He is an advanced "evolutionist" in respect of Church development; and, in regard to points of not only

ecclesiastical theory but of Biblical interpretation, holds lax and "advanced" views. He speaks, *e.g.*, of the "Author of the Epistle to Titus," because he is not prepared very stiffly to uphold the Pauline authorship of that characteristically and, as we think, indubitably Pauline writing. In short, Dr. Cunningham represents the new school of advanced criticism in the Scotch Established Church. He is an able and acute writer, but he is sometimes, as we think, painfully irreverent in his remarks on apostles and quasi-apostolic men. He makes pretty free with St. Paul, and, as to "the immediate successors of the great apostles," he indulges in satire of an extraordinary character, speaking, for example, of the "apostles" of the *Teaching* as "beggarly vagrants." Nevertheless, harsh as such writing sounds, and though we cannot but disapprove the tone of much of this volume, its real learning and ability, and the general truth of many of the views and suggestions which it contains, must make it a powerful aid in that work of resolute anti-High-Church criticism of primitive and patristic times which is so necessary, especially in view of the puerile and superstitious conceits and inventions which the Neo-Popery of Anglo-Catholicism is with pernicious diligence inculcating throughout England, alike in town and country, in city and village. The following extract will convey a good idea of the tone and tendency of the book. It forms the concluding part of the lecture on "Church Organization."

"Let me summarize in a few sentences the conclusions to which I have come. No church now existing is an exact counterpart of the Apostolic Church. The societies which come nearest to the apostolic are the Society of Friends and the Plymouth Brethren. But I regard these as exhibiting the lowest and not the highest form of church organization. Congregationalism is a step in advance, and corresponds to the state of the Church during the second half of the first century, when bishops and deacons were ordained; but a church-system which leaves all power in the hands of the people (without delegation), and has no bonds by which one congregation can be bound to another in a single unity, is still very far from a perfect polity. Development, therefore, could not stop here. The Ignatian Epistles exhibit a church in which there were three grades of officials, and it is clear that these had usurped the ruling power, for the theme mainly insisted upon is that the people should reverence and obey the bishop, and after him the presbyters and deacons. The Church of Scotland, as I have already said, is a reproduction of the Church of the pseudo-Ignatius. It has the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons, and it is certainly the duty of the people to reverence and obey them. The bishop and the presbyters—or, in the Scotch ecclesiastical vocabulary, the minister and elders—met in council form the primitive presbytery or eldership. Thus what is usually regarded as Ignatian episcopacy is in reality Scotch Presbyterianism.

"When the bishop had risen above his brother presbyters, and secured the chief rule in the Church, a new development was necessary to bind the churches of a district or a province or a whole country into one. This end might be attained either by all the congregational bishops meeting in a common court and arranging their affairs in unison, or by one bishop gaining a pre-eminence over his brother bishops, and creating

a central authority in his own person. The latter development took place from circumstances which I have already explained, together with the imperial tendencies of the time. Diocesan bishops, patriarchs, and popes ruled the Church. The federal possibility was never realized, and remained in abeyance till the sixteenth century. There were indeed councils of the Church from the third century downwards; but never was there a group of congregations associated together as a National Church and ruled by a gradation of courts—from the Kirk-Session up to the General Assembly—till the Scottish Church sprang into being under the inspiration of Knox and Melville. Still it is an Apostolic Church—an Ignatian Church—with a higher and better development. The first development of the Ignatian Church was aristocratic and oligarchical—the second was republican and federal.

"The inevitable issue of my argument is that the papacy is the highest development of ecclesiastical polity. It was the necessary result of the tendency of events from the first century downwards. It is a marvellous organization, maintaining order and unity; giving authority, and yet restraining its excesses, over half the world. It may be said to be the product of divine law rather than of human wisdom. As the Church grew the polity grew with it, just as the animal framework grows with the animal itself. But its very perfectness was its ruin. It became a great, overshadowing despotism, omnipresent, omnipotent, crushing out all life and liberty of thought, and binding Christendom 'in chains of darkness.'

"Another inevitable inference is that no church polity has a divine right to the exclusion of all others. That church has the divinest right which does its work the best. Everything connected with the tabernacle was prescribed, from the colour of a curtain to the metal of a candle-snuffer; but so far as the Church is concerned everything is free. It can thus be accommodated to every country and every age. The free spirit of the Apostolic Church gave way to the imperial temper of the Papal Church; and the imperialism of the papacy bended before the republicanism of presbytery in several countries of Europe; but each has done good, and is doing good, in its own place and time. And so may God prosper all! Some people call this indifferentism, but if good is done, it surely does not much matter how it is done."

The other five lectures have for their subjects, respectively: "Ministers and People," "The Church as a Teacher," "The Sacraments—Baptism," "The Lord's Supper," and "Sunday and its Non-Sacramental Services."

St. Paul's Teaching on Sanctification: A Practical Exposition of Romans vi. By JAMES MORISON, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

To his former expositions of portions of Paul's greatest epistle, Dr. Morison here adds one of the important sixth chapter, marked by the same qualities of thoroughness and vigour. Dr. Morison's idea of a "practical" exposition is different from the popular one. His work is based throughout on the Greek text, and will only be appreciated by students. He very justly, almost scornfully, refuses to give the name of "practical exposition" to "free-and-easy observations, or pious reflections, carried to the sacred text, and there suspended on pegs of Scripture

phraseology." "It is, or ought to be, the unfolding and exposing to view of the thoughts which had been unfolded in the origination of the sacred text." The student will recognize here the idiosyncrasy of the venerable author's style. "Manuscriptural" may be a right word, but it is a new one. To the substance of the exposition nothing but praise is due. The author simply expounds, leaving all reflections to his readers. We note that in verse 3 he adheres to "baptized into Christ," against Oltramare, Meyer, Beet. "The phrase is a Pauline idiom, but it simply denotes inward union with Christ, effected through inward baptism." "How can such a vital union be effected through baptism? Never through the baptism of water. It is a spiritual union." He proves both from experience and Scripture that spiritual "or mystic" baptism is meant. Another merit in the exposition is the way in which Paul's strong personification of sin is clearly brought out. Throughout the chapter, sin is treated as a tyrannical master, to whom sinners belong, and from whose slavery believers are gloriously emancipated. It would be an advantage if the whole of the chapter were printed in Greek at the beginning of the work.

Human Destiny. By R. ANDERSON, LL.D., Barrister-at-Law. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

This is one of the few books on the dread subject of future punishment which may be recommended with unhesitating confidence. The difficulties surrounding the question are fully appreciated, the tone is reverent, the style calm and free from exaggeration, the discussion of Scripure teaching scholarly. In arguing against the positions taken in "Eternal Hope," "Salvator Mundi," "The Restitution of All Things," "The Wider Hope," "Eternal Life in Christ" (without once naming the authors), the writer says enough for refutation, without attempting to say everything. The reasoning, while acute and logical, is the more forcible from its moderation of tone. The best part of the work is that which treats of annihilationism, which is shown to involve worse incredibilities than any even alleged against the traditional doctrines. According to it, "creatures who are doomed by the law of their nature to decay and pass out of being altogether, are not only kept in existence, but recalled to active life in resurrection, solely in order that increased capacities for enduring torment may be added to the horrors of their doom. Not even the coarse hell of mediæval ignorance is more revolting, more incredible than this; and yet these views are held and taught on the plea that God is a God of love!" On another theory the writer says truly enough: "The idea of reformation by punishment has been generally abandoned by all who have had experience of criminals and crime." We regret we are unable to give any outline or example of the forcible arguments used. The author's logic is relieved here and there by touches of sarcasm: "Professor Drummond is enthusiastic over this definition of life in his

charming book of parables; it is earnestly to be hoped that *Natural Law* will not be taken in any more serious light." "That miserable bantling of modern science, evolution," is a sentence that might be omitted." "Oregon" for "Origen" is a curious misprint (p. 147). We hope the author is mistaken in saying that "most of us have been trained in the belief that the portion of the majority of mankind is an existence of endless, hopeless torment."

The Resultant Greek Testament. By RICHARD FRANCIS WEYMOUTH, D.Lit., Fellow of University College, London. London: Elliot Stock. 1886.

This volume is a gem. It exhibits the text of the Greek Testament on which the majority of modern editors are agreed, and contains all the readings of Stephens (1550), Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Lightfoot (in St. Paul's Epistles), Ellicott (in St. Paul's Epistles), Alford, Weiss for Matthew, the Bâle edition (1880), Westcott and Hort, and the Revision Committee. The modern editors, including all the list we have just given except Stephens, are treated as a sort of jury, and the reading in every case adopted in this text is the one approved by the majority; while, as we have seen, all the readings of Stephens and these critics are set down. The learned author has prefixed a modest preface, containing some necessary explanations. Dr. Weymouth's modesty makes as little of his work as possible, but cannot conceal either the extent of the learning or the immensity of the labour involved in the preparation of this precious aid to the Scripture student. The volume is one of the very best specimens of printing issued by a publisher whose reputation for the style in which his publications are printed and got up stands deservedly very high. We have scarcely seen anything more beautiful.

The Psalms: their History, Teachings, and Use. By W. BINNIE, D.D. Revised and enlarged edition. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Dr. Binnie's work, which is evidently the fruit of many years' patient and loving study, forms an admirable introduction to the Psalter, giving all the information respecting its structure, history, and general contents, which ordinary students are likely to need. Hengstenberg, Hupfeld and Delitzsch are the authorities chiefly referred to; but Dr. Binnie is no blind follower of authorities: the judgments expressed are his own. The subjects of the three books into which the work is divided are—the History and Poetical Structure of the Psalms, the Theology of the Psalms, and their Use in the Church. The first book includes discussions of David's Psalms, the Psalmist of the Captivity and Return, the Fivefold Division of the Psalter, its Poetical Structure. The second book discusses the Christology of the Psalms, Personal and Social Religion, and Holy

Scripture in the Psalms. Under the head of Personal Religion, again, come such topics as the doctrine of a future life and the imprecatory Psalms. On all these questions the views advocated by the author are intelligently and judiciously conservative. To these views, we have no doubt, men generally will return, after the storms of wild theories have passed away. Dr. Binnie well reminds us that the contents of the Psalter run in parallel lines with the whole of the other Old Testament books. He neatly discriminates between Hebrew and Western poetry in saying that the former is not verbal but real, the relation is one not of words but things. With us the line ends, whether the thought is completed or not. In Hebrew, the thought and the language exactly fit each other. "The pause in the progress of thought determines the point at which the verse or line must end." We also agree with him that it is a pity our versions do not at least attempt to reproduce the *psalmi abecedarii*, such as Psalms cxi. and cxii. The author regrets that "the rude version made by the first Reformers is still retained in the Prayer Book. The authors of it knew little or nothing of Hebrew, and could only make their translation at second-hand from the Latin Vulgate and Luther's German version. It is every way inferior to the Authorised Version."

The Book of Joshua. A Critical and Expository Commentary on the Hebrew Text. By the Rev. JOHN LLOYD, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

This judicious and scholarly commentary will be of no small service to all students. Mr. Lloyd has no pet theories to stand between him and the true meaning of the text, and makes no unworthy concessions to rationalistic interpretation. He avails himself of all modern scholarship, travel, and research, which may throw light upon the history or geography of the conquest of Canaan. His notes are brief but complete, with no unnecessary reflections.

The Pulpit Commentary: Hebrews and St. James. Edited by the Revs. CANON SPENCE and J. S. EXELL, M.A. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1886.

So far as we have been able to examine it in detail, Mr. Barmby's Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews deals judiciously with difficult passages, and will greatly help students. In his admirable introductory pages the question of the authorship of the letter is very clearly stated with abundant reference to authorities. All readers may thus form their own judgment on this controverted point. The homiletics and homilies will be prized by preachers. The homilies on St. James, which are both thoughtful and suggestive, are prepared by the Revs. C. Jerdan and T. F. Lockyer. Prebendary Gibson, Principal of Wells Theological College, writes the scholarly exposition and homiletics.

The Valley of Weeping a Place of Springs. A Practical Exposition of the Thirty-second Psalm. By the Rev. C. D. BELL, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

This brief exposition of one of the sweetest of the Psalms is remarkable for richness of spiritual experience, simplicity, and gracefulness of style, as well as for the way in which Scripture is made to confirm and illustrate Scripture. The writer does honour to the Evangelical school, which, alas! has too few representatives now. He is endowed in no mean degree with the gift of consolation; his pages are tender with motives for hope and patience and joy. The only parts to which we take exception are the second and third sermons, where justification by faith is presented in the form of the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and David is spoken of as a child of God even when he sinned. Here we recognize the Calvinistic leanings of the Evangelical school. But these are only a small part of the work, and the Antinomian danger is earnestly guarded against. The two doctrines of justification and sanctification are always united. "To sin because we believe ourselves pardoned is to prove that we have neither faith nor love; that is, in truth, to prove that we are not pardoned at all." "Love is the mightiest power to ensure obedience." "A holy man is one who would not sin were there no hell, and would seek after righteousness were there no heaven." There are many beautiful touches, as where the author, after distinguishing between transgression, sin, and iniquity, contrasts the trinity of evil with the trinity of mercy: "The transgression is forgiven, the sin is covered, the iniquity is not imputed." "In the secret of his tabernacle he shall hide me; that is, in the very Holy of Holies, beneath the mercy-seat, and safe under the overshadowing protection of the cherubim's wings." The work is dedicated to "Frances Arnold, a friend of many years, whose name is associated with happy hours spent at Fox How." Even a work of practical edification should not be left without a table of contents.

Biblical Essays; or, Exegetical Studies. By C. H. H. WRIGHT, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. CLARK. 1886.

The Bampton Lecturer on Zechariah, the Donnellan Lecturer on the Book of Ecclesiastes, is an able and interesting expositor. In this volume he deals, only slightly, with the Book of Job; at considerable length with the Book of Jonah. The volume also contains essays on Ezekiel's prophecy of Gog and Magog, and on St. Peter's "Spirits in Prison;" and professes to furnish the "Key to the Apocalypse." We may be permitted to doubt whether Dr. Wright's "key" will any better than Dr. Farrar's unlock the mystery of the Apocalypse; but we cannot in a brief notice discuss either that question, or any of the other difficult points which are dealt with in this volume. Much the largest part of the volume is given to the Book of Jonah, which Dr. Wright regards as

"prophetico-allegorical." If by this view he escapes from some difficulties and perplexities, he seems to us to fall into others of a very serious character. In his Preface he criticizes with some keenness Dr. Redford's recent volume on Jonah.

Expositions. By the Rev. SAMUEL COX, D.D. Second Series. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

It will hardly be a recommendation to good judges either of expository gifts and insight, or of theological sobriety and soundness, that this volume is dedicated to the memory of "Frederick Denison Maurice, Scholar, Seer, Saint." Nevertheless, in it Dr. Cox is almost, if not quite, at his best. If his expositions are sometimes over-subtle and a little strained, especially when the word ψυχή (*soul* or *life*) happens to be in question, they are for the most part clear, interesting, felicitous, and full of spiritual persuasiveness. As, however, a considerable part of the volume has already been published in another form, it is sufficient for us to give it this general recommendation. Dr. Cox is a loving Scripture student, and it would be well if more preachers learnt the art of expounding Scripture after this manner.

The Expositor. Edited by the Rev. W. R. NICOLL, M.A. Third Series. Vol. III. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

The high merit of these scholarly papers is better seen in such a volume than in the monthly parts of the *Expositor*. There is not an article which will not repay the careful perusal of every theological student; and the wide range of subjects gives a freshness and breadth of view which will add largely to the general interest of the volume. There is a happy blending of profound learning and popular style in many of these studies. The etching of Professor Delitzsch, and the careful notice of his life and writings, by Dr. Salmond, will be acceptable to all readers.

The Evening of our Lord's Ministry; being Preludes to "Voices from Calvary." A Course of Homilies. By CHARLES STANFORD, D.D. Religious Tract Society.

Dr. Stanford's merits as a preacher are well known. This work was written by the lamented author last, but yet is naturally first in order, of three volumes, the other two of which are entitled *Voices from Calvary* and *From Calvary to Olivet*. He had completed the volume before his death in March last, but did not live to supervise the printing. He was, however, a careful and finished writer, and his widow has revised the proof-sheets. Those who have learnt to prize the two other volumes will not be content without making themselves masters of this volume, and thus completing the trilogy. Dr. Stanford's writing was good for mind

and heart and soul. Those who desire to nourish the divine life within them will welcome this last fruit of the pen of an eminently evangelical and spiritual divine. This is not a book of mere pictures, or of dry theology, or of speculative criticism. And yet there is in it the fruit of critical study, and it is full of sound doctrine. It is deeply imbued with Christian feeling and experience. It is both expository and eloquent.

Light for the Last Days. A Study, Historic and Prophetic. By Mr. and Mrs. H. GRATTAN GUINNESS. With Diagrams. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

This volume sets forth in nearly seven hundred pages the pre-millennial view of our Lord's Advent. It is an exhaustive treatise, written in the best temper, and with great good sense. No one who professes to study the literature of this subject can afford to overlook such a text-book. It treats the question of the Papacy, the Restoration of the Jews, the Prophecies of Daniel, and all kindred topics, with abundant detail. The authors make an appeal to those who hold the post-millennial view which is almost pathetic. They complain that one school so effectually weakens the testimony of the other "*that neither is practically believed.* The wicked not unnaturally think that no real revelation on the subject exists, as revelation could not be self-contradictory." We are afraid that "the wicked" are right. Certainly they are not alone in their opinion. The picture given in this volume of the effect which would be produced if every pulpit warned the people that the kingdom of God is at hand, and is to be ushered in by the Second Advent of Christ as the Judge, is one which seems far indeed from being realized. Nor can we persuade ourselves that unanimity is to be desired. The only way to accomplish what Mr. and Mrs. Guinness wish is for every pulpit to be faithful to the Gospel message. The study of "chronologic prophecy," on which much stress is laid, will be of interest to Bible students, but it may easily assume a position out of all proportion to its value. When the year 1934 is marked out here as the date of the Second Advent, we may admire the ingenuity of these students of prophecy, but we cannot follow them in their attempt to "know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in His own power."

Rays of Messiah's Glory; or, Christ in the Old Testament. By DAVID BARON. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

The author, a convert from Judaism, and apparently employed in the Jewish mission, gives a few examples of O. T. Messianic predictions. They are only examples, nothing like a complete or summarized treatment of the subject being attempted. The contents are: first a general view of Messianic prophecy, then a consideration of several aspects of the Messiah's character and work, Moses and Christ compared and contrasted, and finally a discussion of the Messianic references of

Isaiah liii. One chapter is devoted to "Four Precious Titles of the Messiah," found in Zech. x. 4—the Corner, the Nail, the Battle Bow, the Ruler—a subject from which allegorical preachers may obtain useful hints. In the last chapter the writer forcibly shows the inapplicability of the features mentioned by Isaiah to the Israelitish nation. While the scope of the work is exceedingly limited, it is written with much intelligence and feeling.

Christ and the Heroes of Heathendom. By the Rev. JAMES WELLS, M.A. London: Religious Tract Society. 1886.

Mr. Wells compares and contrasts Æschylus, the theologian of heathendom, Socrates its reformer, Plato its prophet, and Epictetus its saint, with Jesus Christ. His book will be a rare treat for all intelligent readers. Its style is popular; but there is an immense amount of thought and study represented in these five pleasant chapters. Mr. Wells is an appreciative student of the heroes of heathendom, but he does not lose sight or make light of the contrast between them and the Founder of Christianity. The last chapter, on "Christ and his competitors," is a valuable protest against the extremes to which students of comparative religion so often rush.

The Background of Sacred Story. Life Lessons from the best-known Characters of the Bible. By FREDERICK HASTINGS. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1886.

Twenty-three suggestive sketches of such Bible characters as Bezaleel, Obadiah, and the Man of Kerioth. Mr. Hastings seizes the main lesson of these lives, and presses it home with abundant racy illustration. The freshness and force of style are well shown in the capital study of *The Widow of Shunem: Coincidences in Life.* This is a capital book for Sunday reading.

New Outlines of Sermons on the New Testament. By EMINENT PREACHERS. Hitherto Unpublished. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

The "Clerical Library," published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, is not what the ancients would have understood by such a phrase. It consists of a volume of three hundred outlines of New Testament sermons, another of outlines founded on Old Testament subjects, another of *Outline Sermons to Children*, two other volumes of sermons and outlines on Old and New Testament subjects, two volumes of anecdotes to illustrate Scripture texts, one of *Platform Aids*, and here is the latest addition to the "Clerical Library" in the book before us. We confess that we do not greatly sympathize with this second-, third-, or fourth-

hand fashion of supplying mind, memory, and mouth to the modern minister in order to fit him with what he requires for the current work and duty of his life in this busy and distracted age. But, if such books are proper aids for overpressed ministers, we can recommend the present volume as containing many serviceable outlines and even not a few good thoughts.

The Sum of Saving Knowledge. With Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

This volume of the "Handbooks for Bible Classes" is based on the short treatise upon *Christian Doctrine* ascribed to David Dickson, a Scotch Professor of Divinity, who died in 1662. He was one of three divines who drew up the *Directory of Public Worship* by command of the General Assembly, at the time of the Westminster Confession. In four chapters Mr. Macpherson gives a clear, concise summary of saving truth. The arguments for the Being of God are forcibly put in small compass, and general readers will find the definitions and explanations of considerable value. The Calvinistic bias of the book is a serious drawback On p. 67 there is one of the worst constructed sentences we have seen. It is hard to understand how it can have got into print.

Thirty Sermons for Children. Delivered in the Parish Church of Watton, Herts. By the Rev. GEORGE LITTING, M.A., LL.B. London: R. D. Dickinson.

These are just the sermons to please children—brief, clear, simple, full of incident and with excellent morals. Mr. Litting is too fond of the expression "dear children," and some of his sentences would certainly be better for revision. As to Achan's sin he remarks: "Ah, dear children, no *body* saw, but some *person* did!" This is certainly weak, and very much out of place in a sermon for little folk.

Present Day Tracts. Vol. VII. London: The Religious Tract Society.

"The Christ of the Gospels," by Dr. Meyer; Dr. Bruce "On F. C. Baur, and his Theory of the Origin of Christianity;". the Rev. J. Radford Thomson on "Utilitarianism as an Illogical and Irreligious Theory of Morals;" "Historical Illustrations of the New Testament," by Dr. Maclear; Sir J. W. Dawson on the "Points of Contact between Revelation and Natural Science"—form the principal part of the contents of this valuable volume of the "Present Day Tracts." No young minister should be without this series.

The King's Coin; or, God's Fraction. By the Rev. THOMAS J. BASS, Curate of St. Stephen's, Liverpool. With an Introduction by the Very Rev. the DEAN of CANTERBURY. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1886.

A sensible little book on the duty of tithing one's income. Mr. Bass adds interest to his argument by abundant illustration, and shows that systematic giving would soon enable the Church to extend and strengthen all her work.

Spiritual Truth for the Spiritual Mind of Believers. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1886.

A book written in a direct, clear style, and full of quiet power. It will help many who are perplexed and troubled to find their way into the light. The atoning sacrifice and the grace of the Holy Spirit are set forth as the means of salvation and spiritual life. The third part of the book is on "the personal assurance of salvation, and the spiritual consolation of believers in all their trials and afflictions."

The Sceptic's Creed: Can it be Reasonably Held? Is it Worth the Holding? A Review of the Popular Aspects of Modern Unbelief. By NEVISON LORAINE, Vicar.

We should like to see the implications of the sceptic's creed drawn out more systematically than is done in the present volume. Mr. Loraine's book is made interesting by numerous references to writers of the day, but it seems to us somewhat too discursive.

Analysis of Waterland on the Eucharist. By HENRY W. GRESSWELL, M.A. London: J. Nisbet & Co.

This analysis of one of Waterland's ablest works is very complete and succinct, and to all who have to prepare the work for examination will prove very useful. Waterland is one of the greatest "masters of theology" the English Church has produced.

Abba, Father! Helps to Prayer and Meditation. By the Rev. C. G. BASKERVILLE, M.A. London: J. Nisbet & Co.

This booklet has grown out of personal experience. The topics for prayer arranged for use three times a day for a week; the blank pages for names, places, days and work to be remembered in prayer, and also for record of answers to prayer; and the meditations, one for each day of the month, giving merely heads of subjects, are indeed "helps to prayer and meditation." The spirit is that of McCheyne and Martyn. To those—and they are happily many in these days—seeking such helps, the work will be a delightful one.

The Only Passport to Heaven. By ONE WHO HAS IT. London: Kegan Paul & Co.

An exceedingly brief and simple account, evidently taken from experience, of the way of salvation. "The only passport" is faith, the central importance of which is clearly set forth. We trust that the testimony borne by the writer, an officer in the 2nd West India Regiment, will not be without effect.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Letters of Frederic Ozanam, Professor of Foreign Literature in the Sorbonne. Translated from the French. With a Connecting Sketch of his Life. By AINSLIE COATES. London: Elliot Stock. 1886.

THIS volume furnishes materials, so far as its contents extend, for a rare and most interesting study. Frederic Ozanam, who was born in 1813 and who died in 1853, was a brilliant scholar, a Member of the Academy, as well as Professor at the Sorbonne; a lawyer—he practised as a barrister and afterwards held a legal Professorship at Lyons before he was elected to the chair at Paris; a philosopher—he had been offered by M. Cousin the Chair of Philosophy at Orleans, but preferred the Professorship of Commercial Law at Lyons; he was at the same time throughout his life a man of pure and beautiful Christian character, a devout Roman Catholic of the very best school and style. He had his early struggle with scepticism, and having gained the victory retained ever afterwards his peace of mind and his piety. Certainly a more beautiful and attractive picture of a consecrated character and life could hardly be imagined than that of this Roman Catholic. He was the intimate friend of the great *savant* Ampère, who was as devout a believer and as consistent a Christian as himself; he counted also among his friends men like Montalembert and Lacordaire. This volume only takes us to the year 1841, leaving the largest and by far the most fruitful part of his active life untouched—to be dealt with, the translator hopes, in a second volume. At that date he had but just married and settled in Paris as professor. The letters are interesting for the picture they afford of the inner workings of the mind and heart of such a man in such an age, and belonging to the Roman Catholic faith. The translator and editor has, indeed, omitted what was likely to offend the Protestant reader. But, whatever allowance should be made for what is left out, that which

remains is full of instruction, and, to a Christian reader of whatever shade of faith, of encouragement. We think, indeed, that there is not a little in this volume which might, without much loss, have been sacrificed so as to leave space for later letters and an account of his mature life. Guizot, speaking in the Academy after the death of Ozanam, described him as the "model of a Christian man of letters; dignified and humble; ardent friend of science, and firm champion of the truth, tasting with tenderness the pure joys of life, and submitting with gentleness to the hourly expectation of death; carried away from the holiest affections and from the noblest labours, too soon according to the world, but already ripe for heaven and for glory."

We wish we could speak highly of the translation, but it is our duty to say that it is far from good. The sentence noted above as from Guizot's *éloge* in the Academy, is a favourable, but by no means a faultless, specimen of the translator's work. He renders *avis* by "advice," instead of *opinion* or *judgment*. "The emotion of the pleasures appear;" "you have seen by your eyes;" "to pay her the pains, the labour, and the tears that I have cost her;" "we are favoured Catholics, for having, &c.;" "I commit myself *hardily* to the keeping of God;" "he ventured to *sustain* that it was false;" "addressed some observations by writing;" "a father (M. Ampère) has appeared very caressing for his daughter;" *dames et demoiselles* translated "ladies and young ladies;" "amorous of his own existence;" (Captain) Cook appearing in the translation as "Koock"—these are a few samples of blemishes and blunders such as are to be found on almost every page in this volume.

W. O. Simpson, Methodist Minister and Missionary: Early Life and Life in the Home Work, by Rev. SAM. WRAY; *Mission Life*, by Rev. R. STEPHENSON, B.A. Edited by Rev. JOSEPH BUSH. London: T. Woolmer.

"Man greatly beloved," might be W. O. Simpson's epitaph. Few Methodist preachers of our day have been better known and more truly loved, both by preachers and people, than Mr. Simpson. His popularity was as genuine and honest as the man. There was nothing artificial or conventional about it or him. His picturesque eloquence, his generosity of spirit, his brotherliness, humour, manliness, his abounding energy, were all natural gifts. Not, indeed, that study had done nothing for him; it had done much. This biography shows, what few who witnessed the ease of his public efforts suspected, the constant and assiduous effort which he spent on self-improvement. His great extemporaneous power did not betray him into indolence. If at college he needed less time than others for class-preparation, instead of wasting the leisure thus gained, he spent it in extra reading on the subjects of the course, using for this purpose the resources of the college library. To the end of life he gave some time every day to the Greek Testament. The less thought he

needed to give to the form the more he gave to the matter of his sermons and addresses. Here, we believe, is to be found the explanation of the fact that his influence, instead of remaining stationary or going back, was growing up to the last. Above all, his was consecrated popularity. It was sustained and kept pure by deep personal religiousness, and it was free from all self-seeking. Nothing is more affecting in the biography than the extracts from his journal showing that habits of self-scrutiny and prayer were never intermitted. A life that ends at fifty would ordinarily be reckoned short; but in Mr. Simpson's case, measured by the work accomplished, it is long. Even the amount of work done must not be estimated by what can be seen and told. A great deal of it consists in impulses communicated to other lives. Mr. Simpson had in an extraordinary degree the gift of winning confidence and love. His was the magnetic charm which all feel but no one can define.

There is remarkable consistency about the life here portrayed. At each stage the same qualities re-appear in more perfect form. What Mr. Simpson was as a youthful candidate for the ministry he remained in substance afterwards—in college life, on the voyage to India, in the ten years in India, and the seventeen years of home work, the only difference being that the defects of his striking qualities are more prominent in the earlier years, and gradually disappear. His father's advice was very apt, and set the ideal to which he grew:—"Think and judge for yourself on all points. Form your own character. It is well to be humble, and not dogmatical. Read calmly, weigh carefully, make your own conclusions." The confidence in himself, which others acquire slowly, came to him naturally, and was in time chastened by experience.

His ten years in India were fruitful in many ways. If we are not mistaken, the accounts of his life at Madras, Negapatam, Trichinopoly, Manargudi, full of honest work and stirring incident, will do more to bring mission work home to readers than any number of ordinary speeches and reports. Mr. Simpson had experience of every line of work—vernacular preaching, evangelistic tours, English teaching and preaching, training native agents, work among cultured Brahmins and among degraded outcasts. On every station, and in each department, he worked up to the limit of his strength, which was great. Directly he was set free from school-teaching, he took up other lines of labour. He believed in trying new methods and pushing into new fields. Just before he left the country, his special attention was drawn to two opposite kinds of work—the field opened for work among English-speaking Hindus, and among Hindus of the lowest social strata. Along with Mr. Burgess, he delivered lectures in Madras to large audiences of English-speaking natives (p. 292). Every mission is wisely giving attention to this promising field. Mr. Simpson also showed his sagacity in projecting more systematic work among the Hindus at the other social extreme. The chief numerical successes have been won among these classes. We

earnestly commend his remarks on p. 239 to all friends of missions. If as much effort had been bestowed on the agricultural low-caste population as has been devoted to the high castes, results like those witnessed in Tinnevelly, Travancore, and elsewhere would have been reaped very generally. It is evidence of Mr. Simpson's insight that he saw the opening there is in this line.

A mysterious Providence defeated Mr. Simpson's ardent wish to return to his Indian work. But probably he served the missionary cause quite as effectually in pulpits and on platforms as he would have done by personal labour on the field. He was a consummate missionary speaker to popular audiences. Some may have thought his pictures highly coloured; but it is possible that in this respect they were merely prophetic anticipations. The speaker, like the artist, has to select the salient points in the scene to be described; but, though this isolation and the mode of grouping may sometimes seem strange, no false effect is intended or produced. Mr. Simpson had also the electric power of kindling sympathy which is God's gift to an elect few. This labour of missionary advocacy went hand in hand with the activities of a home pastorate that grew every year in influence and success. His home ministry culminated at Bradford, where he won a quite unique position in public confidence and esteem. His peculiar gifts hit the Bradford and the Yorkshire people generally "to a tye." He was chosen in succession to Mr. Chown to preach the annual sermon in St. George's Hall in behalf of the medical charities. The attendance at his funeral showed the high esteem in which he was held. It is easy for us to say that his early death was the result of toil far in excess even of his giant strength. We must not forget, on the other hand, that unceasing work had become a necessity as a refuge from private sorrow. Speaking of his trial to a brother-in-law, he said, "It is always present with me. I am thankful that, for family reasons, I need to be incessantly employed; but I love God's work, and getting about and throwing my whole soul into it helps to divert me often from painful reflections."

By a happy division of labour, the biography is the joint work of three friends of the departed one. Their contributions blend very beautifully together. Not a seam or joining is perceptible. Mr. Wray, who has since followed to the better land, has most of reflection and comment, and all will not agree with all his opinions (see p. 439). But, as a whole, the memorial is worthy of one who will long be remembered by his many friends.

Recollections of my Life and Work at Home and Abroad in connection with the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. By WM. HARRIS RULE, D.D. London: T. Woolmer. 1886.

This is a fascinating book. It tells well the tale of a chequered, eventful, and useful life. It has not one dull page; but it abounds with humour, pathos, and the record of valuable work.

William Harris Rule was born at Penryn in Cornwall, in 1802. His father was a naval surgeon, a Scotchman, unsympathetic and cruel, who made his son's childhood hard, and his early life almost a tragedy. His mother was of Quaker blood. The son became a man of strangely complex character. He would have been a marked man in any profession or rank of life. No bushel was ever made large enough to cover him, and if one had been, he would have been too restless to stay under it.

These *Recollections* deal chiefly with his life and work as a Methodist and a minister. We are struck with the variety of that work. He preached to West Indian slaves before emancipation; to Jews in Hebrew; for years regularly to Spaniards in Spanish; and of course to English on foreign stations; his work in the army is matter of history; he was Connexional Editor; he toiled in British circuits; he was the pioneer for Bible circulation in Spain; he mastered several languages; and he has written many works. He has crowded very much valuable service of many sorts into his life. That life has been a long one; when a boy, Dr. Rule saw Napoleon Buonaparte a prisoner on board the *Bellerophon*, the old man-of-war that blue jackets used to call "Billy Ruffian." He remembers the excitement of Waterloo days, and probably the incidents of the war, and the soldiers' blood in his veins, for he was akin to Admiral Peard and Major-General Harris, may have had something to do with his after work, the greatest work of his life, by which he did so much to secure religious liberty in the British army, and extend spiritual life among soldiers.

These *Recollections* should encourage poor studious lads. In days long before men dreamed of giving to the masses such blessings of education as the poorest may enjoy now, William Harris Rule by plod and perseverance became a successful student. To a great degree he is a self-educated man, and he gives the lie to the saying that such a person has a dunce for his scholar. He had sorrows in childhood, and bitterness in youth. He says: "When I was just seventeen years of age, my father, weary of the son he had never loved, turned me out of doors in a fit of passion. The like he had done before, and I had made up my mind that if he gave me another dismissal, I would not return again. The house of an affectionate aunt was open to me. . . . . The kindliness and the refinement of leading members of the Society of Friends in Falmouth and its neighbourhood were among the salutary influences which I am bound most gratefully to acknowledge." Happily, the discarded son found a rare friend in Richard Treffry, jun., son of a well-known Wesleyan minister. They were both enthusiastic, impetuous, studious, and inclined to oratory; and as atoms having mutual affinities coalesce, so these lads became fast friends. But neither of them was converted to God. Treffry was two years younger than Rule, and watchful eyes were on him. His mother was a rare woman; she was anxious that the new companion should do her son no harm, and she took the best possible means for securing that by doing good to young Rule, the companion. It is impossible to over-

estimate the value of the work of good Christians, who find men like Jesus did Philip; and Philip Nathaniel; and Andrew Peter; and as Andrew found the lad with the loaves and brought him to Christ; and as Mrs. Treffry did William H. Rule.

After various vicissitudes in which poverty played a chief part, and a sight of evil brought decision to keep from the dangerous places in the future, the young travelling artist visited his friends the Treffrys in their Rochester circuit. He was greatly impressed by the simplicity and brevity of the family worship in Mr. Osborn's house. He gave himself to God. On his return to London he joined the class of Mr. J. Butterworth, M.P., at Great Queen Street. In 1824 he was accepted as a candidate for the Wesleyan Methodist Ministry, and for some months received "instruction in theology" from one of the greatest of our masters of that science of things divine, Richard Watson. Before sailing for his first station the young preacher was allowed to marry. At his examination as a candidate the Rev. Richard Reece presided, "a severely venerable old minister, carrying a tender heart no doubt under a rigid exterior, and wearing an awful aspect in the eyes of a young novice like me. The passage in the examination on this delicate point was short enough and clear enough to be remembered to my life's end.

"*Q.* Have you a matrimonial engagement?

"*A.* No, sir; but I should like to have one.

"*Q.* You should *like* to have one?

"*A.* Yes, sir, I should like to have one.

"Then followed a strong animadversion on the impropriety of such an answer . . . . to which I could only just reply by a single observation:

"*A.* You asked me the question, sir, and I have answered truly."

Who that knows Dr. Rule, and that remembers the tall, solemn, quavering-voiced Richard Reece, will fail to realize the scene? Doubtless old men and younger ones on that committee enjoyed it, pert as was the candidate, and shocked as Mr. Reece would be.

Dr. Rule speaks tenderly of the wife of his youth, mother of his children and companion of many years. He may well. Hers were hidden hands that helped him. She was a clever woman—observant, tolerant, able to smooth down difficulties, true in her endeavours to prevent mistakes, and reticent when she saw that neither persuasion nor argument would avail. She suffered much in health in consequence of foreign residence and many anxieties; but she rests in peace.

Space fails us to do justice to the narrative of Dr. Rule's public work. Many who read this book will read between lines. It abounds with interest, yet we feel that much more could have been told here and there; and that either the writer has restrained his pen, or exercised extensive deleting power. Young ministers especially may learn from this autobiography how much may be accomplished by godly determined spirits. In most places Dr. Rule found a foe to fight. He did not always win, but he always knew that a battle is not a campaign; and so if he lost now

and then he still fought, and in the long run he succeeded. In Methodism he has been unique. Sometimes he has been right, sometimes wrong, always sincere. He was determined to do what he considered his duty. Occasionally wise men did not agree with him in his opinion; but if all the rules of Methodism had been against him he would have striven to gain the aim of the one Rule that he knew best, and perhaps loved most, which Rule was he.

His struggles against Popery, against the exclusive ecclesiasticism of the Chaplains Department of the army, and the splendid results of his work, are well known, and glimpses of them are given in the book before us.

We heartily recommend these *Recollections* to those who care to read a racy, able book, that shows how much may be done in one lifetime by the servant of a holy God who lives a holy life; and who is not ashamed to show his colours, nor afraid to oppose the strongest opponent.

Dr. Rule lingers among us in age and some physical feebleness, but with intellect undimmed, memory keen, and hope very bright.

Susanna Wesley. By ELIZA CLARKE. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1886.

The "Eminent Women Series" contains no more interesting volume than this sketch of the mother of the Wesleys. Mrs. Clarke, as a descendant of Susanna Wesley, has felt writing this memoir to be a congenial task. The interest of her story never flags. It is clear, concise, and full of pleasant detail. The arrangement of the narrative is attractive, and no one who turns over these pages can fail to admire the keen, sound judgment and warm heart of one of the noblest women of whom we have ever read. We have noticed two expressions which should be set right in a later edition. "A deal" (p. 44) is bad English; and "that Master who did not spurn Magdalen from His feet" needs the definite article before the name Magdalen; besides which, the woman meant was not Mary Magdalen. We think Mrs. Clarke must be mistaken in saying that Samuel Wesley "probably had a good voice, and some knowledge of music, or he would not have been chosen for a King's Scholar, as boys occupying that position are almost always choristers at the Chapel Royal." Whatever may be the case now, this can scarcely be correct as to 1707. Severe examinations for the position of King's Scholars were the rule in those days, and we never read or heard of any musical qualification. One of Mrs. Clarke's strictures shows a strange lack of religious perception. After stating that John Wesley's religious feelings were so deeply worked upon that he became a communicant when only eight years old, she adds, "but the wisdom of thus exciting a boy into precocious devotion at a time when Nature intends him to be simply a healthy young animal, may be questioned." Those who know the Epworth family training will not admit that any undue religious pressure was brought to bear upon him. And no one who at all realizes the im-

portance of early impressions in forming character will admit that any child of eight is intended to be "simply a healthy young animal." The suggestion as to the preaching of Mr. Inman, the curate at Epworth, is not happy. Mrs. Clarke thinks that Susanna Wesley and her husband may have resented his preaching on the duty of paying one's debts because they were themselves overburdened with debt. But would a curate have no more sense or good feeling than to preach at his rector? and would the Wesleys have felt any objection to have their parishioners warned against the troubles which had befallen themselves? With these exceptions, there is very little in this interesting little volume that calls for any criticism. It will not supersede the late Rev. John Kirk's "Mother of the Wesleys," but it is the best popular account we have seen of one of the most eminent of English women.

The Life of Charles I. 1600–1625. By E. BERESFORD CHANCELLOR. London: George Bell & Sons. 1886.

The amount of research displayed in this volume is remarkable. Mr. Chancellor has explored all the great libraries, and gathered facts in every quarter. The childhood of Charles I. is set in a most attractive light. To most readers, in fact, this part of the subject will be entirely new. The prince's letters to his parents are full of affection, and have some quaint touches. When his mother was recovering from the gout, he wrote:—"I must for many causes be sorry, and especially because it is troublesome to you, and has deprived me of your most comfortable sight, and of many good dinners, the which I hope by God's grace shortly to enjoy." The protecting care of his elder brother is also happily touched upon. The expedition of Charles and Buckingham to Spain is told with a wealth of picturesque detail. James at first refused his consent, but the coaxing of his son, and the bullying of the favourite at last wrung from him a reluctant assent to the adventure. The festivities in Madrid, and the failure of the visit are carefully described. The history closes with an account of Charles' happy marriage to Henrietta Maria. Mr. Chancellor is a young author of untiring industry, who spares no effort to gather new facts from every source. The narrative is somewhat overburdened with detail. A little more care in digesting the facts would save it from some slight appearance of patchwork.

History of the Reformation in England. By GEORGE G. PERRY, M.A., Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Waddington. London: Longmans & Co. 1886.

The author of this volume is a very different person from Canon Perry, the Vicar of Ardleigh, who, twenty years ago, was a member of the Ritual Commission, although at that time not yet a beneficed clergyman, and in that capacity showed remarkable ability and

mastery of the whole subject, holding a brief, as it seemed, for the advanced Ritualists, especially in regard to the Ornaments of the Church, the ritual of the "altar," and the rubrics relating thereto, and showing a minute knowledge of the history of Edward VI. and Elizabeth in relation to these matters. The present volume is not only perfectly well-informed, but fair and candid, regarded as written from the point of view of an English Churchman. Its spirit is in happy contrast to that of Mr. Blunt, writing on the same general subject. He does justice to Cranmer, and writes with admiration of Edward VI. He shows no disposition to be the apologist of Mary. Of course he writes as an English High Churchman, but his book is in no way the book of a partisan. We regard it as a valuable contribution to the "History of the Reformation in England." It is clear, succinct, careful, and dispassionate.

Two West End Chapels; or, Sketches of London Methodism from Wesley's Day (1740–1886). By the Rev. J. TELFORD, B.A., Author of "Wesley Anecdotes." London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, and Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Union. 1886.

Mr. Telford has for three years been stationed on the Northern margin of the West End of London. He has shared in the pastoral charge of the Wesleyan Chapel, situated in Hinde Street, Manchester Square, and has been led to make researches into the early beginnings, and the subsequent progress, of Methodism in London, especially in the West End. The result is the present volume. One of the "two West End Chapels" is the first "*chapel*" Methodism possessed, the old West Street Chapel, in the region of the Seven Dials, and which had previously been a Huguenot place of worship. Of this Charles Wesley may be regarded as having for many years been the resident minister. The other is the Hinde Street Chapel, which for eighty years has been the West End Methodist place of worship, and on the site of which, enlarged, a new and worthy sanctuary is now rising. Besides these two, however, Queen Street Chapel, which took the place in part of West Street, and other intermediate or subsidiary places of worship, have their histories more or less fully sketched in this volume.

Mr. Telford's studies in the history of the Wesleys, and his access to local sources of information, have laid open to him rich treasures of historical or antiquarian lore relating to Metropolitan Methodism. He has struck a vein which has led him to an extensive mine of interesting material—a mine of many lodes and many adits. He has culled also all that could be found in a very wide range of reading bearing in any way of illustration on his subject. To all Methodist students of the early history of their Church, but especially to London Methodists and their family connections,

this is likely to be a fascinating volume. It is perhaps too full of matter and sometimes too succinct and allusive in its style. Explanations more in detail might with advantage be given here and there. In other cases, as in the interesting references to Thomas Allan, the Connexional solicitor, and the father of the gentleman who two years ago presented to the Connexion the invaluable Allan Library, much of the personal history is given in two or more places piecemeal, might better have been presented in one statement. This volume should be a household treasure to a large number of Methodists in all parts of the world, for whom early Methodism has a sacred interest. Especially may it be recommended to intelligent Methodists of the younger generation in London. It is crowded with memorable facts relating to the saints and sacred places of Methodism during the first century of its existence.

BELLES LETTRES.

Art and Æsthetics in France (Les Artistes Célèbres—Jean Lamour). Par CHARLES COURNAULT. Paris: J. Ronain. London: Gilbert Wood & Co.

ALL who wish to learn how much scope there is for ingenious and graceful design in a street lamp or arch gateway should consult this little work. Jean Lamour was a native of Nancy, and locksmith to the town. His genius for decorative work in metal was detected by Stanislas of Poland, under whose sway Lorraine passed by the Treaty of Vienna in 1737, and who employed him in constructing the celebrated "grillages," which are now among the sights of Nancy. His designs, of which twenty-six well-executed engravings are given, were extremely rich and elegant. The letterpress of M. Charles Cournault, keeper of the Museum at Nancy, furnishes all necessary facts concerning the life of the artist. Those who know M. Ronain's publications will not need to be assured that the get-up of the book is all that could be desired.

L'Art (J. Ronain) for July and August is naturally much occupied with the Salon, and the handsome treatment which the eminent sculptor, M. Rodin, lately received at the hands of the unenlightened despots of Burlington House. In the first September issue M. Oscar Bergenen continues his elaborate and splendidly illustrated monograph on the works of Rubens in Austria. This, with some very interesting Notes on Verrochio, Leonardo da Vinci's master, contributed by M. Eugene Müntz, make the number an exceptionally valuable one.

Salammbô of GUSTAVE FLAUBERT. Englished by M. FRENCH SHELDON. London: Saxon & Co. 1886.

An excellent preface by Edward King gives a sketch of the literary life of Flaubert, which is of no small value in taking the true measure of

his work. Zola, and writers of his stamp, have made the realistic school of novelists a public pest; but Flaubert, though in a sense their founder, does not outrage good taste and morality in his great work. We cannot deny the literary power, nor ignore the profound research, which is evident in every page of this brilliant study of Carthaginian life in the days of Hamilcar Barca, the father of Hannibal, but it is not a pleasant book. The mercenaries employed by the great general in his campaign in Sicily besieged the proud city which refused to pay their wages. Mâtho, their leader, is in love with Salammbô, the daughter of Hamilcar, and allows her to recover the mantle of Tanit, the sacred Zaïmph, which protected the city. He himself falls into the hands of his enemies, and dies after horrible torture. The dramatic and descriptive power is remarkable. The soldiers' revel at the opening of the story is really a wonderful scene. The English of this translation is forcible and graphic.

Red Rooney; or, the Last of the Crew. By R. M. BALLANTYNE. With Illustrations. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1886.

All the characteristics of Mr. Ballantyne's work are prominent in this last production of his wonderfully fertile pen. It is an Eskimo story. Red Rooney, the sole survivor of his ill-fated crew, shares the hospitality of the kind and simple people of the far North, becomes a hero among them, and finally gets safely home, after unnumbered adventures, to his own country. The religious tone, so marked in this author's works, finds expression in the missionary incidents narrated in its closing chapters. The book will please all boys and do them good by its manly spirit. It leaves on older readers the impression that Mr. Ballantyne is overwriting himself. There is a lack of spontaneity and force, whilst the language is sometimes rather too big for the subject.

1. *Historic Boys: their Endeavours, their Achievements, and their Times.* By E. S. BROOKS. Illustrated by R. B. BIRCH and JOHN SCHÖNBERG.
2. *The Joyous Story of Toto.* By LAURA E. RICHARDS. With Illustrations by E. H. GARRETT.

London: Blackie & Son. 1886.

Historic Boys is a series of twelve racy sketches of the early days of great men. Nine of them, which appeared in *St. Nicholas*, have been revised and enlarged, and three have been written expressly for this volume, which will be a favourite with all young people. The stories are told with skill, freshness, and force.

Toto is indeed a trip to Wonderland. Lovers of the grotesque and

improbable may revel in such a book. Toto, with his blind grandmother, lives in a cottage near a wood, where he becomes the friend of bear, squirrel, raccoon, and parrot. Many an afternoon is spent with these friends. At last he introduces them to his grandmother, who complains of her loneliness. Each tells a story, and all are so happy that they determine to live together in the cottage. The quaint illustrations are as grotesque as the story. It is not hard to predict that it will set many a child thinking.

Blind Olive; or, Dr. Greyvill's Infatuation. By SARSON C. J. INGHAM. London: Wesleyan Sunday School Union 1886.

A well-written story, not without an undertone of sadness, but full of interest and of excellent moral lessons. The blind girl, who owes the recovery of her sight to her friend Dr. Greyvill, becomes engaged to her benefactor; but when an old lover, whom Olive had long thought to be dead, returns, the doctor retires and gives up Olive to the man who had won her heart.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Her Majesty's Colonies: a Series of Original Papers, issued under the Authority of the Royal Commissioners. London: Clowes & Sons, Printers and Publishers to the Commissioners.

THAT the Colonial Exhibition should in some form be permanently maintained is the brightest suggestion yet made in connection with South Kensington. For the present collection is quite *sui generis*, and it will be very hard to bring together again anything of the same importance. India is represented more completely than any one even dreamed it could be; and yet neither the smallest nor the newest of English possessions are overlooked. New Guinea and Heligoland, Port Hamilton and the Falklands, all claim a share of our attention, and astonish us by the variety of their exhibits. From the ugly Montreal ice-palace to the dark, low, comfortable Singapore bungalow, models of all kinds lurk in unsuspected corners. From the Indian jungle to the New Zealand fernery (with todeas, tall cyatheas, huge hymenophyllums, and the Tuatara lizard), and thence to the homes of the Australian aborigines, there are many suggestions of scenery put before the eye in the best way for teaching the masses. A Hindoo farm, with all the work going on, stands near a solid silver bullock-bandy from Baroda. Then there are the live natives themselves, from Hindoos to Bushmen; and the Frenchwoman from Lyons, who works the Tussore silk, and is so much cleverer with her fingers than the Hindoo boy her pupil; and the attendants in the Cyprus and Malta Courts, in full native costume;

and the Melbourne photographs, of which the peculiar excellence is due not only to the climate but to artistic feeling and to the care that Messrs. Johnstone & O'Shaughnessy manifestly take in posing. Some of these photographs are very large; and in many, the figures which form an adjunct to the picture are not (as in most English photographs) staring the observer full in the face. The West Indian collections are among the most interesting, partly because people in general know so much less of these islands than they do of the East, partly because the special papers, by men like Mr. Hawtayne of British Guiana, Mr. Spencer Churchill of Dominica, Mr. Knollys of Barbados, Mr. Gore of St. Vincent, &c., give us such exceptional help in appreciating the exhibits and understanding the places whence they are sent. The aborigines of the islands are by no means forgotten. Close by the Doulton fountain stands Sir Graham Briggs' case of Carib implements, chiefly stone and *bone* celts and arrow-heads from various islands. Not far off is Mr. T. Rousselot's similar collection from Barbados; and fronting Biers's striking picture of "A Norther on the Bahamas" is Mr. W. C. Borlase, M.P.'s, collection of gold ornaments from the graves of the Central American Huacas, and prehistoric pottery from Peru. Beautiful, as well as curious, are Madame Isabel's bonnets, made of gorgonas (Bahama sea-fans) and cocoa-nut leaves. The arrangement and decoration of almost all the West Indian Courts (for there are fourteen) are admirable, the way in which bamboo of every thickness is used to give lightness to the construction being beyond praise. Very interesting is the picture gallery, though Mr. Graves's portraits of English kings and queens might have been profitably exchanged for the genuine MSS. of Columbus which were offered to the Exhibition by the great navigator's descendant, the Duke of Veragua, "but declined for obviously prudential reasons." We are glad the Diego Ribero map (loaned by the Roman Propaganda) was not declined. Ribero began it in 1493, and only finished it in 1529, so as to include the latest discoveries. It is curious to trace in this map the line dividing the New World between Spain and Portugal according to Pope Alexander VI.'s edict in 1494. The grand picture by Olivetti, Fortuny's favourite Roman pupil, of Columbus landing on Watling's Island in 1492, will strike the most inobservant; and equally interesting in their way are the 104 large drawings by Mrs. Blake, wife of the Governor of the Bahamas, of the West Indian flora, comparable with those of Miss North in Kew Gardens. The West Indies, so often the scene of desperate conflicts between ourselves and the French, are historically notable; and the monographs upon them included in *Her Majesty's Colonies* are masterly in style and grasp of subject. The effort to make some of these islands—Barbados, for instance, and Jamaica—health-resorts must astonish those who remember the time when exchanging into a West India regiment was the last resource of the hopelessly

ruined military spendthrift. Mr. Moxly, chaplain to the troops in Barbados, shows that the unhealthiness was due to the wretched sanitary arrangements, and to the way in which the troops were housed. Now our troops actually gain in health by a sojourn in the very island which not long ago was named the soldiers' grave. Jamaica, it is contended, ought to receive a good deal of our surplus population. In few places, we are assured, can a man make a living with less exertion; and for those who have a little capital the position is described as far superior to the dreariness of Manitoba or the unpleasant colonialness of Australia. Barbados, says Mr. Moxly, is one of the healthiest, as in the seventeenth century—before the Navigation Act, the rivalry of Jamaica, and the growth of the French plantations had told against it—it was called 'the most populous, rich, and industrious, spot on the earth." The *sobriquet* "Red legs," of which the origin has long been forgotten by the islanders, is a survival from the days of enforced emigration. The Irish of the seventeenth century were, like their brothers the Highlanders, called "Red shanks;" and, after he had reduced Ireland, Cromwell shipped some 5,000 young people to Barbados to be slaves to the Royalist English who had gone out there after the downfall of Charles I. But, varied as is the interest attaching to the West Indian Courts,* they form only a small part of this wonderful Exhibition. Africa fills a good deal of space; the model of a diamond mine brings the works clearly before us, reminding us how short a time it is since O'Reilly, a commercial traveller, saw a number of sparkling stones on Farmer Jacob's kitchen shelves, and asked for one of them, which he gave to Lorenzo Boyes, the Acting Commissioner, by whom its real value was discovered; and how, soon after, the huge Dudley diamond was bought for a trifle of a Griqua, and sold to Messrs. Lilienfeld for £10,000.† When looking at the Cape diamonds we think of Borneo, where black diamonds, far harder than those of any other colour, are found, and where this North Borneo Company, treading in the steps of Lancaster (who set up factories in Java and Sumatra in 1601), has brought us, the second time in our history, into connection with this hitherto almost untouched field of enterprise. But, as we said, India holds first rank in the present Exhibition. Wherever you turn you are met by some Indian exhibit. Besides the courts, there is the Central Indian palace, under the shadow

* It is too bad that the stalactites from "Robinson Crusoe's cave," Antigua, should be turned into a grotto by a Holborn rockery-maker.

† We need not call attention to the ostrich incubator, and the intimate connection between the health of the bird and the beauty of its plumage. A day's dyspepsia—to which, with their traditional omnivorousness, ostriches must be very subject—will (they say) cause a line across the feathers. Ostrich feathers, by-the-way, are always quoted by South Africans as a witness against free trade. The ostrich farms in India and Australia, founded before the export duty was put on, have sadly reduced their value.

of which kincob and carpets are manufactured before the visitor's eyes. This savours, perhaps, too much of the shop; but, still, we are told that the effect on Indian manufactures of their being thus cheaply introduced to the general public has been most satisfactory. The whole subject of Indian silk, from the bandanna or knot-dyed silk to the elaborate fabrics of cotton warp covered with silk (to avoid the Mahometan law against the wearing of pure silk) which under the name of jaradans have been for centuries manufactured for the nabobs of Surat, has been carefully worked up by Mr. Wardle. We trust that this Exhibition, by popularizing Indian fabrics and patterns, will in India itself react against that adoption of vulgar English patterns which has for some time been producing such a baneful effect on the native taste. Well, wherever we turn, either to the gilded dagobas of Ceylon; or to the Canadian trophies of tinned meats, bottles, screws and nails, and biscuits; or to the sweets and filagree work of Malta; or to the masks and weapons from New Guinea; or to the camels from South Australia, and the bottled kava and the pottery from the Wesleyan mission in Fiji; or to the Maori huts, with natives whose comeliness makes us long to believe that such a race may still be preserved from extinction—everywhere there is so much that, at most, we have only read of before, but that here is brought visibly before our eyes. The important point is not to lose the lesson which all this should teach: we are God's stewards for a large part of this habitable globe. While we wonder at the growth of the Australian colonies, we must not forget how much mischief has been wrought by looking on our distant possessions as simply means for increasing the wealth of the mother country. We cannot act in this way to Australia, "whose great continental States now stand side by side with England herself" (we quote Professor Seeley, whose eloquent and suggestive Introduction to *Her Majesty's Colonies* deserves careful study); we may be tempted to do so to India. Let every one, then, who admires the inlaid ivory and ebony of Ajmeer, the Ulwur marble carving, the Bikanir lacquer, the Bombay pottery, the wood-carving of Lucknow, &c. &c., and who, looking at the life-size figures, is startled at the vast assemblage of races, from the tall muscular Sikhs and Bheels to the dwarfish Chinese-looking Santals and the wild Assamese, remember that we govern India not for our profit only, but for the moral as well as material elevation of those heterogeneous millions. Lord Tennyson's refrain, "Britons, hold your own," may too readily become the war-cry of a selfish policy unless it is interpreted on those Christian principles which (whatever some statesmen may say) ought to be the foundation of our politics no less than of our private life.

Social Arrows. By LORD BRABAZON. London: Longmans. 1886.

Lord Brabazon sets an example to his order, an example, indeed, to all men of culture, leisure, and social influence, by the consecration of his

talents and energies to the cause of philanthropy in all its branches. The heir of an ancient Irish earldom, the descendant of one of the Norman comrades of the Conqueror, he takes the lead in every scheme and enterprise for the benefit of the poor, the ignorant, the struggling, the overpressed. The present volume consists of a considerable number of articles, here collected from the *Nineteenth Century*, the *National Review*, and other periodicals. The largest of these deals with the subject of overpopulation; others take up the question of open spaces, associations for the benefit of young men and women, overworked shop assistants, and the social wants of London. The volume fitly closes with appeals to men of leisure and men of wealth. It is dedicated to the venerable father of the noble writer, the Earl of Meath, in a few words which contain a touching filial tribute. It is in every way an excellent volume.

Towards Democracy. Second edition, revised. Manchester: John Heywood.

This is an anonymous volume of what the author would probably call prose-poems, all of which are more or less closely related in subject to the one which gives its title to the book. They are written in the form which Victor Hugo made fashionable, but which is too nearly akin to that of a table of contents or the notes of a lecture to be attractive to a reader or capable of easy grammatical disentanglement. As far as it is possible to understand the writer's meaning, he seems to be of opinion that the social miseries of the present time will shortly be remedied by the establishment of democracy in the country. But it is not clear what he means by democracy. In one place he describes it as beginning to exist when people "realize freedom and equality;" and in another he defines the millennium as "a time when men and woman all over the earth shall ascend and enter into relation with their bodies." Nor does he avoid the mistake of overlooking the causes that lead to suffering, whilst cherishing pity for the sufferers. He is keenly alive to the separation between classes; but his disdain of the wealthy and his sympathy with the outcast are alike extreme and unreasoning. Under the future reign of democracy no penal consequences are to attach to the vices to which the miseries of a large proportion of the latter may fairly be attributed. His democracy is thus practically one without moral sanctions; and it is contrary to all the teachings of history to suppose that it would lead to either general or lasting happiness. But in saying so much we are not following our author's advice. "I conjure you," he writes somewhat unexpectedly, "if you would understand me, to crush and destroy these thoughts of mine which I have written in this book or anywhere." And we are not indisposed to agree with part of the opinion he expresses on an earlier page, that "the fall of a leaf through the air and the greeting of one that passes on the road shall be more to you than the wisdom of all the books ever written, and of this book."

Ecclesiastical English: A Series of Criticisms showing the Old Testament Revisers' Violations of the Laws of the Language. Illustrated by more than 1,000 Quotations. By G. WASHINGTON MOON. London: Hatchards. 1886.

Mr. Moon here exposes what he considers the most glaring errors of language in the Revised Old Testament, giving chapter and verse for every quotation. There is a careful table of contents, with an index of texts discussed. It would be hard to find a better course of training in the English language than a study of these racy criticisms. Mr. Moon writes almost entirely as an English scholar. We can take no exception to his comments on the inconsistency of the Revisers. Whole pages are crowded with illustrations of this. As to archaisms, there is more to be said in defence of the Revisers; whilst in not a few instances—such as 2 Sam. xxi. 16, "The *weight* of whose spear was three hundred shekels of brass in *weight*;" "David, the king, stood up *upon his feet*" (1 Chron. xxviii. 2)—Mr. Moon is quarrelling with the Hebrew itself. With some such qualifications we heartily welcome this volume. It is suggestive, painstaking, acute, and scholarly.

The Vocation of the Preacher. By E. PAXTON HOOD. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

Mr. Hood's *Throne of Eloquence* furnished such a rich feast to its readers that the present volume will receive a hearty welcome from all who are familiar with those delightful chapters. This is another book on preachers and preaching, the subject which so fascinated the writer. Its thirteenth chapter on "Puritan Adams" has a mournful interest, as the chapter on which he was busy when he was compelled to say "I cannot finish this now." After his holiday he hoped to complete the volume, but he died in Paris ere he reached the Alpine heights and Italian cities where he hoped to find new vigour of body and mind. Mr. Hood's pages are crowded with anecdote and poetry. There is not, in fact, a dull page in his massive volume. Chapters on special aspects of the subject—such as "The Instinct for Souls" and "Concerning the Imagination"—are interlaced with biographical sketches of such preachers as Faber and Newman, James Parsons, and James Wells. The mention of these names shows that Mr. Hood's chapters have special interest for the generation to which these have been household names.

The Diaconate of Women in the Anglican Church. By the Rev. J. S. HOWSON, D.D. With a short Biographical Sketch by his Son. J. Nisbet & Co. 1886.

It is three-and-thirty years since in this Journal we reviewed Conybeare and Howson's "Life of St. Paul;" years afterwards we formed the personal

acquaintance of Dr. Howson, and learnt with satisfaction from himself what we had before heard from others as to the impression which our article had made upon him. Dean Howson was rather an underrated than an overrated man. It now appears that, except as regarded the translations of St. Paul's epistles, by far the greatest part of that noble and now classic work was from his pen. He was a godly and devoted man, of the best Church of England school, evangelical without being narrow—eminently scholarly and cultivated, and at the same time very zealous and practical. He was a man of a truly liberal and Catholic spirit, as we were made to feel when it was our privilege to be his guest. In this little book, of five chapters, we have his latest thoughts on a subject which was eminently his own. By an article on the subject in the *Quarterly Review* for September 1860, he led the way in the remarkable Deaconess movement in the Church of England, and he never ceased to care for and promote it. Methodists will read these chapters with advantage. The sketch of his eminent exemplary character and career is only too slight.

The English Church in other Lands; or, The Spiritual Expansion of England. By the Rev. W. H. TUCKER, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1886.

This is the second volume of a timely series entitled "Epochs of Church History." Mr. Tucker treats his subject in a catholic spirit. The mission work of the Church of England occupies the leading place, but the labours of Nonconformists are not forgotten. The United States, the British Empire, and other lands form such a vast field that the volume can only give a bird's eye view of the subject, but it is an excellent introduction to larger works. Mr. Tucker pays a high tribute to the good sense and good feeling of the Church in other lands: "As a matter of history, it must be recorded that in every part of the world the equality of the three houses of bishops, clergy and laity has been fully recognized, and the assent of all is essential to the passing of any statute or canon. Nor has there been any interference on the part of the laity with the legitimate freedom of the clergy; rather has it been the case that the lay House has proved itself the most conservative element of the synods." This testimony should strengthen the hands of Church reformers at home. On page 20 the Rector of Epworth is called J. instead of Samuel Wesley. Mrs. Wesley's meetings at the parsonage are also ascribed to her husband.

The Church and the Franchise. By A. S. LAMB, of the Inner Temple. London: J. Nisbet & Co.

In this tractate the author expresses his opinions and gives good advice on several current topics, especially on the benefits of a National Church and the present position of the English Church. We quite

agree with him when he ascribes its present disorder to its unfaithfulness to Protestant teaching. Still, his opinions and advice are very trite, and are not likely to make much impression on the world. His most original position is, that the Church will not be ripe for disestablishment until it has returned to its Protestant principles.

Teaching and Teachers; or, The Sunday-school Teacher's Teaching Work, and the other Work of the Sunday-school Teacher. By H. CLAY TRUMBULL, D.D., Editor of the American *Sunday-school Times.* London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

We welcome very heartily a new edition of this valuable book, the price of which has been lowered without any sacrifice of clearness of type or neatness of binding. It is a veritable manual for Sunday-school teachers, comprehensive as to details, and dealing thoroughly and scientifically with almost every part of their work. In the first section the essentials, the elements, and the methods of teaching are in turn discussed, and the most suitable course for different purposes is suggested; in the second, the subsidiary duties of the teacher are set forth, the ultimate aim of exerting Christian influence, and if possible securing the conversion of the scholar, being steadily kept in view. The spirit of the book is as admirable as its exposition of the art of teaching is clear and full. It can hardly fail to stimulate its thoughtful reader to more complete consecration as well as to the adoption of better methods; and by reason of its simplicity, correctness, and unfailing interest, there is probably no book upon the subject that might more confidently be placed in the hands of the average Sunday-school teacher.

Livingstone Anecdotes. A Sketch of the Career and Illustrations of the Character of David Livingstone, Missionary, Traveller, Philanthropist. By Dr. MACAULAY. London: Religious Tract Society. 1886.

This volume will be welcomed by all lovers of Livingstone. It is an attractive summary of the main features of the great explorer's career, and will form an excellent introduction to more detailed biographies.

Anecdotes illustrative of Old Testament Texts. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

These anecdotes are well selected and well arranged. An index of subjects is given as well as an index of texts, but the matter itself is arranged so that it follows on in order from Genesis to Malachi. We have been disappointed in finding no illustrations of some of our favourite verses; but there is a store of excellent matter in this substantial volume which many teachers and public speakers will prize. The book would

have been more useful if it had pointed out what other passages of Scripture are illustrated besides the special text cited at the head of the extracts. An anecdote sometimes illustrates half a dozen verses equally as well as that to which it is attached; but it would not be easy to find this out except so far as the index of subjects may be relied on.

Glimpses of Maori Land. By ANNIE R. BUTLER. London: Religious Tract Society. 1886.

Miss Butler's narrative is racy and homely. Her brother-in-law, an over-worked clergyman, had been ordered to New Zealand for his health, and she was suddenly called to bear her sister company on the long voyage. The life on board was made a pleasure to all, both passengers and crew, by the thoughtful kindness of the two ladies and the invalid clergyman. Their three months' voyage passed away so happily, indeed, that Miss Butler left the vessel with tears of regret. The racy notes on colonial life possess considerable interest. New Zealand is by no means a paradise for emigrants. It is true that mutton is only twopence halfpenny a pound, but quite a tiny house is rented at from seventy to a hundred pounds. Apples are sixpence a pound; lunch biscuits cost three times as much as in England. The commonest Christmas-card sells for sixpence or a shilling. Servants can scarcely be had. "The merest drab of a girl refuses to come for less than twelve shillings a week, and the consequence is that families which in England would have four or five servants have here only one, while many become independent of them altogether." The making of a simple summer dress costs twenty-five shillings; a plain merino, including making and trimming, cannot be had for less than five pounds. The young ladies have a passion for crewel-work, but the "oatmeal cloth" costs eight shillings a yard, wool is threepence a skein, and a stamped out antimacassar fifteen shillings. Miss Butler gives an interesting description of the Maoris. She says the land question has been a fruitful source of oppression and evil. England has failed grievously in her engagements. The natives are now thoroughly alive to our breach of faith, and clamour for their rights. The chapter entitled "A Sheep-run," gives a clear idea of one of the distinctive features of colonial life in Australia and New Zealand. Miss Butler enjoyed the hospitality of the agent of a very large "run," where, in the lambing season, there were as many as nineteen thousand sheep. The bright wood-fires in open grates were very pleasant to English visitors. Breakfast was generally at eight, dinner at one, a substantial tea at six. Peach pies, and peach jam with quince and Cape gooseberry preserves, were special features of the bill of fare. Miss Butler says that the Wesleyans of New Zealand have often "been as the healing waters of the place, preserving and communicating a holy life and doctrine, . . . when other spiritual channels have run low, or have well-nigh dried up."

Outlines of the Life of Christ: Adventures in Mongolia.
Wit and Wisdom of Thomas Fuller: The Life of Latimer.
Olive's Story: The Crooked Sixpence. London: Religious Tract Society. 1886.

Six more volumes of the Threepenny Library. The selection has been admirably made. Dr. Conder's *Outlines of the Life of Christ* should be in the hands of all young Bible students. The results of the best scholarship are put in the most intelligible and attractive form. It is an admirable epitome. This biography of Latimer gives in brief compass a complete, graphic, and fascinating sketch of the popular preacher of our English Reformation. All that any one need desire to know of two or three of Fuller's celebrated books is found in another volume, with a concise, but adequate sketch of his life. Mr. Gilmour's *Mongolia* is full of facts about a wonderful country; whilst *Olive's Story* and *The Crooked Sixpence* form a pleasant dessert after the substantial courses furnished by the other books.

WESLEYAN CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Nature-Musings on Holy-days and Holidays.* By the Rev. NEHEMIAH CURNOCK. With an Introduction by the Rev. Dr. DALLINGER. Illustrated by Mr. F. T. LAW.
2. *General Gordon: Hero and Saint.* By ANNIE E. KEELING.
3. *John Conscience of Kingseal.* By JOHN M. BAMFORD.
4. *Andrew Golding. A Tale of the Great Plague.* By ANNIE E. KEELING.
5. *My Mission Garden.* By the Rev. S. LANGDON.
6. *The New Head-master; or, Little Speedwell's Victory.* By MARGARET HAYCROFT.
7. *Two Ways of Spending Sunday.* By Rev. JOHN COLWELL. London: T. Woolmer. 1886.

1. Mr. Curnock has rare gifts as a naturalist, and knows how to present his stores of information in a way that wins upon his readers. Many of the papers collected here are already familiar to magazine readers, who have learned to welcome the musings of a "city naturalist." In the attractive form in which they are now presented, they deserve a place in every home where love of Nature and love of God are cherished as the great blessing of life. Mr. Curnock's papers set his readers thinking. They cannot fail to attract young people towards such studies, and add new interest to sea and shore. No one will turn over these pleasant pages without an increase of reverence and wonder. Mr. Law's happy

illustrations, and Dr. Dallinger's too brief introduction, add to the charms of the volume.

2. Miss Keeling has prepared a biography of General Gordon which may confidently be put into the hands of all readers as one of the most interesting volumes of the library devoted to our latest hero and saint. The lessons of Gordon's life are drawn briefly, but with skill and point. Miss Keeling seems to have overlooked no facts, and her pages are full of pleasant or touching details. Altogether this is a most attractive and timely volume. It is beautifully got up, so that it should find favour as a prize book.

3. Mr. Bamford's new book will add to his reputation as a teacher of great life-lessons in popular form. John Conscience is an engineer, who resolves, after a fierce struggle, to conquer self, and rule his life by the will of God. His victory and its fruits are admirably sketched. The two pupils in his office play a large part in the story. The special temptations of young men are set in a light that will help many readers to guard against their attack. The book is full of wise sayings and true philosophy, which all will enjoy. To more intelligent readers it will be a fruitful seed plot for thought.

4. *Andrew Golding* is fully equal to the author's delightful *Oakhurst Chronicles*. It is written in a quaint style as the recollections of a young lady who came to London with her sister during the terrible visitation, in order to find a missing lover who had turned Quaker. Pleasant glimpses of the history of the Society of Friends add to the interest of a book which shows rare literary skill on every page.

5. Mr. Langdon's book will quicken the interest of young people in missionary scenes. It will be useful for reading aloud in juvenile working meetings, and as a prize for missionary collectors. Trees, flowers, fruit, birds, insects, and beasts, all have their place in these chapters, nor are the converts and the mission work forgotten. The racy style in which this book is written, and its abounding illustrations, make it one of the most attractive missionary volumes we have seen.

6. *Little Speedwell's Victory* is an interesting temperance story specially adapted for children. The drunken doctor whips his horse till it takes fright, and Little Speedwell is thrown out of the gig. Her untimely death leads, however, to her father's complete reformation.

7. Mr. Colwell's racy tract ought to have a large circulation among working men.

A Missionary Band. A Record and an Appeal. By B. Broomhall, Secretary of the China Inland Mission. London: Morgan & Scott. 1886.

This beautiful volume is devoted to the seven young men whose offe for mission work in China created such deep interest in all circles at the

beginning of last year. The illustrations of Chinese towns and customs are excellent. The story itself is told in the letters of Mr. Studd and his friends, or in copious extracts from the newspapers. Appearing, as this record does, immediately after the twentieth anniversary of the China Inland Mission, it will make the work of that Society familiar to many readers, and will give permanent form to one of the happiest chapters of missionary consecration. Testimonies from many pens as to the evangelization of the world, are added to the history. Mr. Spurgeon's sermon before the Wesleyan Missionary Society fittingly closes a remarkable record.

Musical Drill for Infants. By A. ALEXANDER, F.R.G.S. With 100 Illustrations by E. W. GISBORNE. London: George Philip & Son.

Mr. Alexander rightly lays great stress on gymnastic exercise for children. He here gives clear instructions as to the words of command and directions for the drill movements, with musical accompaniment on the opposite page. His volume will be a treasure for nurseries and infant schools.

Workshop Receipts. (Third Series). By C. G. WARNFORD LOCK. London: E. & F. N. Spon. 1885.

The original volume of this series, we learn from the Preface to the present volume, was intended to afford technical knowledge in a cheap and convenient form. Its success led to the publication of a second series, devoted to trades having to do more or less with chemistry. The present volume contains a large amount of valuable information relating to electrical and metallurgical matters. The self-helpful man of all trades and the amateur workman are likely to find this volume especially valuable. Regularly educated masters and workmen will also find it a convenient *vade-mecum*. It is clearly written, well condensed, very comprehensive, and capitally got up.

Home Nursing. By RACHEL A. NEUMAN. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers. 1886.

This little volume is full of clear and brief counsels on everything that concerns a sick-room, put in the best style. In ten chapters it deals with the nurse, the sick-room, food and medicine, cooking, and a host of kindred topics, giving careful directions as to infection, accidents, and emergencies, which will be of great value to all who study this interesting and much-needed book.

The Making of the Irish Nation and the First Fruits of Federation. By J. A. PARTRIDGE. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1886.

This is an intense *ex parte* manifesto on the Home Rule side of the Irish question.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (July 1).—M. Gaston Boissier's discussion of the "Conversion of Constantine" is a careful and judicious study of this controverted topic. He shows that the emperor was first drawn to Christianity on the eve of his struggle with Maxentius. The hope of present advantage is not a sufficient explanation of his conduct. The Pagan party was strong, and he was encamped before Rome, the fortress of the old religion. M. Boissier dwells on Constantine's superstition, and holds that he turned to the God of the Christians in hope of succour in his extremity. These considerations lead him to accept the early part of the narrative of Eusebius without reserve. He does not attach much importance to the miraculous signs said to have marked the event. He thinks that the emperor's conversion explains itself without them, and that it is enough to remember that he was superstitious and terror-stricken, afraid of defeat unless he could find help from some new divinity. He was not drawn to Christianity by the need of a better faith, nor by the charm of its doctrines or the constancy of its confessors, but by the hope of finding present help from a religion which promised abundant divine support. As to the signs attending his conversion, he himself never felt any doubt; his own conviction of their reality was evidently strong and abiding.

(August 1).—M. Baudrillat, whose valuable "Studies on the Rural Population of France" has been noticed in previous numbers of the LONDON QUARTERLY, now writes on "Touraine." That province was one that suffered most heavily by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The silk industry of Tours alone employed not less than twenty thousand workers. The number was reduced more than nine-tenths by Louis XIV.'s fatal step. In thirty years Tours lost more than one-fourth of its inhabitants. The houses fell into ruins, without any one seeking to repair them. After a rapid historical survey, M. Baudrillat turns to the general condition of the people. The district is not famous for imposing scenery. The rivers flow peacefully onward through quiet valleys. It is a pretty country without any striking features. Education has made little progress among the agricultural population. There is some improvement, however. The percentage of conscripts classed as illiterate, which stood for many years at 1771, is now 13·7. 4,000 children of school age receive no instruction. Of 29,000 on the books, about 23,000 were in attendance. The boys were present, on an average, for eight and a-half months of the year, the girls more than nine and a-half. Drunkenness is much less in Touraine than among the rural population of Normandy, Picardy, and Brittany. The number of births in 1882 was 6,760, the deaths 6,121, so that the population shows little increase. Only fifteen inhabitants of the Department emigrated from France in 1881. The women of the agricultural, as of the artisan class, have fewer vices than the men. They are more diligent, more careful, more temperate, more faithful, sweeter, and of more vigorous understanding. Crime is low. It is most often found in the cities, and there it is largely due to the foreign residents. Touraine begins to wear its characteristic aspect when you reach Amboise. Amboise is one of the village-cities which abound in the Province. Here is the first château, around which historic associations cluster. In the city everything seems to breathe of peace, labour, and fertility. Artisans form one-fourth of the population. The agricultural workers receive almost double the wages of the Breton peasant. Women earn two and two and a-half francs per day (without meals). An active woodsman will receive from five to six francs.

(August 15).—M. Paul Janet writes on Bossuet as a moralist. He has re-read the great preacher in this light. Others have treated Bossuet almost entirely as an ecclesiastic—a priest, or a bishop, speaking in the name of the church, and drawing his inspiration from Holy Scripture. M. Janet, under six heads, considers his teaching on man in general: on the world and the court; the passions and the vices; women and love; character; life and death. All these are ably illustrated from Bossuet's writings with abundant quotations. The article deserves the careful attention of those who are interested in such subjects. M. Janet thinks that Augustine is the only father of the church whose chief works and collected works will bear comparison with Bossuet's. As priest and writer Augustine's is the only

name fit to be compared with that of the great Frenchman. Augustine's paganism and the experiences of his youth gave him a wider horizon than that of Bossuet, but if the first ten books of his *Confessions* are unapproachable, M. Janet holds that Bossuet's masterpieces are not equalled by any of Augustine's other writings. He considers him the only writer who has united to orthodox faith the perfect literary genius with the authority of the priest, who has combined style with doctrine, imagination with faith. He remains the highest model of Christian eloquence.

(September 1).—M. Gebhart's article on "The Apostolate of Francis of Assisi" pays a well-merited tribute to that noble evangelist. To the friars, sisters, and tertiaries, who owe their origin to him, must be added the historians, artists and critics who feel themselves drawn out so warmly towards St. Francis. His work met a religious necessity of his time. He appeared at an hour in the history of Christianity and of Italy, when all minds eagerly awaited some evangel, when Christians doubted the church, and society yearned for charity and pity. M. Gebhart sketches the main features of the life and times of St. Francis. Reference is made to the Abbé Joachim, a Cistercian of Calabria, who had visited the Holy Land and meditated without ceasing, on the Gospel of St. John. He was filled with a conviction that the Holy Spirit would come to regenerate the church, and thus he became the "last of the prophets" in the middle ages. All Christendom was enraptured by his visions. Hardly was Joachim dead before the isolated region round Lake Thrasymene, a district scarcely touched by the splendid civilisation which Florence and Milan enjoyed, saw the early labours of Francis of Assisi. M. Gebhart shows that Italy has been accustomed to distinguish absolutely between the Christian faith and the Church. It has clung doggedly to the independence of the individual. The result is that "The Italians have raised the cry of Reformation during nearly three ages without having set themselves vigorously to the task of bringing it about." St. Francis thus rendered Luther's work vain for Italy. Those who saw the evils of the time contented themselves with taking refuge in his order whilst remaining in the church. The result is that the Papacy still holds outward sway over many who clearly see and deplore its errors.

La Nouvelle Revue (July 1).—M. Courcelle-Seneuil's article on "The Inequality of Social Conditions," of which the first part appeared on June 15, is concluded in this number. It discusses the various phases of the subject, quietly refutes the current fallacies, and weighs the remedies that are suggested for reducing poverty and inequality of condition. The verdict at which the writer arrives in his sensible papers is that the solution of the social question lies in liberty of work, of exchanges, and of contracts; in rights of individual property, and equality of all before the law. If in place of seeking a solution in such liberty as this recourse is had to authority the difficulties which are complained of will be aggravated, and, if that course be persisted in, catastrophes will soon be imminent. The writer says that he will have gained his end in these studies if he has made it clear that modern society rests on rational and therefore on solid foundations, and that men who gain wealth by industry are neither robbers nor even injurious to society at large.

(July 15).—A short paper on "France and the Egyptian Fellahs," by M. Gallus, states that the Society of African Missions has taken a farm at a distance of fifteen kilometres from Cairo, on the edge of the Desert. Here an agricultural orphanage is to be carried on. Like all Eastern peoples, the Fellahs have a profound dislike for manual labour, and agriculture is despised among them, but M. Gallus thinks that such an orphanage will do something to bring about a better state of things. The missionaries will live among the people, sharing their work and their hardships, "ennobling the one and relieving the other."

(August 1).—M. Astruc, in a paper on "Liberal Republican Associations," points out the perils to which universal suffrage exposes France. In the name of Conservative principles, some use it to cover their hatred of the Republic, others aim at anarchy under pretence of satisfying the working classes. Thus torn asunder, France loses her security, her renown, her authority, her friends, and is pushed forward on a path where new and terrible adventures await her. M. Astruc recommends that two great parties should be formed in the Republic, one Conservative and the other Liberal, on the model of the Belgian Constitution. These parties would in turn enjoy a majority in Parliament according to the needs of the country, and would

thus secure for France a settled government. The country would then move slowly perhaps, but surely, on the path of her great destiny. How these associations should be recruited and administered might be settled afterwards, but their formation, M. Astruc holds to be essential to the preservation of the Republic.

Deutsche Rundschau (August).—Professor Kofer gives a graphic sketch of "The last days of Frederic the Great." On August 16, the secretary, the adjutant, and the governor of the city appeared at Sans Souci at the appointed hour. The king was unconscious, and they waited quietly for some time. At last the general was called into the royal chamber. The king, in a moment of consciousness, remembered his duty, and wished to give him the parole. When the general was introduced to the room, however, speech failed Frederic. He looked sadly on his old soldier, who burst into tears and put his handkerchief to his eyes. The king then fell asleep. The troops, which were before the door, expected to hear every moment that he was gone. In the afternoon he recognized those who stood around him, but was quite unfit to transact any business. He fell into a soft slumber with gentle perspiration about six o'clock, but his legs began to grow cold up to the knees. When the clock above his head struck eleven, the king heard and asked, "What time is it? At four o'clock I will get up." Then he lost consciousness again. The hussar who waited in his chamber supported him in his arms for three hours. At last the king said, "The mountain is past, we will go better now." At twenty minutes after two, his mouth slightly quivered, and Frederic was gone.

(September 1).—Herr Geffcken contributes an appreciative paper on the "British World-Empire and the London Colonial Exhibition." He passes in review the chief colonies, points out their special products and shows how much we need to increase our navy in order to defend ourselves from serious disaster in case of war. The "immeasurable greatness" of our Empire, with which the Exhibition has so profoundly impressed him, lays us open to attack at so many points, that, though he considers our navy is the strongest in the world, it is by no means adequate to its task of defending our trade and colonies in case of a great war.

Unsere Zeit (July).—The anonymous paper on "Nihilism" shows that the Czar, Alexander II., began to be terrified at the possible results of his great reforms, and feared that he was opening the door to revolution. This brought him suddenly to a stand in his work, and thus gave Nihilism a place and power in Russia. The part of this article devoted to "the Nihilist propaganda" points out that though young men and women of noble family have voluntarily shared the hard lot of the peasants and artisans, they have gained little hold. The artisans have shown themselves bitter opponents of the students, who are the strength of the Nihilist party, and though Prince Cicianov himself worked at the forge to gain influence among the workmen, he had little success. The Russian artisans are in fact less inclined to revolutionary views than those of any other country. Whether this will continue to be the case as machinery is introduced more largely yet remains to be seen.

(August).—The article on "The Inner Condition of Russia," in this number of *Unsere Zeit* is devoted to a study of Nihilism and reforms. The organization of the Nihilists, their aims and activity, the position of Alexander II. and the present Emperor in relation to reform, are considered in short sections. The interest centres, however, in the closing pages of the review, where the writer shows the necessity and feasibility of reform. He holds that the experiment of giving a constitutional government to the country would be attended with no special risks. As it is, the people are tongue-tied, and naturally murmur and conspire against the Government. The catastrophe impending over Russia must fall sooner or later, unless these reforms are granted. The longer the delay, the harder will it afterwards prove to satisfy the people. "Had the reforms of Alexander II. been made a generation earlier, the Crimean war would have had a different result, or rather, would have been altogether avoided."

North American Review (July).—Dr. Seeger's short paper on "Jobs in Cities," is a painful description of the bribery and corruption among Corporations in America. He has had special experience of these shady transactions in his capacity as a leading member of the anti-monopoly organization. All the world knows of the corruption for which the aldermen of New York have recently been brought to account. On August 30, 1884, the Board of Aldermen gave the contract for the Broadway Surface Railroad to Jacob Sharpe under very suspicious circumstances. There had

been several large bids for the contract, one of a million dollars. Nevertheless, the Board held a meeting at nine o'clock in the morning and made Sharpe a present of the grant in defiance of the Mayor's veto. The Legislature of 1885 was notoriously corrupt, and was completely under the control of the "railroad lobby," so that all attempts to obtain an investigation were baffled, but the appeal was more fortunate next year, and the results to the guilty aldermen have been disastrous. "Mixed in this "job, "were politicians of bigh and low degree; men of national reputation; merchants, snpposed to be of unimpeachable integrity; lawyers in good standing; all these, and with them certain ostensible 'reformers' and 'reform newspapers.'" The Gas Companies of New York have invested about eleven million dollars of capital in their business, and have charged so much for gas that their profits would oblige them to declare a dividend of twenty-four and a-quarter per cent. To avoid this nearly thirty millions of fictitious capital have been added, and a dividend of seven per cent. declared. The new acqueduct, which is to supply New York with water, has for ten miles of its course a natural channel of solid rock, yet the Board of Aqueduct Commissioners have resolved to line the whole length with brick, thus involving an unnecessary outlay of a million and a-half of dollars, in order that the contractors and, indirectly, a political ring, may reap a rich harvest. The Mayor and Controller who voted against this nefarious business were got rid of by a Bill "kissed through" the legislature—as the process for a corrupt bargain between political managers of both parties is called. Governor Hill, of New York, affixed his signature "with full knowledge of its effect and bearing, and in the face of a protest signed by many thousands of the influential citizens of New York." The whole history of this aqueduct is worthy of such proceedings. The work is supposed to be given to the lowest bidder, but one dangerous section allotted to certain contractors, ostensibly for fear the lowest bidder should not do the work well, was immediately sublet to this lowest bidder, and the difference was pocketed.

(August).—Henry George writes on "Labour in Pennsylvania." The proportion of males to females in the State is 213 to 214; native born to foreign born, 36 to 5; white to coloured, 419 to 8. Pennsylvania has thus a more nearly equal proportion of males to females than any adjacent State; the foreign born are fewer than in New Jersey, New York, and Ohio; and the coloured population shows a smaller proportion to the white than in Delaware, Maryland, or West Virginia. The population is distributed over an area within one-seventh as large as England, giving an average of 95 to the sqnare mile, as compared with 484 in England. All the conditions are thus most favourable. "It may be doubted if there is on the earth's surface another area of 43,000 square miles which, considering all things, is better fitted to yield larger returns to labour. With a temperate climate, with water commnnication with the Atlantic, the great Lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico, with rich, loamy valleys, and hills underlaid with iron and coal, Pennsylvania has also, in vast reservoirs of mineral oil and natural gas, what seem like the latest and most lavish of Nature's contributions to man's service." The people of the State have not been content, however, with these enormous natural advantages, but have tried to supplement them by invoking the aid of a paternal government. Congress has been most gracious in its response to these appeals. To satisfy Pennsylvania's plea for the 'protection of labour,' the whole foreign commerce of what would otherwise have been the greatest maritime nation of the world has been sacrificed, until now an American ship is becoming a curiosity on the deep sea. This state of things has been brought about in order to give Pennsylvanians what npon their own showing is a scanty profit of fifty cents per ton. The railways of the Pacific States are compelled to pay sixteen dollars per ton more for rails, while sections of the country that use no Pennsylvanian coal must, to assure protection to Pennsylvanian labour, pay on tho coal they do use a duty larger than the cost of mining it. English rails could be placed at San Francisco for $25.84 per ton, exclusive of duty, or $42.84 with duty paid. Pennsylvanian rails cost $42.42 per ton. Strikes are of constant occurrence in the State: during three months in the year 1881 there were more than four hundred officially reported, and this did not include all. Mr. George has made careful personal investigation into the condition of the labourer. He points out that it is easy to convey a false impression with an appearance of exactness: "Thus, when for political purposes it is desired to show how much better off is the 'highly paid

American labourer' than the 'pauper labourer of Europe,' the favourite method (and this is pursued even in official documents) is to take the highest rate of wages paid in the particular occupation and assume that it indicates the earnings of the year. The time of employment, and the varying rates paid for the same work in different localities, are utterly ignored. The anthracite miners of Pennsylvania lost (exclusive of Sundays and holidays) 128 days in 1884, 111 in 1885; those in the bituminous district lost 110 and 112. The wages of miners on contract, which were theoretically given as $16.20 per week in 1884, were thus actually $8.84; miners on wages earned seven instead of twelve dollars. Their wages are in fact miserably low, whilst the risk run in such employment is serious. Nor does this fully show their condition. All miners working by contract or in the usual way at a rate of so much per ton, must pay out of their earnings for the explosives used, the sharpening of tools, and oil and cotton for their lamps. Their wages are largely paid in the use of company tenements and in goods furnished at high rates from 'pluck-me' stores. The houses are built of wood, usually unfinished inside and unpainted outside. Whitewash seems to be unknown; paint is only seen as a rule in the numbers painted on the houses in bold figures. The rent of these miserable dwellings, divided into two to four small rooms by thin partitions, ranges from two and a half to nine dollars per month. Five dollars is about the average. It is now illegal in the State to deduct rent from wages, but the law is evaded by what the miners term 'cut-throat leases,' which render them a helpless prey. In the mining villages every one, with the exception of a clergyman or two, is a tenant liable to be expelled on a five days' notice. There is, therefore, not the slightest effort made at improvement or adornment. The villages suggest the poverty-stricken hamlets of Ireland without being so picturesque." It seems strange, Mr. George says, in such a district, to come upon newspaper articles denouncing Irish landlordism, or to read resolutions of the Knights of Labour denouncing land-grabbing in the far West. "If the Pennsylvanian wishes to see land-monopoly, he need cross neither the ocean nor the Mississippi. From many a point in his own State, all of the world there is in sight, is the legal property of one man or one corporation." The sole landlord may enact what laws he pleases short of the point of producing a general revolt. He may regulate trade, control amusements, banish all who dare to work for another master. As to these points Mr. George gives instances which show what a state of petty tyranny exists. The prices at the "pluck-me" stores average 25 to 40 per cent. more than the usual prices; sometimes they are 100 per cent. in excess. There is no avowed compulsion as to dealing at these places, but often there is no other supply, and as the men are paid monthly and two or three weeks after the end of the month, they are often unable to purchase elsewhere even, if there should be another store. The man who spends the largest part of his earnings at the store generally gets the best work. The feeling against the stores is bitter and deep. In addition to these troubles, the miner is often cheated in the size of the car he is to fill with coals. Mr. George will resume his formidable indictment next month.

The New Princeton Review (July).—Charles Eliot Norton makes grave charges against Mr. Froude in his "Recollections of Carlyle." He quotes Carlyle's last words in the MS. copy of his "Reminiscences," "I still mainly mean to *burn* this book before my own departure, but feel that I shall have always a kind of grudge to do it, and an indolent excuse, 'Not yet; wait, any day that can be done!'" He solemnly forbids his friends, should it survive, "to publish this bit of writing as it stands here," and warns them "that, *without fit editing*, no *part* of it should be printed (nor so far as I can order, *shall* ever be);" and that the "'fit editing' of perhaps nine-tenths of it will, after I am gone, become impossible." Mr. Norton then gives the result of a comparison of the printed volumes with the manuscript, which shows how strangely careless Mr. Froude has been in his editing, and how little regard he has paid to any such injunction. Carlyle once said to Mr. Norton, apropos of a criticism to the effect, that he had done infinite harm to the world by preaching the gospel, that Might makes right, that the critic "seems to have no idea that this is the very precise and absolute contrary to the truth I hold and have endeavoured to set forth, simply, that Right makes Might." "Well do I remember," he added, "when in my younger days the force of this truth dawned on me. It was a sort of Theodicy to me, a clue to many facts to which I have held on from that day to this."

THE PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW (July).—Dr. MacVicar's "Romanism in Canada" shows what enormous wealth that church has amassed in the Dominion. It owns the island on which the splendid city of Montreal is built. This gold mine now belongs to the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris, which draws from it such a vast revenue that it is said to be far wealthier than the Bank of Montreal, the strongest bank in America. The Roman Catholics have shown rare skill in grasping property, and have grown rich by the improvement of wild lands, the growth of villages, towns, cities, and the construction of railways, and other public improvements. The total amount of revenue-bearing capital held by the church is estimated at fifty millions (dollars). The ecclesiastical property in Montreal is worth about five and a half millions. Dr. MacVicar describes the various means by which the church swells its revenue by imposing on the credulity of the people. In Quebec Romanism is non-progressive and productive of poverty. In Montreal the Protestants are not one-third so numerous as the Catholics, yet they own more than half the entire wealth of the city. The illiteracy of the Roman Catholics is a serious difficulty. Notwithstanding this state of things the outlook for Protestantism in Canada is encouraging. Ten or twelve years ago there were only two small French Protestant Churches in Montreal, now there are eight with many converts from Popery.

POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY (March, June).—The first numbers of this new quarterly, published in Boston (Mass.), promise well. As the title implies it is devoted to the discussion of political, economic and legal questions. The type and paper are excellent. The articles cover a wide field. Dr. Seligman's paper in the June number, "On the Christian Socialists," is appreciative and interesting. Articles "On the Conflict in Egypt," "The Constitutional Crisis in Norway," "Andrew Jackson," and other subjects, appear in the same number. The good work represented here ought to win the Review a place in England as well as in America.

CENTURY MAGAZINE (July, August, September).—The sketch of Frank R. Stockton, in the July number, will be welcomed by many readers of his quaintly original stories. The novelist is the son of William S. Stockton, who started "The Wesleyan Repository" at Trenton, to advocate lay representation. He was a fierce controversialist, and in 1830 helped to establish the Methodist Protestant Church, which seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church. As anti-Jesuit, temperance reformer, and abolitionist, Mr. Stockton was busy to the end of his life. His son, who is now fifty-two, established his success only four years ago, after thirty years of struggle, as a literary man. "A Day in Surrey with William Morris," is devoted to the art furnisher and poet. In the August, or holiday, number, the historical sketch of "Heidelberg," with its five illustrations, is specially timed for the festivities of the Fifth Centenary of the university. In September, the sketch of "A Summer spent with Liszt in Weimar" gives a happy picture of the old musician among his pupils. The sketch becomes even more interesting now that "the master" is gone. Mr. Benjamin's paper on the "Arts of Persia" is another of the valuable studies which he has recently contributed to the *Century* and *Harper*.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (July, August, September).—Mr. Blackmore's "Springhaven" is somewhat tedious, though it has racy passages. There is no hope of another story worthy to place by the side of his "Lorna Doone." No story appearing in *Harper* at present will bear comparison with Mr. Haggard's "Jess" in *Cornhill*, which strikes something like a new vein. The August number has some excellent articles. The paper on "The Transatlantic Captains" is crowded with portraits, and gives many pleasant details about the masters of the great passenger steamers; the chapter on "Orchids" is no less readable. Detroit, which bids fair—in the course of another half-century—to become one of the first cities of America, forms the subject of another pleasant paper. In the September magazine there are several articles and brief stories of marked interest. The sketch of "The Art of Making Bronzes," given in the first paper, is valuable; and all will be glad to read the short account of "Working Men in the British Parliament."

HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE (July, August).—The profuse illustrations and racy articles which make this magazine so great a favourite with children, well maintain their character in these numbers. Hints on games and natural history studies are pleasantly interspersed among stories and lively papers on general subjects.