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OCTOBER, 1890.

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THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1890.

Art. I.—DR. MARTINEAU ON AUTHORITY IN RELIGION.

The Seat of Authority in Religion. By James Martineau, LL.D., D.D., &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.

MANY students of the pending controversy concerning the Old Testament Scriptures have been complacently resting on the assurance that these discussions have no bearing on the Christian faith and practice. The methods of modern criticism, some of them sound enough, others as fallacious and dangerous as arbitrary assumptions, hasty inferences and unwarranted conclusions can be, have been allowed to pass without question, because scholarly men have employed them, and the conclusions reached have been understood to leave the citadel of the Christian faith unharmed. Such persons have not been allowed to remain long in their illusion. The effect upon the New Testament of admitting as valid the processes adopted by critics of the Old is already being made plain to those who keep their eyes open. The "analysis" which pulls to pieces the Pentateuch is not likely to spare the Gospels. The edge of the dissecting knife can as easily be turned this way as that, and to some of those who use it there is nothing sacred. Our belief in the value of sound criticism makes it incumbent on us to expose the errors

of criticism that is only unscrupulous and destructive. The methods that have been employed to do violence to the outer courts of the Christian temple are afresh employed, as we might expect, upon its inmost shrine; the sanctity of the whole structure is imperilled, and the discussion concerning the authority of the Old Testament has already become a discussion concerning authority in religion.

The attack upon the New Testament as an authoritative guide is conducted in the volume before us by an admittedly able and formidable champion. Dr. Martineau is a veteran controversialist, a powerful and fascinating writer, and a philosopher who has defended the truths of Theism and spiritual philosophy more vigorously than most advocates of the strictly orthodox school. The fulminations of the book called *Supernatural Religion* proved ineffective some years ago, in spite of the shouts of many hasty and thoughtless supporters; a failure partly due to the anonymous character of the book, partly to its evident bias and bitterness, but mainly to the fact that its great parade of scholarship was shown not to be borne out by close examination. The late Bishop Lightfoot found it no difficult task to demolish its arguments and expose its pretensions. The name of Dr. Martineau, however, is respected wherever it is known. Thousands of students have been grateful to him for his *Types of Ethical Theory* and *Study of Religion.* Those who have gladly sat at his feet whilst he discoursed of Divine philosophy, which his glowing and imaginative treatment has shown to be "not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose, But musical as is Apollo's lute, And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets," may well be prepared to listen to him further. One who discoursed so eloquently and so convincingly of the nature and true basis of religicn, may be supposed to know something of the seat of its authority. Those who have been fascinated by the earlier volumes may not improbably be prepared to accept the teaching of the later without much doubt or question.

This would lead in our estimation to fatal and perhaps irreparable error, yet many may hardly be able to distinguish between the same writer in his strength and in his weakness; between Dr. Martineau loftily constructive, and Dr. Martineau

virulently destructive; between the advocate of a sublime Theism, and the sceptical assailant of orthodox and catholic Christianity. It is not a grateful task to "lay hands upon father Parmenides," but our respect for the venerable philosopher and the ungrudging commendation we have bestowed on some of his previous works make it the more incumbent on us to point out the grave fallacies which lie at the basis of the arguments in this his latest production. The hand of the veteran of fourscore has in many respects by no means lost its cunning; the charm of style, the glow of feeling, the mastery of detail, the copious knowledge suffused by earnestness of conviction, and made the groundwork of powerful appeals—all these qualities are still to be found in Dr. Martineau's pages. But the cogency of argument, the spiritual insight, the hold upon the conscience, the sway over the mind and heart vanish when the author turns from his positive to his negative teaching. The builder has become the destroyer, and the very character of the writer's mind seems in many respects to have changed. Had Dr. Martineau exhibited towards the implicit beliefs of the human heart and the fundamental truths of philosophy and religion one tithe of the scepticism and incredulity shown in his treatment of the New Testament writings, and the doctrines of Christianity, he would have proved himself one of the most trenchant Atheistic writers of the day. There is a reason for this striking difference which we shall point out later, but it is time that we described this book, grappled with its arguments, and gave some ground for showing why a leader of thought who has so nobly vindicated to the present generation the existence of God and the supremacy of conscience, so sadly and egregiously fails when he comes to interpret and estimate the religion of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Dr. Martineau, as the title of his book implies, sets out to examine the true ground of authority in religion. The first book deals with God in nature, God in humanity, and God in history. God is revealed in nature indeed, but nature is not the characteristic feature of His self-expression, it is rather, "His eternal act of self-limitation." It is to God in humanity we must turn, if we would understand the meaning

of law and the basis of Divine authority. Very finely Dr. Martineau, after his wont, vindicates the claims of conscience and marks how, when these are rightly interpreted, "the cold obedience to a mysterious necessity is exchanged for the allegiance of personal affection,—the veil falls from the shadowed face of moral authority, and the directing love of the all-holy God shines forth." In the course of history, however, we find truth blended with error. The ideals of duty are Divine, the actuals that come out of them, or fail to come out of them, are ours. "Our modern religion is a triple cord into which are twined, as strands once separate, the Greek, the Jewish, the German elements of thought and feeling, and which, where it is perfectly woven, combines the strength of all. These several factors bring with them pure and impure elements, and it is the business of a thoughtful student of religion to distinguish between these. To make this distinction in the case of Christianity, is the object of the following books."

The writer's first business is to point out where in his view authority has been "artificially misplaced." Under this head he speaks at length of Catholics and the Church, and has little difficulty in showing the fallacy of the claim to infallibility made by Romanism, or in exposing the futility of the supposed four Divine marks or notes of the Church-unity, sanctity, universality and apostolicity. It is a hard task, as Dr. Martineau expresses it, "to convince us that there is nothing diviner upon earth than a spiritual corporation which can have a Borgia for its head, the councils of Ephesus and Constance for boards of justice, and the Index and Encyclicals as its expressions of pastoral wisdom" (p. 131). Dr. Martineau next turns upon Protestantism, and essays to show that those who trust in an infallible book are as much deceived as those who trust in an infallible Church. He declaims against the requirement to accept Scripture as a Divine authority, "to believe whatever is affirmed in the New Testament, and practise whatever is enjoined." The Catholic Church is "an ever-living dictator," the Protestant belief in Scripture hands men over to "ancient legislation and guidance;" both are equally distasteful to the believer in indivi-

dual reason and conscience, who esteems both alike as vain attempts to secure satisfactory and adequate direction in human affairs.

An inquiry is then instituted into the character of the Scriptures of the New Testament, with the conclusion that the synoptical gospels are late compilations, containing only the remains of popular tradition, a large part of which is of doubtful value, and the whole utterly destitute of authority, while the fourth gospel, "the only one for which a single writer is responsible, has its birthday in the middle of the second century, and is not the work of a witness at all." Only six of St. Paul's Epistles are genuine, and they contain no historical testimony to the person of Christ worth speaking of. It remains therefore to sift the evidence from such books as have come down to us, that we may glean trustworthy facts concerning the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth, and separate what is truly religious and Divine from the false theories and foolish superstitions which grew up around His name, and have been embodied in the doctrines of the Christian religion. Jesus never professed to be the Messiah—the name stands indeed for nothing but a floating Jewish fancy. He never rose from the dead, and as for the speculations of evangelists and apostles concerning the Eternal Word, the Incarnation, the Atonement and Redemption through Christ, including grace here and glory hereafter, these are growths of superstition which can all be accounted for by the discerning student of history. Then "the veil may be taken away," and the truth known. The "truth," according to Dr. Martineau, is something like this:

"And so it has happened that for the religion of Christ has been substituted all through the ages, a theory about him, what he was in nature, what he did by coming into the world, what he left behind when he quitted it. These are the matters of which chiefly confessions and churches speak; and by doing so, they make him into the *object*, instead of the vehicle and source of their religion; they change him from the "author," because supreme example, into the *end* of faith; and thus turn him, whose very function it was to leave us alone with God, into the idol and incense which interpose to hide him. If his work is not to be utterly frustrated in the world, the whole of this mythology must be taken down as it was built up; if once it was needed to conciliate the weakness of mankind, it now alienates their strength; if to Jew or Greek it

made some elements of his religion credible, with us it runs the risk of rendering it all incredible; if ever it helped to give to Christianity the lead of human intelligence, to secure for it mastership in the schools, authority in the court, and the front rank in the advance of civilisation, it now reverses these effects, irritating and harassing the pioneers of knowledge, compelling reformers to disregard or defy it, and leaving theological thought upon so low a plane that minds of a high level must sink to touch it, and great statesmen and grave judges and refined scholars are no sooner in contact with it, and holding forth upon it, than all robustness seems to desert their intellect, and they drift into pitiable weakness" (pp. 359–360).

This is but a meagre account of a book which contains an elaborate criticism of the whole system of Christian doctrine, and an eloquent exposition of Dr. Martineau's own attenuated creed, but even this outline is sufficient to show what is the writer's view of authority in religion, amounting, in fact, to a repudiation of all authority in the usual sense of the term, and a falling back upon individual reason and intuitive, unverifiable perceptions of the Divine. It shows also on what lines of argument Dr. Martineau proceeds in his uncompromising attack upon historical Christianity, and sufficiently prepares the way for the remarks we have to make upon it. It is impossible to say whether the author's theological beliefs spring from his critical views of the New Testament books, or whether his readiness to accept the most extreme results of historical criticism are due to his previously rooted antagonism to orthodox Christianity. If a careful perusal of the book leaves a decided impression that the latter of these alternatives represents the fact, we have no right to assume that it is correct, though Dr. Martineau's account in his Preface of the critics whom alone he appears to have consulted is sufficient index of the kind of conclusion at which he wished to arrive.

What remains is, that Dr. Martineau gives the final blow to the belief that Unitarianism is compatible with an acceptance of the New Testament. The old Socinian position that Jesus was a son of God by a miraculous conception, a prophet specially endowed with Divine grace and power, the Jewish Messiah, but not the co-eternal son of God, is entirely given up. So far, Dr. Martineau is logical. He sees that the acceptance of the New Testament as an authority substantially implies adhesion to orthodox Christianity, and he utterly repudiates both. He is

not severely logical, as we shall show, in maintaining the relation between his arguments concerning the dates of the books, and his theories concerning their contents. It is difficult to keep these two topics entirely separate; we must, however, as far as possible do so, as we assay to point out fallacies all along the line of Dr. Martineau's arguments. We join issue with him then on these four cardinal points: (1) The dates assigned to the books of the New Testament, the literary and critical questions being in this volume very summarily and inadequately dealt with. (2) The theories advanced concerning the "origins" of Christianity, and the growth of myths concerning the person of Jesus. (3) The philosophical theories concerning the nature of revelation which actually, though not theoretically, underlie the whole structure, may be shown to be baseless. And (4) an argument of great strength against the validity of Dr. Martineau's theorisings is furnished by the history of the last 1800 years, which have proved the Divine origin of the Christianity Dr. Martineau despises by its works and its adaptation to the nature and needs of man, and furnished a most instructive demonstration of the barrenness and practical futility of the bare creed of the Unitarian Rationalist when standing alone.

The position of Protestants regarding revelation is not fairly put by Dr. Martineau, who represents them as making revelation to be wholly a thing of the past, entirely confined to a lifeless record, as if we were entirely dependent for knowledge of Divine things on literary and antiquarian evidence. That is, of course, an exaggeration; but it is true enough that Protestants, and all who believe in historical Christianity, lay great stress upon the faithfulness of the record of historical events that has come down to us in the New Testament, and their position may not unfairly be expressed in Dr. Martineau's words: "And so is forged a three-linked argument which joins divine and human things; if the facts are real, the doctrines are certain; if the books are authentic, the facts are real; that the books are authentic, adequate testimony proves." Dr. Martineau sneers at "logical devotees whose enthusiasm loves to reach their God by a long and painful pilgrimage of thought"; he is apparently ignorant of the fact that evangelical Chris-

tians believe in and enjoy as direct access to God as himself; that their communion with the living and eternal God depends no more than his own upon "dead facts stranded on the shore of the oblivious years." He apparently does not know or conveniently ignores the fact that historical evidence is only one among many strands which go to form the moorings of a Christian's creed; that the Theist, like the Christian, is bound to study history, and that on literary and historical questions the unbeliever must consent to investigate and argue as much as the believer, both alike being bound to lay aside prejudice, and decide historical questions on historical evidence, in accordance with testimony adduced.

Unfortunately the arguments on which Dr. Martineau relies to prove the soundness of his views as to the books of the New Testament are condensed into very small compass. They may be satisfactory to himself, and he may plead the impossibility of entering into details belonging to a technical inquiry, but as the foundation on which so important a superstructure is reared, they are exceedingly flimsy and unsatisfactory. Instead of the caution which marks the scholar, we find the self-confidence which marks the sceptical dogmatist. Very frequently he argues in a circle:—these books were late in date, therefore their testimony is worthless: their testimony is such that they must have been written late. A specimen or two must suffice to show how airily and summarily Dr. Martineau waves on one side evidence one tithe of which would be sufficient to establish ten times over the date of any writing of a classical author.

Only eight pages are devoted to the subject of the Synoptical Gospels, and only a part of these contain any reasoning. The problem of the composition of these books is no doubt a complex one, and we by no means wish to assume that the traditional view of their authorship is made out beyond question. But Dr. Martineau does not deal fairly with such facts as he chooses to comment on, while he ignores others of cardinal importance. As a proof of the former statement, we cite his treatment of the quotations found in Justin Martyr. It is true that Justin's phrase "Memoirs of the Apostles," *may* not refer to our canonical Gospels, though in one place (Apol. i.

60) he says: ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, "which are called Gospels" —a passage which destructive critics conveniently pronounce to be spurious. But the coincidences of language are so numerous and cover so large an area of Gospel history, that either Justin must have used our Gospels, or a document later than the Gospels, which presupposes them. In either case, we have early testimony to a belief in the facts of the Gospel history, which can by no means be set aside, on the ground that these three narratives were not severally composed by one man, known to be an Apostle and eye-witness. As specimens of the way in which Dr. Martineau occasionally ignores evidence, we may say that hardly any notice is taken of the evidence of the Ignatian Epistles, whose genuineness has been established by the late Bishop Lightfoot, while the recent discovery of Tatian's Diatessaron in an Arabic translation, which sets entirely at rest the controversy concerning this work, and establishes the view of it taken by orthodox critics, is not even alluded to. This single work, beginning, as it does, with the opening words of John i. 1, proves beyond question that our four Gospels had been so far received and recognised in the church by the middle of the second century, that a harmony or digest of them had been constructed. The Latin translation, published by Mœsinger (1879), of Ephraem's Commentary on Tatian's work was sufficient to establish its true character, but the Arabic translation of the work itself, published in Rome, by Ciasca (1888), sets this question entirely at rest.* No discussion of the date and authenticity of the Gospels should ignore this important evidence.

This brief and unsatisfactory treatment of external evidence is matched by assumptions that the Gospel narratives are incredible because they contain "anachronisms" and "inconsistencies," of which the following are examples. In St. Matthew two Gadarene demoniacs are mentioned, and two blind men near Jericho, while other accounts speak only of one; in St. Matthew and St. Mark both robbers revile Christ, while in St. Luke only one is said to have done so; in two of

* See *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, by Professor Hemphill of Dublin, 1888. Also note in Bishop Lightfoot's Essays on *Supernatural Religion*, Appendix, p. 287.

the three Evangelists the twelve are ordered on their Galilean mission to take no staff, while in the third they are enjoined to take nothing but a staff. Of course, if these trifling differences had not existed, and the narratives had coincided in every detail, it would have been taken as proof positive that they were not independent, and their testimony would have been correspondingly discounted: as it is, the existence of the slightest variation is called a "striking discrepancy," and pressed into the service of those who wish to discredit the witnesses. In order to show that the Apostles attributed to Christ their own crude and gross ideas, mingling them with the teachings of Jesus, and "obtruding a rude interruption upon their purity and depth," we are told that the following incredible statements are made concerning Christ: that "He claimed the Messiahship, yet would not let it be mentioned; that He contemplated and fore-announced His death and resurrection, yet without succeeding in preparing them for the event; that He sided with the Jewish Christians and wished only Israelites to belong to Him; that, on the contrary, He foresaw how the Jewish appeal would comparatively fail, and the gospel must be preached to all nations," &c. (p. 188.) In all these cases, and others of which they are samples, we are told "the anachronism must be felt by every one who has closely studied the infancy of the Christian Church"—we must add "and come to Dr. Martineau's conclusions concerning it." Fair-minded persons will certainly require a different kind of evidence from any Dr. Martineau adduces, before they come to the conclusion that the Synoptical Gospels present "the verisimilitude of unaccredited tradition," or the "false chronology and irreconcilable contradictions" which the ready-prepared sceptic confidently traces in them.

In discussing the date and authorship of the fourth Gospel, Dr. Martineau shows himself critically behind the times. He devotes several sections of his book to maintaining the theory of Baur, which assigns the Gospel to the latter part of the second century, probably from 160 to 170 A.D. But the arguments used by Dr. Martineau concerning the external evidence have been met again and again during the repeated assaults of the last twenty years. The critical position at present has

been thus correctly characterised :—" In the critical sifting it has undergone, the date of the fourth Gospel has been receding further and further back in the second century, so that now hardly any critic with any pretension to fairness puts it later than the very beginning of that century, if not the end of the first century, which comes very close to the date assigned it by those who believe in the Johannine authorship."* It forms no part of our present object to discuss these matters in detail, but we cannot forbear to point out that while Dr. Martineau dwells at considerable length upon what he considers the important differences between St. John and the Synoptists, in the conception of the person of Christ, he entirely fails to notice the strong phraseology of the latter with regard to the dignity of our Lord, the majesty of His claims, or the greatness of His promises in such passages as the 24th and 25th chapters of St. Matthew, describing His judgment of the whole world, and the statement of Matt. xxviii. 18, "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth." The close coincidence, again, between the phraseology of Matt. xi. 27, "All things are delivered unto Me of My Father, and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father," &c., and the language of St. John is hardly referred to. The attempt to show that the distinct ascription of Divinity to Christ in the fourth Gospel represents a later cast of thought, impossible till a considerable time after His death, is, of course, at once obviated by pointing to the acknowledged Epistles of St. Paul.

The difficulties of our author do not, however, end here. He is compelled to deny that the Gospel and the First Epistle known by the name of St. John are from the same author. The admission of identity of authorship would have several awkward consequences, and Dr. Martineau says very lamely: "I am more impressed by a few fundamental differences of religious conception pervading the two writings than by several agreements in terminology and secondary categories of thought" (p. 509). One of these fundamental differences is that "the gospel knows nothing of an atoning or propitiatory efficacy in the blood of Christ!" A critic who will argue thus loses

* Salmon, *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 213.

all claim to confidence. Further, it used to be considered a strong argument against the Johannine authorship of the Gospel, to ascribe the Apocalypse to St. John, and press the differences of style and thought between the two books. But it was soon found that the dignity ascribed to our Lord in the Book of Revelation necessitated the abandonment of the argument that lofty language concerning the person of Christ implies a late date, and Dr. Martineau takes refuge in the extraordinary hypothesis of Vischer, that the Revelation * is a composite work, the great body of which is not Christian at all, but Jewish, with a Christian prologue (chs. i. to iii.), and epilogue (ch. xxii.). And this of a book which pronounces a special anathema upon those who meddle with its contents, and which throughout its chapters uses more than any other the significant title of "the Lamb!"

But we need waste no further time upon the extravagance of some of Dr. Martineau's critical views, when we see how he treats books of the New Testament, the date and authorship of which it is absolutely impossible to dispute. He admits only six of St. Paul's Epistles to be genuine (p. 180), rejecting with summary arrogance the considerable and express external evidence furnished, for example, to the Epistle to the Colossians, with the calm assumption that it contains "such evident traces of a post-apostolic time, so many thoughts unsuited to the personality of the reputed author," that the presumption in favour of Pauline authorship is broken down. Even such scepticism as Dr. Martineau's is compelled, however, to admit that the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, are Pauline, and were written within some 30 years of our Lord's death. But Dr. Martineau knows how to evade difficulties which he cannot remove. St. Paul's testimony to the Divinity of our Lord, and the substantial acceptance of Christian doctrine at the very early period when his great Epistles were written, is almost contemptuously set aside.

"In the larger gospel of Paul, which swept over the Gentile world, and ultimately reduced the original community to the position of a sect, the biography of Jesus, the traits of his mind, the story of his ministry play no part

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* Dr. Martineau has strangely allowed the vulgarism *The Book of Revelations* (sic) to be printed some half-dozen times in this volume.

at all; it is from heaven, after he has done with the hills of Galilee and the courts of the temple, that he begins with his last apostle; and it is in heaven alone that that apostle knows anything of him—in his glorified state and immortal function, and not in the simple humanity and prefatory affections of his career below" (p. 330).

Again, Paul's teaching

"is based, like the Galilean evangel which preceded it, on Jewish preconception, which have neither validity for us, nor foundation in the personal religion of Jesus. It is a theory in which the accepted facts of his death and resurrection are wrought into their place in a vast theodicy embracing the providential drama of humanity from its opening to its consummation. Being the theory of one whose knowledge of Jesus began with his revelation from heaven, it naturrally made no use of the features of his earthly life and personality. Considered as the after-thought of a posthumous disciple, it is a wonderful construction, full of original combination and deep experience, and large sweep of thought and sympathy. But it presents us rather with the outer contour of the Christian faith as organised for a world's history, than with the inner secret of God, which lives as its kernel in each Christlike soul" (pp. 460–461).

It is in passages like these that Dr. Martineau reveals his real mind and method. If he can by any stretch of critical hypothesis find what may be styled an argument for the late date or spuriousness of any of the New Testament Books, he will do so. But if not, he sweeps early and authentic documents equally out of his way for the purposes of argument. His position is not that of an inquirer after truth, asking which of these writings actually proceeded from an Apostle, what is its teaching, and what does it prove concerning the personality of "Jesus who is called Christ," but rather, Granted that the man Jesus of Nazareth uttered many remarkable sayings concerning the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men, was crucified, dead and buried, but by no means rose again the third day, what is to be made of the curious assortment of writings, early and late, collected in the New Testament, and how did the incredible mythology concerning his Divinity, Atonement, and the salvation of a world through him arise? Such a mode of investigation will, doubtless, produce remarkable results; whether it is likely to bring us near the truth is another matter. Let us see, however, what the results reached actually are.

According to Dr. Martineau, the simple Gospel taught by

Jesus, and constituting his personal religion, one of love to God and man, inward purity, lowliness, and self-denial, became overlaid by an elaborate and incredible Gospel *concerning* Jesus, describing what He was, and what He did for man's salvation. In successive stages these changes came about, the modes of thought of various families of men produced modifications in the original message, "its voice was inevitably changed, and, like a border dialect, passed into a patois pure to neither heaven nor earth."

"Three, at least, of such modifying media it had been called to traverse before our New Testament writings were complete—viz., the popular Judaism of Israel at home; the Hellenistic theology of mixed Israelites and proselytes abroad; and the Gentile sects of gnostic speculation; influences of which the Temple, the Synagogue, and the School may be regarded as the respective symbols" (p. 326).

Each of these mingled clay with the original gold, bound up what was perishable with what was eternal, and thus it came about that Jesus was first of all regarded as the Jewish Messiah, then as the Second Adam, and then as the Word, the Alexandrine Logos made flesh. These doctrines, together with the belief in Christ's Resurrection from the dead, are so many accretions of mythology, which it has been left for the discriminating genius of modern criticism to discover, point out, and carefully sift away, leaving the few grains of pure gold which Dr. Martineau wili allow to remain as fragments of the personal religion of Jesus of Nazareth, his contribution to religious truth.

It is impossible for us to examine into the details of Dr. Martineau's elaborate hypothetical structure. We may take a single specimen of his method. As may be imagined, very little is said about the Resurrection, the evidence for it, and the way in which the unaccountable belief of the earliest disciples in a purely imaginary and totally unexpected event came about. But let that pass. Dr. Martineau, contrary to the views of most of his school, undertakes to prove that Jesus never claimed to be the Messiah and he can hardly find lauguage strong enough to describe the mischief which this erroneous view of his person and character has wrought. This is "the first deforming mask, the first robe of hopeless disguise" under

which the true Jesus disappears. This doctrine "has corrupted the interpretation of the Old Testament and degraded the sublimest religious literature of the ancient world into a book of magic and a tissue of riddles." It has "spoiled the very composition of the New Testament," and made "the highest influence ever shed upon humanity subservient to the proof of untenable positions and the establishment of unreal relations" (p. 329). Away with all this mythology! cries Dr. Martineau. "Knowing as we do that Messiah was but the figure of an Israelitish dream," why should we trouble ourselves with the precise shape of an obsolete chimera? All very well for a sceptical critic who wants the ground cleared to make way for his own views of history. But unfortunately just here lies one most formidable *crux* for those who wish to re-write history and can tolerate any incredible theory that enables them to dispense with the supernatural. So troublesome have naturalistic critics found this particular difficulty that they have tried all kinds of plans to avoid it, utterly inconsistent with one another. The Messianic hopes of the Jews in the time of Jesus being what every one knows they were, how came it to pass that a Galilean carpenter's son, who worked no miracle and was shamefully put to death, was within twenty years of his death acknowledged to be the long-expected Messiah by tens of thousands of Jews, including Saul of Tarsus among them? * Strauss holds that the fact that the disciples after Jesus' death, believed him to be the Messiah, "is not to be comprehended, unless when living he had implanted the conviction in their minds." Renan characteristically hints that Jesus unworthily tried to fit himself to the Jewish ideal, in order to win disciples. All kinds of methods have been adopted to explain the faith of the first generation of Christians in Jesus as a supernatural Christ, but few have tried to sweep the board clear as Dr. Martineau does, maintaining that Jesus never made any claim to Messiahship. He himself acknowledges that the preponderance of critical opinion, including the decided and weighty judgment of Harnack, is

* For an able treatment of the whole subject, see Prof. V. H. Stanton's *Jewish and Christian Messiah*. T. and T. Clark. 1886.

against him. The attempt to show that our Lord's characteristic name for Himself, "Son of Man," includes no such claim, is very weak. But the theory which Dr. Martineau advocates, implies that a claim which Jesus did not make, which his disciples were not disposed to concede, which must have appeared to be overthrown by his suffering and death, was inexplicably revived immediately after his death by a handful of depressed and discredited disciples, that it was eagerly adopted by crowds of adherents and churches founded upon the basis of this belief within an incredibly short period, although no supernatural power of any kind had been displayed by Jesus, nor any such power manifested by his disciples. This implies a draft upon our credulity which no rational student of history would dream of making, but for the necessity of having to describe an epoch in which supernatural power was the chief efficient force, with the supernatural left out.

Leaving, however, the insurmountable objection that no sufficient time is allowed for the growth of myth, an objection which cuts at the root of the laboured account here given of the growth of various "theories concerning the person of Jesus," let us come to an objection which must ere this have struck every intelligent reader, and which Dr. Martineau ineffectually endeavours to meet. Surely it is plain that writers who treat the sacred narratives thus, are but creating a ghost or *simulacrum* of the historical Christ, by an arbitrary process of their own, selecting certain of the sayings which seem to them profound or impressive, and rejecting what seems to them to savour of superstition. Dr. Martineau's answer is really no answer at all, but simply a re-statement of his position.

"The charge would be unanswerable, if the story were all upon one level, and the credibility were equal of the part that is taken and the part that is left. But this could only be the case if the Gospels were the products of pure history, with the risks of error impartially distributed over their whole surface. What, however, is the fact respecting (let us say) the first of them? It is compiled throughout in a dogmatic interest, and is historical in the same way as the recital of an advocate shaped for the support of the case he undertakes to plead. The position which it aims to establish, viz., that the life it relates is that of the future Messiah, is present everywhere. . . . If we want an earlier word than this, we have it in the letters of Paul; but there,

Christ is already in heaven, and we learn nothing of his ministry on earth" (pp. 330, 331).

Surely this is *petitio principii* with a vengeance! The argument runs full circle to its starting-point. The objection is made—"you are making arbitrary selections from authorities and fashioning an historical figure of your own from parts that please you." And the answer is: "I cannot accept the testimony of Matthew because he has so much to say of the Messiah, nor that of Paul, because he believes in Christ risen and glorified." Dr. Martineau, however, would probably reply that he must sift the only available historical evidence concerning the personal life of Jesus by canons which seem to him warranted. In one place he attempts to formulate such canons:

"1. Whenever, during or before the ministry of Jesus, any person in the narrative is made to speak in language or refer to events which had their origin at a later date, the report is incredible as an anachronism.

2. Miraculous events cannot be regarded as adequately attested, in presence of natural causes accounting for belief in their occurrence.

3. Acts and words ascribed to Jesus, which plainly transcend the moral level of the narrators authenticate themselves as his, while such as are out of character with his spirit, but congruous with theirs, must be referred to inaccurate tradition" (p. 577).

The subjective and arbitrary character of the first and third of these canons is obvious at a glance. It is the nineteenth century critic, soaked through with rationalism, who is to determine what thoughts and ideas are of late date—a reference to actual events which may prove an anachronism is of course unexceptionable—and the same critic is to decide what is or is not above "the moral level" of the narrators, and what is or is not consonant with what he understands by "the spirit of Jesus." It is easy to trace out the process by which, instead of a Gospel according to St. John, we get a Gospel according to Dr. Martineau. We respect the critic, but we prefer the evangelist.

Let us, however, see what is meant by the second canon above cited, dealing with miracle. Our author rather makes a merit of not pronouncing miracles to be *a priori* impossible. His admission, however, amounts to little in practice. He says: "Our stock of known laws, not being a closed circle,

does not shut out an anomalous phenomenon as impossible and entitle us to say, It did not happen. What it does authorise us to say is, 'Granting its occurrence, you can never tell that it was a miracle;' for there is always room for the unexpected in the gaps of undetermined law; and when assigned to its place there, it belongs to the sphere of *nature*, and not to what is *beyond nature*, as you want your miracle to be" (p. 592). Reported miracles, however, may be incredible for the want of adequate evidence, and in the case of Christ's life, "it is impossible to reach any original attestation, which we can appreciate as adequate to substantiate the tales that would be incredible to-day." Consequently all that is miraculous may freely be cut out of the Gospel narratives. What kind of a *caput mortuum* is left, not many Christians would care to take the trouble to inquire. Given such canons as the three above mentioned, worked in the spirit which Dr. Martineau illustrates upon almost every page of his volume, we have no need to ask what will be the result. A Jesus who is not the Christ, for Christ is only the name for a foolish dream; one who is neither Son of God nor Son of Man, as those phrases have usually been interpreted, who worked no miracle, uttered no prophecy, but left on record aphorisms somewhat more spiritual than those of Confucius, and died a martyr's death somewhat more pathetic than that of Socrates, such is the image—*par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno*—which writers like Dr. Martineau offer us instead of the Jesus of the Gospels. The analysis has done its work, the substance is gone, only the shadow remains. No one, believer or unbeliever, will care much what is the shape of the shadow. "Ye have taken away our Lord, and we know not where ye have laid Him."

Only let it not be supposed that this is the result of fair and sustained argument. What has been shown is, first, that the writings of the New Testament are utterly and unalterably opposed to the Socinian or modern Unitarian idea of Jesus. The authority of these books must be destroyed, if the Person who is the Centre of the Christian faith is no longer to be adored as God, and trusted in as a Saviour from sin. In other words, orthodox Christianity is the religion of

the New Testament. We have known it all along, but Unitarians have not always confessed it. Secondly, the authority of these books may be undermined, if the writers are not trustworthy witnesses to the facts they relate. But Dr. Martineau has entirely failed to prove them to be untrustworthy, because he has begun by assuming the very conclusions he set out to prove. It needs no conjurer to say that if the rationalistic premisses be granted, and the documents analysed according to the canons described, rationalistic conclusions will follow, and nothing will be left in the documents which the rationalist does not admit. So that the result of Dr. Martineau's elaborate investigation is, that the Protestant Scriptures possess no authority because the writers give us mythology instead of history; and if we ask for the proof that their narratives are mythological, the reply is, not because they are late in date, for this Dr. Martineau utterly fails to prove, but because they imply the supernatural and miraculous. The miraculous is not *à priori* impossible, but no attestation can prove it, therefore the New Testament Scriptures possess no authority (Q. E. D.). But who will be convinced by such argumentation, who was not virtually convinced before?

The fact is, that there is a deeper scepticism than has hitherto appeared, underlying the course of argument pursued in this book. It appears to us to be twofold. In the first place, Dr. Martineau is apparently not inclined to admit that historical evidence can have any function whatever in relation to religion; in the second place, he not only perceives no deep religious significance, no high religious value for the training of man in the Christian doctrines of which the Incarnation is the basis, but he is apparently eager for their rejection as useless and mischievous lumber. We will close our article with a word or two on each of these points.

According to Dr. Martineau, revealed religion is "strictly personal and individual, and must be born anew in every mind." Miracles can neither form part of a revelation nor attest one, especially when only reported, and the knowledge of them attained through evidence, more or less indirect. Revelation, being immediate and intuitive, has nothing to do

with "what has happened, is happening, or will happen," neither in nature nor in history can evidence for religion be gained, unless the data are first imported into it by the religious mind. "Reasonings on nature without and life within lead to explicit theism, because they start from implicit theism." Everything in religion depends upon its intuitive, immediate, and personal character. Our author indeed appears to question whether God can give us "a proper apocalypse"—*i.e.*, a disclosure of eternal facts and realities, such facts of ultimate being as the constitution of the Godhead, or the eternal life of the Son of God. The paragraphs on this subject go to show that if it were possible for God to grant us such a revelation, it would be impossible for us to receive it, and in any case the media actually present are available only for the apprehension of moral and spiritual truth, inasmuch as they all resolve themselves into testimony.

> "In order to bring upon the earth an adequate witness of such things, the incarnation of a Divine person has to be presumed; and that in its turn is a kind of fact which transcends all evidence, and which human testimony never can approach. An apocalypse of such things is incommunicable by veracity ever so faithful; to me who only hear it, it is simply a *reported vision*, not a discovery of *what is*; it takes me into the mind that has seen it, but it takes me not beyond. And even this it does, only by a *vote of confidence* in the seer, which rests on other grounds, and is resolvable at last into the authority of his moral and spiritual insight" (p. 321).

Now there is surely serious confusion here. We hold, as well as Dr. Martineau, that theology cannot be forced on men's minds by mere external authority. No *posse comitatus* can make me follow the reasoning of a proposition in Euclid; and no *mere* exhibition of supernatural power can compel my adherence to theological propositions, against which my moral or spiritual sense revolts. All true religion is personal, and that man's communion with God must be immediate and direct, is involved in the very meaning of the terms. Neither prophet, priest, nor sage can do more than help me to draw near to God for myself; He alone with me alone; and all Divine truth, if it is to be assimilated, must awake an answering response within, a response which no overpowering exhibition of authority by itself could ever evoke. Thus far we

are heartily in accord with the pure and spiritual teaching of Dr. Martineau. But why does it follow that I may not learn much concerning the nature and character of God from history, provided the historical evidence be adequate? "We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us, what work Thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them." A very large part of our spiritual knowledge comes to us thus, as Dr. Martineau would of course admit. Then—taking for granted for the moment the abstract possibility that God who spake in time past by the prophets could take upon Him our nature, and speak to us in his Son—what is there in the nature of historical evidence to prevent its doing its own work of establishing certain historical facts, such as—*e.g.*, that Jesus of Nazareth lived such a life, spoke such words, performed such acts, died, and was afterwards seen by such and such men, in whom a certain remarkable spiritual change took place, and certain remarkable results in the history of religion followed? Suppose these facts proved, important corollaries follow regarding the person, character, and will of God, with whom I hold personal communion all the more close and immediate, because of the revelation of the Father made in Jesus Christ His Son our Lord.

But is the evidence adequate? There is the rub. We have first to ask, What evidence will be considered adequate? Because, as a matter of fact, with many persons, Dr. Martineau probably among them, no amount of evidence conceivable would be considered adequate for the establishment of truths so stupendous as those which lie at the roots of Christian theology. No amount of testimony, so Dr. Martineau almost explicitly states, would suffice to make him believe in the doctrine of the Incarnation, in the miracles, Atonement and Resurrection of Christ. With such persons it may well seem that no argument is possible. Nevertheless, we will essay to go one step further. Why does Dr. Martineau find no evidence adequate when other intelligences as vigorous and acute as his own, have rested their hopes entirely upon a belief in these truths, and have been satisfied with the evidence actually existing? The answer probably is, that to Dr. Martineau and others like him there appears to be no over-

whelming need for such a revelation of God as Christianity implies, no unique religious value and power in the truths of Christianity which make it likely that God would so reveal Himself, no antecedent longings and yearnings for such truths as would make them prepared to receive and welcome such evidence as is forthcoming. Nay, so far from this, Dr. Martineau contemplates with relief and joy the prospect of being rid of the characteristic doctrines of Christianity as so much added weight, cumbersome to the Theist, and even injurious to the interests of pure religion. The conclusion ultimately reached at the end of this long book is this:

> "Christianity, as defined or understood in all the churches which formulate it, has been mainly evolved from what is transient and perishable in its sources, from what is unhistorical in its traditions, mythological in its preconceptions, and misapprehended in the oracles of its prophets. From the fable of Eden to the imagination of the last trumpet, the whole story of the Divine order of the world is dislocated and deformed. . . . . To consecrate and diffuse, under the name of 'Christianity,' a theory of the world's economy thus made up of illusions from obsolete stages of civilisation, immense resources, material and moral, are expended, with effect no less deplorable in the province of religion than would be in that of science, hierarchies and missions for propagating the Ptolemaic astronomy, and inculcating the rules of necromancy and exorcism" (p. 650).

It is true that Dr. Martineau says he has reached this conclusion with "pain and dismay," but he would apparently exult in the overthrow of Christianity as at present understood. Elsewhere he says:

> "On this small and mistaken base there has been heaped up an immense and widening mass of Christian mythology, from the first unstable, and now at last apparently swerving to its fall. And let it fall, for it has corrupted the religion of Christ into an Apocalyptic fiction; and that so monstrous in its account of man, in its theory of God, in its picture of the universe, in its distorted reflections of life and death, that if the belief in it were as real as the profession of it is loud, society would relapse into a moral and intellectual darkness it has long left, and the lowest element of modern civilisation would be its *faith*" (p. 325).

Now at last we are face to face with the issue. Dr. Martineau believes, as he has always believed, that the doctrines of orthodox Christianity are false. He finds that he cannot dissever them from the New Testament, and he has,

therefore, set himself to prove that it possesses no religious authority, and that its testimony is untrustworthy. Has he succeeded? In all probability he has more than succeeded with those who entered upon the inquiry with prepossessions similar to his own; but there are no arguments in this book which can avail with men who do not come to its consideration assured that no testimony can prove a miracle, and that the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Atonement are vain and hurtful dreams. The battle of historical evidence must be fought out upon historical grounds, but the real issue, after all, concerns the essential value of the central doctrines of Christianity. Dr. Martineau despises them as mythology. It is not for us at the very close of an article to point out how infinitely our religious beliefs are deepened and enriched if, in addition to bare Theism, we can see our way to accept the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the Resurrection of Christ; nay, how absolutely essential these are to the spiritual requirements of man. We may, however, refer to the testimony of Mr. R. H. Hutton, whose evidence in this matter is the more important, because, owing to his Unitarian parentage and education, he so long rejected the doctrine of the Incarnation, and afterwards became convinced of his error. In a masterly essay on *The Incarnation and the Principles of Evidence,** Mr. Hutton shows at length, from what we may call a Unitarian point of view, how much added light on God's essential nature, on the relation between God and man, on the present and the future life is afforded by "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

It would be out of place for us now to comment on this and shew the force of Christ's words, "Ye believe in God, believe also in Me." But one thing we may say. We fearlessly appeal to history to confute the views of Dr. Martineau concerning the character and influence of the doctrines of Christianity. If there be a religion which has done aught to purify and regenerate the world, it is the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ, as understood and expounded by generations of

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* Reprinted in *Theological Essays*. Third Edition. Revised. Macmillan & Co. See Essay No, viii. p. 241.

Christians, who, whatever their mistakes (and they have been many), their failures (and they have been numerous and grave), in their many differences of name and creed, have alike believed in "one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven." Christianity has done the noble work it has accomplished in the world by virtue of the very truths which Dr. Martineau is eager to banish as so much mischievous "mythology." It has triumphed because it has descended to man's lowest estate, met his deepest needs, purified his inmost heart, and given him utmost hope. And this has been done, not through the announcement of unimpeachable moral maxims, sublime spiritual truths, but because it has shown to men the mind and heart of God Himself, how utterly He hates their sins, how unspeakably He loves the sinners, so that He gave His only begotten Son, that all might live through Him.

If there has been any form of religious belief which history has proved to be morally impotent and spiritually sterile, it is that advocated by Dr. Martineau. Lofty in some respects indeed it is, and it contains a measure of religious truth of inestimable importance. But, taken alone, the abstract truths of bare Theism have not moved men's hearts, they have not satisfied the cravings of conscience, nor supplied a much-needed ethical dynamic; they have exercised no regenerating power over individuals or society; nor have they proved their efficiency by success in active and abiding moral enterprise. The reason is simply that the Unitarian creed presents a lofty ideal without providing the means of realising it. Dr. Martineau, in the last sentence of his book, rejoices that he can look to Jesus of Nazareth as "the Prince of Saints, who reveals the highest possibilities of the human soul and their dependence on habitual communion between man and God." Men, stained with sin and struggling with temptation, cry out, not for a Prince of Saints, but for a Saviour of sinners. In the New Testament they find Him, and they will prefer the authority of the New Testament to the authority of Dr. Martineau. The Christianity that has saved millions of degraded and perishing men and women, turning them from

darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God, carries with it an authority and self-evidencing power of its own. Compared with it, the speculations of this volume are like the confused and impalpable forms of a troubled dream, which vanish in the calm, clear light of returning day.

Art. II.—THE RELIEF OF EMIN PACHA.

In Darkest Africa. By Henry M. Stanley. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Demy 8vo., cloth. Two Vols. Maps and Illustrations.

THIS certainly is a most wonderful book. We have a thousand pages divided into two volumes, all written in the short space of fifty days, the first line being penned on the 25th January of this very year! The first portion of the manuscript was placed in the printer's hands on March 12; the last proof-sheet was returned for press on June 3; and at the end of the month the book was sent forth to the world. Nor does it bear any noticeable marks of haste. The paper is good, the type is excellent and most readable, the proof-sheets have been very carefully read, the binding is quite equal to anything of its class, the engravings and woodcuts are distinct and worthy, whilst the maps are exceptionally valuable. Being of an extra large size, these maps should, however, have been free from the binding, and placed, folded up, in a pocket attached to the cover.

The matter of the book, as might be expected, is of surpassing interest, whilst there is a valuable and complete index at the end of each volume. Though Mr. Stanley is not a professional author, nor exactly a master of style, his narrative is singularly free from commonplace, and his descriptions are strikingly realistic. In the earlier parts of the work there is a want of freedom, but as that hand which for so long a time had been unemployed in the writer's art regains its old aptitude, there comes a sympathetic flow of picturesque and

effective writing, which carries the reader along with increasing delight.

The religious spirit in which Stanley writes calls for special reference. His acknowledgment of God is remarkable and outspoken. In his prefatory letter, addressed to Sir William Mackinnon, he says:

"Constrained at the darkest hour to humbly confess that without God's help I was helpless, I vowed a vow in the forest solitudes that I would confess his aid before men" (i. p. 2).

And then he gives three striking instances of providential interpositions in time of deepest need, each of which in due course he elaborates as the narrative goes on, concluding with the words:

"As I mentally review the many grim episodes, and reflect on the marvellously narrow escapes from utter destruction to which we have been subjected during our various journeys to and fro through that immense and gloomy extent of primæval woods, I feel utterly unable to attribute our salvation to any other cause than to a gracious Providence who for some purpose of His own preserved us . . . . It is in this humble and grateful spirit that I commence this record of the progress of the expedition from its inception by you to the date when at our feet the Indian Ocean burst into view, pure and blue as heaven, when we might justly exclaim, 'it is ended'" (i. pp. 4, 5).

And when, after emerging from the fearful anxieties of the forest, opportunity is given him for quiet meditation, his references to God, the littleness and mortality of man, and the passing character of everything material, and his quotations from the Holy Scriptures, become increasingly numerous; whilst the last sentence of the second volume is: "Thanks be to God for ever and ever. Amen." This last sentence he prints in capitals.

In his first chapter Stanley narrates the events which led up to Emin's isolation and the formation of the Relief Expedition. In the course of his narrative he frequently indulges in pungent criticism. It is well-known that when Speke, Grant and Baker, brought to the knowledge of the world the wonderful lakes of Equatorial Africa, the Khedive Ismail resolved on the establishment of a vast Egyptian empire, extending from the Mediterranean to the Equator. With wonderful audacity this project was carried out, but without

the military precautions needful to give the newly formed empire the requisite stability; for no means of communication between the various military stations were provided, so that excepting during the flood season of the Nile, camel routes alone were available. The bankruptcy and abdication of Ismail led to the succession of Tewfik, and then came the revolt and brief supremacy of Arabi, the withdrawal of the troops from the Central African provinces, and the determined efforts of the Mahdi Mohamet Achmed to destroy the Egyptian strongholds of the Soudan. This last was rendered the easier, inasmuch as throughout Equatorial Africa, there was bitter antagonism against the Egyptian government. The heavy taxation, the impositions of the officials, and the breaking up of the slave-trade by the strong hand of Gordon had all contributed to produce a feeling of intense hatred of Egypt. Hicks Pacha made a brave but absurd effort to retrieve the position, paying the penalty of his rashness with his life. Under the sacred banner of the Mahdi, victory after victory was won over the ill-directed troops of the Egyptian Government. Baker Pacha, with a courage equal to that shown by Hicks, and with a rashness almost as great, fought at Tokar. Two-thirds of his helpless soldiers were killed, and he was slain with them. At this time Emin Pacha was ruling what is known as the Equatorial Province. He was a German by birth, a Jew by race, and a medical man by profession. His true name was Edward Schnitzler. Going to Khartoum, he entered into Gordon's service, and assumed the name of Emin Effendi Hakim, which signifies "the faithful physician." Under Gordon he went on a political mission, first to Mtesa, King of Uganda, and then to Kabba-Rega, King of the Unyoro, and in 1878 was made Governor of Equatoria. The investment of Khartoum, the mission and death of Gordon, Wolseley's attempt at rescue, and the war with Osman Digma, are yet fresh in the public memory, although six years have passed away since Gordon died. All the provinces in the Soudan were lost to Egypt excepting Equatoria, and it was natural that the English people who had so idolised Gordon, should feel drawn to the last of his governors, who, helpless and alone, was away there in the very centre of the continent.

Now and again, information came from Emin, in which references were made to his loneliness, his need of help, and the fighting in which his black troops were frequently engaged. Inspired by an ardent desire to relieve this brave and capable man, the recent expedition was resolved upon; a fund was raised for carrying it into effect; the services of the eminent explorer Henry M. Stanley were obtained; and he was made its head.

Everything which a vast experience could suggest was done in order to make the expedition a success. The Khedive Tewfik and his chief minister, Nubar, together with the Sultan of Zanzibar, gave such assistance as was in their power; whilst special messengers were sent overland to Emin with letters setting forth the objects of the Expedition and the course adopted.

The Congo route was not resolved upon until after grave consideration. It was deemed likely that by that route there would be easy water-way to within 320 geographical miles of the Albert Nyanza, and that there would be plenty of food, whereas both water and food were known to be scanty and uncertain by the East Coast route. Besides, by the West route, there was not the same likelihood of those wholesale desertions which had come to be a regular feature of East Coast Expeditions. Not only so, but the King of the Belgians was intensely anxious that Stanley should start from the Congo State, and he readily placed at his service the resources of the Government. The Germans, moreover, had taken possession of the land in the rear of Zanzibar, limiting the area of that kingdom to a narrow strip of coast. In addition, the French were of opinion that an Eastern route expedition would endanger the lives of the French missionaries, and if of them, then of the English missionaries also. The decision in favour of the West route was accordingly accepted by the Relief Committee, which numbered amongst its members, Colonel Grant, Colonel de Winton, Sir Lewis Pelly, Sir John Kirk, the Rev. Horace Waller, and other capable and experienced men; whilst every arrangement also had the assent of the Foreign Office.

At Zanzibar, Stanley met Tippu Tib. This famous Arab

merchant had become so prosperous, and so many Arabs had flocked to his standard that he was practically ruler of all the region between the Stanley Falls and the Tanganika Lake. In talking with him, Stanley found him ready either to fight with him or to be employed by him, and as it was necessary, if not to secure his friendship yet to disarm his opposition, he resolved to employ him to carry the ammunition and supplies to Emin, and afterwards to transport Emin's ivory of which according to Dr. Junker, there were 75 tons, amounting in value to some £60,000. Accordingly, Stanley entered into a contract with him to supply at Stanley Falls 600 carriers at £6 per loaded head. At the same time, with the consent of the King of the Belgians, Tippu was appointed Governor of Stanley Falls, which station had been abandoned by the Congo Government perforce; and with the appointment it was agreed that he should be given a monthly allowance to be paid into the hands of the British Consul-General at Zanzibar, his duty being to defend the station in the name of the Congo State against all Arabs and natives, himself abstaining from all slave traffic below the Falls, and to defeat and capture all persons raiding for slaves. The employment of this man in this way has been freely called in question. Of course, it was done as a matter of policy, in the same way as Gordon wished the employment by the British Government of Zebehr, and it was known to involve risk. If only the man had really carried out his engagements, he would have been of signal service to the expedition. But, unfortunately, the whole arrangement was a failure. Tippu either could not or would not do as he had promised, and the result was the almost total destruction of Stanley's rear column, and an untold amount of anxiety, and toil, and suffering, for the traveller himself, and his companions and followers. There is, however, a probability that this man will have to disgorge the value of what he received, and to pay the amount of the money damage done to the expedition by his defalcations. Learning on his return to Zanzibar that a certain Mohammedan East India merchant, had received on account of Tippu £10,600 in gold from the Congo Government for ivory bought, Stanley applied to the Consular Court to have the money impounded, pending an

action to be brought for losses, &c., occasioned by the Arab's failure to carry out his agreement, and after hearing the evidence the application was granted. Let it, however, be remembered that to Tippu is due the preservation of the lives of the Tanganika missionaries, and that, but for his influence, all the whites dwelling in that region would have been destroyed.

On the 25th of February, 1887, the expedition including Tippu Tib and his followers left Zanzibar, and on the 18th of March, it arrived at the Congo. After varying difficulties and delays, Yambuya was reached on the Aruwimi River, 96 miles above its conference with the Congo, and some 1300 miles from the sea.

Here it was resolved to form a depôt under the charge of Major Barttelot, with whom was associated Mr. Jamieson. The instructions given by Mr. Stanley were very definite. They were to wait until the return of the steamer "Stanley" from Leopoldville, whither she had gone to bring up 500 loads of goods, left there under the care of Mr. J. R. Troup; whilst on the same return journey, she was to take on board at Bolobo, Messrs. Ward and Bonny with 125 men. These three Englishmen were added to the Expedition after it had started on its way. Then with the 600 carriers to be provided by Tippu Tib, or so many of them as might be supplied, the advance column was to be followed, and if possible, overtaken. In reading these instructions, one cannot but be struck with Stanley's complete grasp of the whole situation, and of eventualities at all likely to occur. Had they only been followed, all would probably have been well. But they were not. The steamer arrived in due course, but Tippu failed. Then instead of taking what loads he could with such carriers as were at his disposal, the poor Major continued in a reeking camp vainly seeking to move the wily old Arab. Six times did he go to Stanley Falls, Barttelot marching some 800 miles, and Jamieson some 1200. Thus eleven months were frittered away, the members of the expedition sickening and dying at a fearful rate. At length, a start was effected, but it took forty-three days to get to Banalya, only ninety miles distant, an Arab station under

the charge of Abdallah Karoni, one of Tippu's head-men. During the march, Barttelot paid a seventh visit to the Stanley Falls. The day after this arrival the major and this Arab fell out, and Barttelot threatened to visit Stanley Falls—for the eighth time—to report him, but the next day he was shot dead by a Manyuema named Sanga. Mr. Jamieson, the second in command, at once took the headship of the party, but worn out by fever and trouble he died within four weeks at Bangala on his way to see Tippu Tib. He breathed his last in the arms of Mr. Ward just as Stanley, returning from the Nyanza, reached Banalya, where the remnant of the rear column was camped under the headship of Mr. Bonny. Mr. Troup was invalided home before the start from Yambuya, and Mr. Ward remained at Bangala. There were many strange things connected with the management of this depôt station. No wonder Stanley asks in amazement as he thinks over these matters: Why were all my clothing, maps, charts, reserve medicines, photo-apparatus, extra rifle springs, tent essentials, and entire canteen sent off by Barttelot down the river to Bangala? Why with thirty-three dying men in camp was a case of Madeira wine sent away and a choice collection of reserved delicacies shipped on board the steamer taking Mr. Troup back? Why when 158 cases of cartridges containing 80,000 rounds were left there should only be 35,000 rounds by the 9th of June, although there had been neither marching nor fighting; and although 300,000 percussion caps were left it was yet necessary to purchase £48 worth from Tippu Tib? Why was Mr. Ward sent away at all? How came the rear column to be so wasted as to decrease in numbers from 281 to 139? Nor did Mr. Bonny throw any light on the subject. Who can wonder that Stanley should give up the effort to solve these problems in sheer despair, and in his bewilderment should make references to "diablerie"? Perhaps we may have further light when Mr. Troup shall send out his promised book. Nevertheless it should be noted that Stanley afterwards strongly testifies to Mr. Bonny's courage and ability, and expresses his firm conviction that if Barttelot and Jamieson had only accompanied the advance they would have greatly distinguished themselves.

On June 28 Stanley left Yambuya, and until December 5, during 160 days, he marched through forest, bush, and jungle without ever seeing a bit of green sward of the size of a chamber floor. Nothing but miles and miles—endless miles—of forest. Progress necessarily was very slow, as the way had to be carved out with bill-hook and axe, whilst the temperature in the shade was 86°. As far as possible, the course of the river was followed, for this allowed the use of the boat and enabled him to carry the sick and feeble together with their loads. The land column, numbering about 300, kept as near to the river as might be; nevertheless, on one occasion, it missed its way, and was lost for six days. Much inconvenience was also experienced from the hostility of the natives. The paths to their villages were protected by sharpened skewers driven into the ground, which severely wounded the feet and legs and produced ulcers, whilst from behind the trees the natives would fire their poisoned arrows, frequently with deadly effect. On one occasion, Lieutenant Stairs was severely wounded. Desertions also were numerous, especially in the neighbourhood of Arab encampments, and with these desertions there were thefts of rifles, ammunition and other goods. To such an extent was this carried that more than once Stanley had to make a special example of deserters who had been caught. Only by the exercise of such discipline was he able to maintain order. It was necessary that the members of the expedition, whilst respecting and trusting him, should fear him also.

It was, however, from want of food that the expedition chiefly suffered, and indeed was almost destroyed. Very little meat was obtainable. They lived chiefly on wild fruits and such plantains as the natives cultivated. Sometimes even these supplies failed, whilst the improvidence and want of foresight on the part of the men aggravated the difficulties of the position.

On the 6th of October matters came to a crisis. There were then but 263 men left. Of these fifty-two were reduced to skeletons. They had been attacked with ulcers and were unable to forage, whilst they had shown no economy in using the rations they had received. Captain Nelson also was

reduced by ulcers to an utterly incapable condition. The river, moreover, had become unnavigable, and boat-carriage had to be given up. It was then found that there were eighty loads more than the men able to march could carry. What was to be done? Captain Nelson and the fifty-two invalids were left with eighty-one loads and ten canoes. The chief of the headmen and five others were hastened off to find the Arab settlement of Kilonga-Longa, which it was understood was only some three days' journey distant, and to obtain from thence an immediate supply of food for those left behind, whilst Stanley and the remaining part of the force with the baggage, followed.

Of the fearful sufferings endured by Stanley and his party in the forest as they urged their way almost without food and ready at any moment to sink down in despair, there is given a heart-rending narrative, but at last Ipoto, the station of Kilonga-Longa, was reached, some 197 miles from the Basopo Cataract. The Arabs gave them a hearty welcome, and loud were the thanksgivings offered up for their deliverance. The six headmen, however, had not arrived, and thirteen days had elapsed since the expedition had left Nelson's camp. On the 26th a relief party set off. When the camp was reached only five were found of the fifty-two who had been left there, and of these two were dying. The rest had either deserted or had died. Nelson himself was in a very prostrate condition and deeply depressed. He had lived entirely on herbs, fungi, and a few "mabengu." No wonder that dreadful spot was called "Starvation Camp."

These Arab settlements are centres of widespread destruction. From them parties of ruthless men go forth with one dominant passion, which is to kill as many of the men of the country and capture as many of the women as craft and cruelty may enable them to do. Wherever they go they reduce the whole country to a waste howling wilderness without a hut standing or a cultivated place undestroyed. Stanley estimates the extent of the country thus desolated by Kilonga-Longa's people alone at 44,000 square miles, and in this way he tells us some half-dozen resolute men, aided by their hundreds of bandits, "have divided about three-fourths of the great Upper Congo forest

for the sole purpose of murder and becoming heirs to a few hundred tusks of ivory." The general system under which these ventures are carried out he thus describes:

"The girls are distributed among the Arab, Swahili, and Manyuema harems, the boys are trained to carry arms and are exercised in the use of them. When they are grown tall and strong enough they are rewarded with wives from the female servants of the harem, and then are admitted partners in these bloody ventures. So many parts of the profits are due to the great proprietor . . . . a less number become the due of the headmen, and the remainder become the property of the bandits. . . . . The caravan is well armed and well manned by the proprietor, who stays at home on the Congo or Lualaba river indulging in rice and pilaf and the excesses of his harem. The headmen, inspired by greed and cupidity, become ferocious and stern, the bandits fling themselves upon a settlement without mercy to obtain the largest share of loot, of children, flocks, poultry, and ivory" (i. p. 229).

It is the possession of gunpowder by these Arab fiends which enables them to carry on this work. Without gunpowder they would not have a chance against the inner African tribes, and the result would be a general migration of these Arabs to the seaboard. Stanley suggests an international agreement against the introduction of gunpowder into any part of the Continent, except for the use of the agents of the European Governments, and also the confiscation of every piece of ivory reaching the coast. What is really needed is the establishment of a stable civilising government, and the recent agreement with Germany bids fair to help towards this end. Let it however be said that these Arabs behaved kindly to Stanley, when he fell in with them at times of deepest distress. Indeed they saved him and his expedition. They may therefore be forgiven much in the way of tempting his men to desert, and in seeking to possess themselves of his goods.

As might be expected, the physical effects of such intense hardship were very manifest. This may be seen from Stanley's description of the condition of the expedition when it reached Ibwiri on November 10, a large village outside the limits of Kilonda's usurped headship, a veritable Goshen, where it was resolved to wait and recuperate.

"On this date the men were hideous to look upon, because of their gaunt nakedness. They were naked, for they had stripped themselves to obtain food from the slaves of the Manyuema at Ungarrowwa's and Ipoto, of flesh

they had none, for they had been reduced to bones by seventy-three days of famine and thirteen days of absolute want; of strength they had but little, and they were ill-favoured in every respect; their native colour of oiled bronze had become a mixture of grimy black and wood ashes: their rolling eyes betrayed signs of disease, impure blood, and indurated livers: that beautiful contour of body, and graceful and delicate outline of muscles—alas, alas!—were all gone. They more befitted a charnel house than a camp of men bound to continually wear fighting accoutrements" (i. pp. 253-4).

This great African forest through which the expedition marched is about 621 miles long, and some 517 broad, and covers a square compact area of some 321,057 square miles. The trees in it vary from 20 to 180 feet in height. Their crowns of foliage interlace and shut out the light of the sky. In diameter the trees vary from a few inches to four feet. Mixed up with these are great cables of matted growth which coil around the tree, mix with the top foliage, drop in loops and festoons, and cords, and intertwine and braid with each other, all full of leafage and flower. At every abutment are cabbage-like lichens, orchids, and clusters of vegetable marvels; whilst below in some parts is a thick undergrowth, and in other parts impervious bush; and the ground itself is a reeking compost of decayed and decaying vegetable matter. Such, with variations according to position and circumstance, is the general character of this vast forest. Dwelling in it, are numberless fragments of tribes who are at war with each other, and who strive to make their villages inaccessible by all the arts of defence suggested to mere wild men by the exigencies of their lives. These people are naturally amongst the most vicious and degraded to be found in the world. Elephants, buffaloes, wild pigs, bush antelopes, coneys, gazelles, chimpanzees, baboons, monkeys of all kinds, squirrels, civets, wild cats, genets, zebras, ichneumons, and large rodents are known to find in this forest a home. The branches swarm with birds; and the rivers with fish. It may be asked how it was that the expedition did not hunt more. The reasons were it was absolutely unsafe for a small hunting-party to leave the camp, they would be almost sure to become the prey of the savages around, who, with their cannibal instinct, would assuredly eat what thus they killed. Without proper instru-

ments and a knowledge of how to use them, any one would speedily become bewildered, would miss his way and be lost. The breaking of leaves and the forcing of a passage through the bush scared the animals so that they never could be reached. Reptiles also abounded; and it would take a volume to record the countless species of insects to be found in every part. These latter plagued by day, and were a terror by night. From the 1st of June, 1887, to the 31st of May, 1888, rain fell on 138 days or for 569 hours. Stanley reckons it the rainiest zone on earth. This heavy rainfall is due to the prevalence of strong westerly winds, lasting nine months in the year, which blow up the moisture of the sea, and the vapour of a river which runs for 1400 miles with a breadth of from half a mile to sixteen miles. This meets the cold atmosphere of the higher altitudes of the East, and at the same time receives the benefits of the vapours exhaled by the Tanganika, Albert Edward, and Albert lakes.

At last, from a tall peak, grass land was seen. This peak, rising to a height of 4600 feet, Stanley named "Pisgah," because "after 156 days of twilight in the primæval forest, we had first viewed the desired pasture lands of Equatoria." On December 4, they emerged upon "a rolling plain, green as an English lawn," and in a most graphic manner does the great traveller depict the all but uncontrollable rapture of his followers. Such a picture of rejoicing has seldom been presented on the printed page. "Now," he says, "we were made glad according to the days wherein we had been afflicted and the period wherein we had seen evil."

At Undussuma the expedition was placed in a position of dire danger from the hostility of the people, and sorely was Stanley disquieted; but, comforted by the words of God to Joshua, he confided in the Almighty, took all necessary precautions, and when attacked he scattered his enemies.

Reaching the Albert Nyanza there were no canoes to be had, and there was no timber in the district of which canoes could be built, the plain between the furrowed mountain sides and the lakes being acrid and destitute of sustenance. No intelligence was forthcoming of Emin, to whom messengers had been sent from Zanzibar, and who might have been at the spot

to meet Stanley if it had not been for his customary dilatoriness. Stanley accordingly resolved to return to Ibwiri. There a stockade was built and named Fort Bodo or Peaceful Fort. The convalescents and goods left at Kilonga-Longa's and at Ungarrowwa's were brought up, and messengers were sent to Barttelot with a map of the route and instructions as to the way.

Then a second time did Stanley start for the Albert Nyanza, although weak from a severe attack of illness which laid him aside for more than a month. Accompanying him were Jephson and Parke and 126 men. At Kavalli he received a letter from Emin, and immediately he despatched Jephson and Parke with fifty rifles and the boat to meet him, and on the 29th of April, Emin, Casati, Jephson, and one of the Pacha's officers walked into Stanley's camp. Describing his visitors, Stanley says:

"I expected to see a tall, thin, military looking figure, in faded Egyptian uniform, but instead of it I saw a small, spare figure in a well kept fez and a clean suit of snowy cotton drilling, well ironed and of a perfect fit. A dark grizzled beard bordered a face of a Magyar cast, though a pair of spectacles lent it somewhat of an Italian or Spanish appearance. There was not a trace on it of ill-health or of anxiety, it rather indicated good condition of body and peace of mind. Captain Casati, on the other hand, though young in years, looked gaunt, careworn, anxious and aged. He likewise was dressed in clean cottons, with an Egyptian fez for a head-covering" (i. p. 374).

Considering that the instructions from Egypt brought by Stanley left Emin a free agent, he displayed a singular hesitation as to the course he should pursue. This hesitation was the more singular, inasmuch as thirty-five days previously he had written to the Editor of Petermann's *Mitterlungen* a letter in which he concluded with the significant words, "If Stanley does not come we are lost;" whilst Casati, who had been Emin's agent at Unyoro, had been turned out of that country, absolutely naked, with the loss of all his personal property, including his journals and all his papers.

Arranging for Mr. Jephson to visit with the Pacha the various stations of Equatoria, so as to make a proclamation to the Egyptian soldiers of the purpose of Stanley's visit, the dauntless traveller a second time turned his back on the Nyanza with the purpose of seeking out the fate of his rear column.

Five miles from camp the great Ruwenzori for the first time loomed in sight with summit covered with snow. It was then about seventy miles distant. In due course Fort Bodo was reached, and then Kilonga-Longa's, Nelson's "Starvation Camp," and Ungarrowwa's. This latter he found abandoned, and all the country around depleted of provisions. The miseries of forest marching, even along paths comparatively known, are to be seen in the following extract:

"My own condition of body was so reduced, owing to the mean and miserable diet of vegetables on which I was forced to subsist that I was more than usually sympathetic. At this time there were about thirty naked Madis in the last stages of life; their former ebon black was changed to an ashy grey hue, and all their bones stood out so fearfully prominent as to create a feeling of wonder how such skeletons were animated with the power of locomotion. Almost every individual among them was the victim of some hideous disease, and tumours, scorched backs, fœtid ulcers, were common; while others were afflicted with chronic dysentery, and a wretched debility caused by insufficient food. . . . . With all this, the ground was rank with vegetable corruption, the atmosphere heated, stifling, dark, and pregnant with the seeds of decay of myriads of insects, leaves, plants, twigs, branches. At every pace my head, neck, arms or clothes was (*sic*) caught by a tough creeper, calamus thorn, coarse briar, or a giant thistle-like plant, scratching and rending whatever portion they hooked on. Insects also of numberless species lent their aid to increase my misery, especially the polished black ant, which affects the trumpet tree. As we marched under the leaves these ants contrived to drop on the person, and their bite was more vexatious than a wasp's or red ant's; the part bitten soon swelled largely, and became white and blistery. . . . . These offensive sights and odours we met day by day, and each step taken was fraught with its own particular evil and annoyance. . . . My mind suffered under a constant strain of anxiety. . . . . I had had no meal of any kind, of bird or beast, for nearly a month. . . . . My muscles had become thin and flabby, and were mere cords and sinews, every limb was in a tremor whilst travelling, and the vitals seemed to groan in anguish for a small morsel of meat" (i. pp. 453–4).

Reaching Banalya on August 17, a stockade was seen flying a red flag, and there Stanley found the remains of the rear column, under the charge of Mr. Bonny. He then learnt for the first time that the Major was dead; that Mr. Jamieson had gone to Stanley Falls for more canoes; that Mr. Ward was at Bangala; and that Mr. Troup was invalided home. His feelings were all but overwhelming.

"Weak, wearied, and jaded in body and mind, I scarcely know now I endured the first few hours; the ceaseless story of calamity vexed my ears, a deadly stench of disease hung in the air, and the most repellent sights moved and surged before my dazed eyes. I heard of murder and death, of sickness and sorrow, anguish and grief, and wherever I looked the hollow eyes of dying men met my own with such trusting, pleading regard, such far-away yearning looks, that it seemed to me if but one sob was uttered my heart would break. I sat stupefied under a suffocating sense of despondency. Yet the harrowing story moved on in a dismal cadence that had naught else in it but death and disaster, disaster and death" (i. p. 493).

On August 29 Stanley started on his third journey to the Nyanza, with 465 persons, of whom 283 were carriers. Mr. Jamieson had been dead for twelve days, although Stanley knew it not. But the expedition could not be delayed, and Stanley left instructions for Jamieson to follow after. Fair progress was made until the month of December, by which time the column had reached the country between the confluence of the Diu and the Ihuri rivers. Up to that time thirty-four of the number had died, and there were yet fourteen Zanzibaris of the Yambuya party on the sick list, for whom there was but little hope. Such was the effect of the sufferings endured at Yambuya and Banalya. On December the 5th provision for five days was gathered, but the people, learning from a party of dwarfs that in one day they would reach a famous place for plantains, threw away what they had gathered. The consequence was that on the 8th the camp was starving. It was at once resolved that almost every able-bodied man should return to the station left on the morning of the 6th, where there was plenty. It was estimated that by following the track made by the caravan the distance could be covered in some eleven hours. Accordingly, on the morning of the 9th, 200 started, leaving about 130 in camp, all of whom were more or less in a state of distress. Six days passed, and the foragers had not returned. The usual broth had been made—a pot of butter and a pot of condensed milk for 130 people. It was then resolved that Mr. Bonny and ten men should remain in camp, but 43 had to be left, whilst Stanley set out for Ngwetza with those remaining, 65 men and boys and 12 women. At night time they threw themselves upon the ground to try to obtain rest.

Never does Stanley seem to have sunk so low before. But through the gloom a man with a broken heart cried, "Allah ho Akbar"—"God is great"—and the thoughts of the desponding leader were drawn out towards God, and in humble expectancy he sought for deliverance. Nor did deliverance fail to come. Scarcely had the morning march begun before the foragers were met carrying more than four tons of plantains, and by 2.30 in the afternoon Mr. Bonny, and those with him, were well supplied. On the 17th Fort Bodo was reached, and all found well.

The question now was what had become of Jephson and Emin Pacha. To solve that question it was determined to evacuate Fort Bodo, and journey to Kandekoré, a well-furnished clearing on the edge of the plains, where Lieutenant Stairs, the officers, and the sick should be left, whilst Stanley pushed on to the Nyanza on a search expedition. Reaching Gavira, he received letters from Jephson and Emin, from which he learnt that a rebellion had broken out among Emin's people, and that Emin had been a close prisoner at Dufflé, and Jephson placed under strict surveillance. After this the Mahdi's followers had arrived at Lado, and Omar Sale, their general, had sent a letter to the Pacha demanding the instant surrender of the country. This letter was sent by three peacock dervishes, who were thrown into prison, and then tortured and slain. War being thus resolved upon, the Dongola advanced and took the Pacha's station of Rejaf, which led to an immediate stampede of his people southwards, and everything in the shape of Government was reduced to chaos. An effort, however, was made to re-take Rejaf, which was repulsed and some of the Pacha's worst enemies were slain. This led to the Pacha being set free, and with Jephson he was sent to Wadelai, where Shukri Aga was acting chief—the only one who had not had a share in the insurrection. The Mahdists being repulsed in their attack on Dufflé, the people again took heart and the party against the Pacha was so strong that he was utterly unable to move. As may be imagined Stanley was simply astounded at the intelligence. However, he at once wrote to Jephson, showing that none of the promises made when they had parted had been fulfilled by the Pacha, and

that the curse of the whole expedition had been the fatal indecision of those to whom responsibilities had been entrusted. Accordingly he instructed him to inform the Pacha that certain supplies were waiting for him, and would be delivered at any place he might name, and that all willing to go with him must at once assemble at Kavalli's village. Then addressing Jephson personally, he required him at once to return to Kavalli's, and to bring with him the Pacha's final decision. At the same time he wrote to the Pacha himself, giving him twenty days at the longest, in which to reply, and declaring that if his reply were not then forthcoming, he should consider himself free from all further responsibility. With this communication the Pacha seems to have been considerably annoyed. On the 23rd, Jephson arrived in camp, bringing a letter from the Pacha, accepting Stanley's offer, but wanting more time. Meanwhile Stanley concentrated his forces. On the 13th of February, Emin himself arrived with 120 officers and 40 men. On the 19th, Stanley delivered his ultimatum offering to escort Emin and his people to the coast, finding them means of subsistence, but requiring them to provide such animals and porters as might be necessary for their own transport and that of their families and goods, he engaging to carry the baggage of Emin, Casati, and Marco, a Greek merchant who was with them. The amount they brought was simply outrageous. The delay continuing, Stanley fixed a day for commencing the march, and on that day he started. Roughly, there were 1510 persons, of whom 600 represented the Pacha and his people. Three days later, Stanley was down with an attack of subacute gastritis, and was brought very low. This delayed the caravan some three weeks longer. The utmost vigilance was needed on the part of Stanley and his officers, for it was found that the Egyptians were absolutely disaffected towards Emin, and were plotting with those of their friends who were left behind to entrap Stanley himself. Pursuing its way up the Semluki valley, the expedition came to the Albert Edward lake, the northern shore was skirted, and Katwé, a town with a considerable population, was reached. The only serious drawbacks thus far, arose from occasional brushes with armed parties of Wara-Sura, who were severely defeated, and the

wilfulness and selfishness of the whining undisciplined Egyptians. Emin himself was also stiff and distant.

From the lake, a south-easterly course was struck. The people everywhere were exceedingly friendly, owing to the manner in which the Wara Sura had been scattered by Stanley. At Katara two native Christians from Uganda arrived in camp, and gave information concerning the insurrection there, which had resulted in the deposition of the intolerable Mwanga, son of Mtesa, and the substitution of Kiwewa in his place. Leaning to the Mohamedans, and turning against the Christians Kiwewa was killed in an emente, and Karema, his brother, was placed on the throne by the Mohammedan party. In the civil war which ensued the Christians were defeated, and the survivors from the last battle, some four to five thousand in number, had fled to Ankori, in which country Stanley was. In the meantime Mwanga had become Christian, and to him the Christians had tendered their allegiance. It was just at this time that the islands possessing all the canoes recognised Mwanga, and the main land recognised Karema. And now the Christians wanted Stanley's help in favour of the deposed Mwanga. To this Stanley discreetly replied that he would give answer when he had reached some place near the Alexandra Nile, where he could make provision if needed for the helpless ones of his expedition.

Continuing the march, the Victoria Nyanza was at length reached, and then Stanley realised that practically his work was completed. The expedition rested for nineteen days at the Church mission station, and loud are the praises of Mr. Mackay, given by Mr. Stanley, who speaks of him as the best missionary since Livingstone: a man who for twelve years lovingly laboured in those remote regions, but who since then has been called home to God. Nothing need be said of the journey to the coast, and the welcome accorded there both to rescuers and rescued. The end had come; and what a journey had ended! In the book now under review we have the record. Surely such a record of travel has never been given to the world before.

Concerning Emin, a cautious judgment is needful. In many respects his conduct, if not mysterious, is nevertheless exceed-

ingly singular. It was not a fair thing, it was not an honest thing, for him to have withheld from Stanley the true state of affairs in Equatoria. Other arrangements might have been made, and much disappointment and suffering averted, if he had in this matter dealt frankly and truly. The Pacha does not seem to have realised his position, whilst his ready faith in the merest show of submission precluded his understanding the villainy and treachery of those around him. Surrounded by fraud, he seems to have believed in the faithfulness of his people in such a way as to strike an outsider dumb with amazement. An impossible task was before him, but he failed to see it; and so he lingered on, incapable of making up his mind until the resolute Stanley made it up for him. Stanley's judgment of him seems marked by moderation. He admits the Pacha's many excellencies, and fairly puts it that if for five years he was able to govern his Province and to maintain law and order, he cannot justly be made blamable for the turbulence and disloyalty of his rebel soldiery. With his "sentiment," Stanley had but scant sympathy; nevertheless, he bears generous tribute to his administrative capabilities, his justice, his tenderness, and his intense desire to obtain knowledge and to spread the benefits of civilisation. As a scientific man, Emin is apparently a simple naturalist. He is far from cosmopolitan in his instincts. Certainly he is not an explorer. With two steamers at his command and a station at the northern end of the Albert Nyanza, he, nevertheless, never voyaged to the southern end of the lake; neither did he examine the affluent at the south side. He never visited the great Ituri river. The wonderful Ruwenzori he never saw, and when the opportunity came for him to make its ascent in company with Lieutenant Stairs and a party of Zanzibaris, although he had spoken rapturously about such an expedition before there was a chance of undertaking it, he only ascended 1000 feet and then returned. Apparently he is a man utterly wanting in energy of purpose. Nothing can extenuate his want of recognition of the devoted services of Stanley. Huffed because that born commander realised the necessity of making a move and therefore set a day on which the march to the coast should begin, and rigidly carried out

his resolve; wearied by the continued marching, annoyed at not being able to carry on his favourite scientific studies, poisoned by the tales poured into his ears by the rascally Egyptians who against their will were brought away from a life of debauchery and laziness, he maintained a reserve which was childish and unworthy. Was not the relief prompted by sheer philanthropy? Was not the cost of the expedition great? Had not Stanley and his officers endured most fearful trials, and made the greatest sacrifices in order to bring about the rescue? Was not Emin himself delivered by Stanley out of the hands of traitors, and in all probability his life saved? These things being so, Emin has failed generously to acknowledge services rendered, and has shown himself a narrow, querulous, disappointed man. More need not be said. The subject is an unpleasant one, and in some respects it is inexplicable. From afar, Emin appeared a hero. Such, however, can scarcely be his reputation now.

The geographical results of Stanley's expedition are very important. First of all we learn that the Ituri or Upper Aruwimi has a course of some 700 miles, rising to the south of the group of hills known as the Travellers' Group, and called Mounts Speke, Schweinfurth, and Junker, and covering with its basin an area of some 67,000 miles. In consequence of the general rainy character of the district it is seldom very low, and it pours an immense volume of water into the Congo.

He has further made known to us the Albert Edward Nyanza. Of this lake we learn that it does not possess now the proportions which formerly belonged to it. The Semliki river has channelled its bed deep enough to drain the Makara Plain. And this work is still going on whilst at the same time the sediment borne down from the slopes of the Ruwenzori, and the remains of uncountable generations of fish with unnumbered centuries of dead vegetation gradually increase the mud in the lake itself until at length it will become dry land, a river running through its centre. The same process may be seen going on at the Albert Nyanza. The southern shore of the lake has much the same characteristics as the northern, the flat country stretching to the uplands

some twenty or thirty miles distant. As no large rivers run into this lake, the most important one to the south cannot have a winding course of more than about sixty miles, so that "the farthest reach of the Albertine sources of the Nile cannot extend further than 1° 10′ south latitude." It was impossible to give any exact description of the outlines of the shores of this lake not actually visited inasmuch as an impenetrable haze always hung over it.

Between the lakes Albert Edward and Edward runs the Semliki valley formed by two mountain ranges with an average breadth of from Dover to Calais, and a length of from Dover to Plymouth. This valley Stanley compares to "a great fermenting vat." The Balegga ranges on the west are some 3,000 to 3,500 feet above the valley, whilst on the east the heights range from 3,000 to 15,500 feet above the same level. The 150 miles of valley fall about 957 feet, Albert Edward Lake being 3,307 feet above sea level, and the Albert Nyanza 2,350 feet.

Of the eastern range Ruwenzori occupies about ninety miles and towers to a height of some 18,500 feet. On the western side it is so precipitous as probably to be unscalable; on the south it descends in a series of ridges to the Albert Edward Lake; whilst on the eastern side it is broken up and flanked by great masses such as Gordon Bennett mountain 14,000 or 15,000 feet high, and the Mackinnon Mountain, a similar height. It is an almost square-browed central mass some thirty miles in length, situated between two great ridges of about 5000 feet less elevation, which extend about thirty miles on either side of it. The range is undoubtedly volcanic. Stairs who ascended the mountain itself to a height of some 10,000 feet traced a great central cone mass surrounded on the western side by clustered conical peaks telling most distinctly of volcanic action. The north and north-west sides of the Ruwenzori range are blessed with almost daily rains and are robed in eternal verdure, but the south and south-west sides have their well-defined seasons of rain and drought, and seen in the dry season look scorched and worn out. The drainage of this imposing range is almost entirely into the Albert Edward Lake and the Semliki River. It

seems a wonderful thing that none of our great travellers should have seen this mountain before, although Baker, Gessi, Mason, and Stanley himself in 1887 reached localities in close proximity to it. The reason no doubt is the dense clouds and mists which for 300 days of the year more or less veil it from sight, and from which it has obtained its name: Ruwenzori signifying "the cloud king."

Note must also be taken of an immense extension of the Victoria Nyanza Lake to the south-west, previously unsuspected owing to a line of islands having been taken as the coast line in this particular direction. Indeed it is now found that the lake really extends to 2° 48′ south latitude, and measures probably some 26,900 square miles, although it is rapidly shrinking, having to all appearances diminished in size some 12,000 or 13,000 square miles in the last hundred years. According to the statements of the French missionaries the lake is some three feet lower now than it was when they first settled there, only eleven years ago.

The tribes of the Equatorial region from the Atlantic Ocean to 30° east longitude have a marked resemblance to each other, but nevertheless seem to belong to two distinct families, 18° east being about the dividing line between the two. Through the 12° of longitude between the two lines just mentioned are hundreds of tribes and fragments of tribes with various degrees of distinctiveness, but actually with no special differences. This stretch of country is mainly forest; where there is grass land there is a considerable modification of colour, the former being much lighter than the latter. Certainly the most interesting of the tribes are the pigmies, or dwarfs. They live in the uncleared virgin forest, and support themselves on game. In height they are from three feet to four feet six inches. A full grown male may weigh ninety pounds. They live in friendly relations with the large and agricultural tribes, and perform for them various services, hanging upon them like parasites, but serving as most useful allies in time of war. These dwarfs probably represent the oldest types of primæval man, descended from the outcasts of the earliest ages. The bushmen in Cape Colony, the Watwa in the basin of the Lulungu, the Akka in Monbuttu, the Balia

by the Mabodé, the Wambutti in the Ihuri basin, and the Batwa under the shadow of the Lunæ Montes, are all akin. Indeed, it is not unlikely that they may be the survivors of our antedilnvian forefathers, who dwelling in lands beyond the reach of the flood, were saved from being overwhelmed in that awful catastrophe.

The grass-land tribes, or the Wahuma, are a complete contrast to the dwarfs. They are tall and well made, and with almost European features. Their colour is a fine brown-black, and their carriage haughty. Semitic communities emigrated from Asia, across the Red Sea, and peopled what was originally known as Ethiopia. Some of these in time became tainted with negro blood, and by further mixture gradually lost their Semitic likeness. Where there has been a fair preservation of the strain it may at once be detected. Even though there be the negro hair, there will be the Caucasian face. In South Africa it is noticeable amongst the Kaffirs, the Zulus, the Matabele, the Basutos, the Bechuanas, and others. In Mid-Africa, between the Zambesi and the Congo and Loangwa, the prevalent type is a mixture of the negro of the West coast and the Kaffir, but going further north, the type improves both in stature and in facial cast. In the Nilotic basin most of the tribes are twin brothers of the Zulus, tall and warlike, with Caucasian heads and faces. In occupation they are all herdsmen, whilst the agriculturists are negroid. Nor is it difficult to trace how these Indo-African tribes have become settled where they are, if they be regarded as the genuine descendants of the Ethiopian settlers who in search of pasture have filled the country east and west of the Victoria Nyanza. How far the South African races of this type are due to this particular wave of settlement, or to separate and distinct immigrations direct from their original Asian home, it is impossible to say; especially when we remember that Mashona and Matabele land, constituting the new State of Zambesia, are not improbably the Ophir of the Old Testament.

Stanley's recognition of the services rendered him by his colleagues is just and appreciative. He acknowledges these services as "priceless," and he speaks of their devotion to their duty as being "as perfect as human nature is capable

of." Stair's obedience, Jephson's earnestness, Nelson's bravery, and Parke's tenderness are specially referred to. This last is spoken about again and again.

But however capable Stanley's officers may have been it is to him, and to him alone, that the success of the expedition is due. His thoroughness was one great element in assuring that success. On one occasion he told an interviewer that there was a beautiful passage in the Old Testament which he ever bore in mind: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." The object of the expedition, and that alone he ever kept before him. When one of his officers wished to seek out the course of a particular river in order to solve a geographical problem he sternly forbade him, as it would take him from the business they had especially to do. And combined with thoroughness there was courageous faithfulness. "We shirked nothing," he wrote in one of his letters—and that shirking nothing made him "more than conqueror." In addition to this was comprehensiveness of mental grasp. Who can help noting as he reads the book the clearness of his perception of eventualities? His directions to his officers, though sometimes pedantically formal, embrace everything. If only they had been carried out, the expedition would have been far less disheartening and fatal than it was. There was no failure apart from the disobedience of those to whom he had entrusted responsibilities. The natives had faith in him, and his officers esteemed him. He never made himself cheap, and he lived a good deal apart from those associated with him. This reserve prevented his being loved. Unlike Gordon he never gathered about him passionate regard; but he is a born leader. In discipline he was strict, although, perhaps, he was sometimes too exacting in what he expected his followers to do. Nevertheless this, his latest success following on those which have gone before, show what a wonderful man he must be. His life has been one of the most adventurous the world has known, and certainly if any one has a right to settle down and rest, Henry M. Stanley is that man. At any rate all must wish him, whatever his future course, the greatest happiness in that married state into which he has recently entered.

Art. III.—THE SECOND GREAT SCHISM IN WESLEYAN METHODISM.

1. *History of Wesleyan Methodism.* Vol. III. *Modern Methodism.* By George Smith, LL.D. London: Longmans. 1862.
2. *A Collection of Pamphlets and Leaflets*, in the possession of the Rev. John S. Simon. 1834–35.

WE have described, in these pages,* the events which were associated with the formation of the Wesleyan Theological Institution, and have shown how, after years of intermittent discussion, the crisis was reached, and the "Seminary for Labourers" became an accomplished fact. It will be remembered that the proposals of the Committee were opposed; and that they were carried in the Conference against a small but resolute ministerial minority. In that minority were men who, doubtless, shared James Everett's opinion, "that the least thing that tends to refine and enervate seems prejudicial to the genius of Methodism." † This belief they still held, but, having testified their faith by their vote, they not only abstained from attacking the newly founded institution, but lent it all the aid in their power. Joseph Beaumont, for instance, responded to the request of the Committee, and rendered valuable service, when stationed in London, as theological examiner.

One member of the minority, however, speedily proved that he was an exception to this general rule. When Dr. Warren, the leader of the opposition, journeyed homeward from the Conference, the spirit of brotherliness was vanishing from his heart. As he brooded over the events which we have chronicled, resentment took its place. His failure filled him with irrepressible annoyance, and he determined to let the world know how much he had suffered. Reaching Manchester, he resolved to appeal against the Conference to the Methodist Societies. He

* See No. cxlvii. of this Review (April 1890).

† *The Disputants*, p. 73. Mr. Simon's Collection.

soon decided on his plan of campaign. As a first step, he prepared his speech against the Institution for the press, prefacing and supplementing it with explanatory and condemnatory remarks. Then he published it, and scattered it broadcast among the people. It must be remembered that, at the time of which we write, the Conference, both in theory and in fact, was a strictly private assembly. No part of its proceedings could be published without its consent. Its recognised report was its annual volume of "Minutes," which contained the results of the "several conversations" which had taken place between its ministers. As matters stood in 1834, the publication of Dr. Warren's speech was a distinct breach of confidence. It was more. It is impossible for us to ignore the character of the speech, and the conditions under which it was published. It was issued in order that Dr. Warren might make his objections to the Theological Institution more widely known, and, especially, that he might secure a hearing for the personal attack which he had made, and which he burned to make again, on Jabez Bunting. In the Conference that attack had been marred by what Dr. Warren regarded as "unseemly clamour," but Dr. Warren knew that outside there were many who would eagerly listen to his accusations. It is only fair to say that this desire for brawling in public was of recent growth. In his pamphlet he gives his own version of the proceedings of the July Committee, and, amongst other things, he quotes a fragment of Bunting's statement about the lack of principle in his opposition. He tells us that the reason he "forbore to make any remark upon the unseemly outrage which had been committed" was "the mixed character of the meeting," and "what was due to the reputation of ministers of Christ."* That restraint was admirable, and we can only regret that it was so short-lived. In July he refrained from an angry retort, because of the presence of laymen; in August he called in the whole of the Methodist Societies, and also the miscellaneous British public, to witness his contest with Jabez Bunting. It was, indeed, to a "mixed" audience that he made his appeal. The nation had been violently agitated by the discussions that preceded

* Dr. Warren's *Remarks on the Wesleyan Theological Institution*, p. 9. Mr. Simon's Collection.

and followed the passing of the Reform Act, and the advent of any stormy petrel walking the waves of the social or ecclesiastical world was tumultuously hailed by those whose ardour for controversy on public affairs and the principles of government was unquenchable. It is, however, when we consider the critical state of the Methodist Societies, that our estimate of Dr. Warren's action is determined. No man could have foreseen the effect of such an appeal with greater accuracy than Dr. Warren. He knew that he was lighting a torch in a powder magazine. The agitators in the Leeds controversy had sunk out of sight, but it was only as the sapper vanishes when he is driving his mine against the citadel. In every direction disaffected men, inspired by political animus as well as by levelling ecclesiastical ideas, were cutting and charging their secret galleries. They waited for the signal of an influential ministerial leader to spring the mine, and to make their open atttack. Manchester was at that time a focus of political and ecclesiastical agitation, and in and around that town were many disaffected Methodists. Dr. Warren's pamphlet was a sign that he was willing to lead the host; and no sooner was it issued than the assault began. It is possible that our estimate of Dr. Warren's pamphlet may be thought too severe; we will therefore commit the unpleasant duty of characterising it to Vice-Chancellor Shadwell, a judge remarkable for his genial impartiality. What did he say? "My opinion is, considering the situation in which Dr. Warren stood as a member of the Conference, and as superintendent of a circuit; collecting, as I think I have collected, from some of the documents, that it is considered an improper thing to make a statement of what passes at Conference beyond what is authorised by the Conference itself; and considering that no human being could read Dr. Warren's speech without being prejudiced against some of the most eminent persons connected with the Methodist Society, my opinion is, that the publication of this speech would go a great way to create that very schism in the Methodist Society, which, if it is not put an end to, will infallibly destroy the Society itself." *

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* Dr. Warren's *Chancery Suit*, p. 9. Mr. Simon's Collection.

If such a judgment upon the probable effects of the publication of Dr. Warren's speech could be passed by an unprejudiced observer, who had no special interest in the preservation of Methodism, it is not difficult to understand the feelings of its responsible custodians. They at once perceived the threatening danger, and immediately tried to avert it. Dr. Warren was the superintendent of the first Manchester circuit, his colleagues being John Hanwell and Jonathan Crowther. His esteem for the latter had caused him to nominate him as a tutor in the projected Theological Institution. The circuit was in great prosperity. Its centre, Oldham Street Chapel, was crowded. The number of members "of Society" within the wide limits of the circuit amounted to upwards of two thousand persons. The labours of other men had produced this result; and Dr. Warren, who had only been in the circuit for a year, selected their rich harvest field as the scene of his battle against Jabez Bunting and the Conference. The chairman of the Manchester District, in 1834, was Robert Newton. As chairman he was responsible to the Conference for the observance of Methodist law within his district, and it was impossible for him to blink Dr. Warren's offence. On the appearance of the pamphlet, at the desire of several of the preachers, he waited on Dr. Warren, taking two of the senior ministers with him. They entreated him to suppress its further circulation, but his answer was: "I have not published that pamphlet without *deep* thought, and I can enter into no engagement to suppress it." When the chairman, in reply, said, "Then, Doctor, you will compel us to proceedings which will be very painful to us," he answered: "I have not studied Methodism so long as not to know all the bearings of what I have done; and I am fully aware that you must proceed in the usual way." Further interviews subsequently took place with no better results.* It was clear that he had formed a deliberate plan, and that he intended to carry it out at all hazards.

Dr. Warren's claim to have "studied Methodism" was well founded. He was not a young preacher like Alexander Kilham,

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* *Statement of the Preachers of the Manchester District*, p. 3. Mr. Simon's Collection.

but a man who had seen many years of service in varying spheres of work. There were few who so fully understood the principles and provisions of the Methodist Constitution. He had a legal mind, and had explored the intricacies of Conference legislation. In 1827 he rendered great service to the Connexion by codifying and publishing a *Digest* of Methodist laws and regulations. In his survey, the laws relating to District Meetings had, of course, come under his notice; and he was, therefore, quite able to translate the chairman's hint as to the proceedings which would have to be taken against him. He knew of the Special District Meeting which had been held in Leeds, he had been present at the Special District Meeting which had been then recently held on the case of Joseph Rayner Stephens in Manchester, and he was aware that a similar mode of proceeding would be taken in his case.

Although the shadow of the Special District Meeting was approaching, Dr. Warren acted with a total disregard of its probable judgment. He seemed determined that the offence of his pamphlet should not stand alone. It will be remembered that the "Proposals for the Formation of a Theological Institution" contained a suggestion that, inasmuch as the scheme included the training of students intended for the foreign work, the Missionary Society should contribute a certain sum to the funds of the Institution. The Conference had adopted the proposal in a modified form. Even an antagonist like Everett considered that "in all fairness" the Missionary Society was bound to pay for the education of its candidates.* Dr. Warren's "deep thought" had led him to a different conclusion. He decided that an attack on the Missionary Society for misappropriation of funds would be a master-stroke against the Institution. He, therefore, not only sanctioned, but actually promoted measures which terminated in the dissolution of the Juvenile and Branch Missionary Societies in the First Manchester Circuit.† Perceiving that his action pleased some of the people, he proceeded to make an assault upon the Methodist Constitution. The Quarterly Meeting of his circuit was held on September 30, 1834,

* *The Disputants*, p. 30.

† *Statement of the Preachers of the Manchester District*, p. 4.

and we catch a glimpse of its proceedings in the pamphlet subsequently published by its secretary, William Read, a lay gentleman, who afterwards "took orders" in the Church of England. When the regular business was ended, a letter was read from a person who was not present, "conveying the most severe reflections on the characters and conduct of several absent persons." This letter was accompanied by four resolutions, which, in the opinion of the secretary, were of a nature so inflammatory, and so manifestly inconsistent with what any superintendent ought to allow to be canvassed in a public meeting of the Society's representatives, that several persons could only account for their introduction on the supposition that the sentiments which they contained were approved, and that the resolutions themselves had been previously seen, by Dr. Warren.* These resolutions were proposed and canvassed, being supported by the bulk of the meeting, and only opposed by Jonathan Crowther and the secretary. In consequence of the lateness of the hour, the Quarterly Meeting was adjourned to October 27, for the specific and express purpose of considering the resolutions.

As the private entreaties and warnings of the chairman of the district and others produced no impression on Dr. Warren, further steps had to be taken. Notice was, therefore, given him, on Monday, October 13, that a Special District Meeting would assemble in Manchester on October 22, to consider his case, and he was furnished with a list of the charges that would be preferred against him. This notice spurred him into renewed activity. Seeing that, unless he altered the date of the adjourned Quarterly Meeting, the Special District Meeting would be held before it, he suggested to those who were acting with him that a requisition should be presented to him asking him to call the adjourned meeting for October 20. That requisition was signed by seventy-two members of the meeting, but was not presented to Jonathan Crowther and the secretary, who were almost up to the last moment ignorant of the existence of the document. On

* Read's *Candid Address to the Members of the Wesleyan Societies*, p. 5. Mr. Simon's Collection.

October 17 a private meeting was held. It consisted of eight of the circuit officials, with Dr. Warren in the chair, and its object was to review and revise the resolutions which had been submitted to the Quarterly Meeting. Ultimately it was agreed to withdraw those which the adjourned meeting had been called to discuss, and others, which had been prepared under the supervision of Dr. Warren, were substituted for them. In addition, Dr. Warren produced three resolutions, the offspring of his own mind, and strongly recommended that they should be moved at the meeting. In order to stimulate his followers, he exhibited two bundles of letters, "received," as he declared, "from his brethren in various parts of the kingdom," approving of his conduct, and encouraging him to prosecute the work in which he was engaged. Dr. Warren's words were misleading. The letters, as he had afterwards to admit, were none of them from ministers.

Whatever might be the sentiments of his "brethren in various parts of the kingdom," there were persons nearer home who should have received more fraternal treatment from his hands. Jonathan Crowther, his colleague and friend, and William Read, the secretary of the Quarterly Meeting, were left in ignorance of the change of date which had been made in consequence of the "requisition." It happened, however, that Read heard of the alteration; so he hastened to Dr. Warren's house to gain confirmation of the rumour. The news was true. He then asked if Crowther had been informed. The answer was that he had. As a matter of fact, a letter was despatched to him while Read was in the house. It was sent to his residence, although Dr. Warren knew that he was forty miles away from Manchester, and could not get the note until his return on the following Monday, the day of the meeting.* That day came. Crowther fortunately returned from his appointment in time to get Dr. Warren's notice, and he entered the meeting incensed at the trick which had been practised upon him. His ruffled feelings were not calmed by the further acts of his superintendent. Leaving the chair for a time, Dr. Warren deputed one of

* Read's *Candid Address*, p. 7.

the circuit stewards to fill it, and Crowther had to gaze on this violation of Methodist law with as much equanimity as possible. The explanation of Dr. Warren's hostility to his colleague, whom he had held in such high esteem, is to be found in the fact that Crowther had written a clear and convincing reply to his *Remarks*; a reply to which we have been much indebted in the course of our sketch of the controversy. Crowther's pamphlet had maddened the supporters of Dr. Warren, and so the author of the *Digest* broke one of the most familiar rules of Methodism rather than permit his colleague to take the chair. But Crowther had the courage of his convictions; and, in spite of insult, he stood staunchly by the Constitution. The five resolutions were discussed and carried. They condemned the establishment of the Institution without previous consultation with the Methodist people, the union of two offices in Jabez Bunting, and the formation of a committee in London for the "additional" examination of candidates for the ministry; and they demanded "the immediate discontinuance of the Wesleyan Theological Institution." Then came Dr. Warren's own resolutions. By them the Conference was required to give distinct recognition to three propositions, in order that the rights of the "people" might be secured against neglect or infringement. The propositions were: "1. That this meeting, as constituting part of the great Body of People, requires nothing new in the Constitution of Methodism"—which seems a conservative and reassuring declaration. "2. That the Preachers in Conference come to their decisions by the use of the ballot." "3. That in future the Conference be open to the laity"—which requires a word of explanation.* A footnote shows us that by the admission of the laity Dr. Warren meant that the practice of the present "open session" should obtain in all sessions of the Conference, save those which were occupied by certain specified subjects of personal and private character. The laymen were to be admitted as spectators "in order that their presence might operate as a check to any undue influence which might be

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* The whole of the Resolutions will be found in the Appendix to the *Statement of the Preachers of the Manchester District*, pp. 18–20.

used against the interests of the people, even in the use of the ballot." Dr. Warren did not explain how their presence could intimidate a betrayer of the interests of the people who was shielded by the secrecy of the ballot. It might have been thought that open voting would have given more opportunities of calling a tyrannical minister to account. We are at loss to discover any reason which would relieve the two proposals from the charge of contradictoriness. It will be seen that Dr. Warren's scheme for the admission of laymen into the Conference differs *toto cælo* from Jabez Bunting's far-sighted and liberal reform. There was no time to discuss these curious proposals at the adjourned Quarterly Meeting, and their consideration was postponed. From the fact that they became the watchwords of a great agitation, we conclude that agitators are not always gifted with a sense of humour. At the close of the proceedings Dr. Warren delivered a speech, in which he glanced at the approaching Special District Meeting. In reference to it he said:

> "I have the most perfect confidence in the characters and integrity of my brethren who will compose that meeting. I know that they will perform their duty conscientiously and properly, and in the fear of God; and I will most cheerfully bow to their decision; and if the matter be carried forward to the Conference, and the sentence of suspension be then confirmed, I will most willingly acquiesce, and request as a special favour permission to continue in the Society as a private member."

On October 22, 1834, the Special District Meeting assembled in Manchester. The President of the Conference, the Rev. Joseph Taylor, was in the chair. Amongst the ministers present we especially note the names of Robert Newton, the Chairman of the Manchester District; Edmund Grindrod, who had borne the stress of the Leeds agitation, and who, next to Bunting, was, as a counsellor, the strongest man in Methodism; John Anderson, who preferred the charges against Dr. Warren; Thomas H. Squance, the companion of Dr. Coke on his last missionary voyage; George Turner, the writer of an admirable essay on the constitution and discipline of Wesleyan Methodism; and Charles Prest, John Bedford, Francis A. West, and George Osborn, young men destined to leave their mark on the history of Methodism. When

the meeting was constituted, a request was made which exercised a determining influence upon the course of the proceedings. A well-known minister, George B. Macdonald, happened to be passing through Manchester, and the President was asked to admit him as a spectator. As Dr. Warren had no objection, he was admitted on the condition that he should take no part in the business. We do not wonder at Dr. Warren's ready assent in the case of Mr. Macdonald. He was anxious to secure the presence of a personal friend, a minister from another district, who had come to Manchester on the chance of gaining admission to the meeting. Dr. Warren seized his opportunity, and made his request. It was immediately granted, "with the express stipulation, assented to by Dr. Warren, that this 'friend' should be under exactly the same restriction as that under which Mr. Macdonald had been previously admitted." * Dr. Warren, in hope of such a decision, had written a note to his friend; but that note did not mention the terms upon which admission was granted. It was despatched; and speedily James Bromley entered the room. Instead of retiring to the "strangers' bench" in the background, he marched to the front, sat down by the side of Dr. Warren, and at once took an active part in the business as his consulting counsel. The amazed meeting bore with him for a time, and then insisted that he should change his place, and remain only as a listener. Upon this he retired to another part of the room, murmuring as he went, "This is most consummate cruelty!" As he interrupted the proceedings by carrying on a verbal skirmish with some of the ministers who sat near him, it was moved and seconded that the two strangers should be requested to withdraw. Then Dr. Warren rose. Having expressed in strong terms his affection for the ministers who were present, and his entire confidence in their integrity, he said: "If Mr. Bromley be required to withdraw from the meeting, I declare to you I will not stand my trial, come what will." The President earnestly expostulated with him, but to no purpose. He left the room. Two hours afterwards he wrote a note to the President, stating

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* *Statement of the Preachers of the Manchester District*, p. 6.

that, after mature deliberation, he had come to the final decision that he did not think it his duty to attend any further session of the District Meeting; and asking that the decision on his case might be sent in writing to his house. The next day a deputation, consisting of four ministers, waited on him to see if he had altered his determination. But his mind was fixed. He, however, said: "I believe that what my brethren do in this case, they will do in the fear of my God; and I shall submit myself to their decision. And if the *ultimatum* of the Conference should be that I must retire from the work of an Itinerant Preacher, I shall still crave the privilege of being allowed to continue as a private member." * The concluding sentence was, at that time, Dr. Warren's favourite formula. It will be recognised as having been previously uttered at the Adjourned Quarterly Meeting, and it was used on several other occasions.

As Dr. Warren firmly refused to stand his trial at the District Meeting, there was only one course that could be taken. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:

"1. That Dr. Warren, by his positive and repeated refusal to take his trial at this District Meeting, has left the meeting, however reluctant thus to proceed, no alternative consistent with the existing laws and usages of the Body, but that of declaring him to be suspended from his office of Travelling Preacher; and he is hereby suspended accordingly.

"2. That, nevertheless, if within a month of the date of these resolutions, Dr. Warren shall signify to the Chairman of the District his willingness to take his trial, before a Special District Meeting, on the charges of which he has received regular and formal notice, the sentence of suspension shall be removed, on the assembling of that meeting, and he shall be allowed to have his trial without any bar or disadvantage on account of his present refusal to attend any future session of the District Meeting.

"3. That in case of Dr. Warren's declining to give the required intimation to the Chairman of the District within the period above specified, he shall thereupon be considered as being suspended until the next Conference.

"4. That by the President's appointment, and with the unanimous concurrence of the meeting, the Chairman of the District be requested to undertake, for the present, the charge of the First Manchester Circuit, as the Superintendent of the same." †

When these resolutions were communicated to Dr. Warren,

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* *Statement of the Preachers of the Manchester District*, pp. 7, 8. † *Ibid.* p. 8.

a change had come over him. Further and deeper study of Methodist law had led him to question the jurisdiction of the meeting and its power to suspend him. He thought that he had discovered a flaw in procedure; and he was so exhilarated by the discovery that he threw meekness to the winds. He placarded Manchester with bills announcing the early publication of his report of the District Meeting, and he sent a letter to Robert Newton cautioning him against any intrusion upon his circuit. Dr. Warren knew that he could rely upon the support of the overwhelming majority of his officers and members in any contest with constitutional authority; and that knowledge nerved him to fling down the gage of battle. It was taken up. Robert Newton, acting under the direction of the Special District Meeting, assumed the charge of the First Manchester Circuit. Then the storm broke. The Sunday when Newton preached in the Oldham Street Chapel was never forgotten by those who heard him. An eye-witness, Mr. Thomas Ward, who, as a young man, rendered valuable service to Manchester Methodism at this crisis, writes us, that when Robert Newton appeared in the pulpit the chapel was crowded with an excited audience. Cries of "I will not listen to a usurper!" resounded through the building, and other insulting words were flung at him. In the midst of terrible confusion he held on his way, and "preached a good sermon." At the close he announced that a love feast, which was to have taken place in the afternoon in the Oldham Road Chapel, would not be held. A local preacher, rising at the front of the gallery, instantly declared that it should be held. And it was. Mr. Ward, describing it, says:—"Oldham Road was like a fair time. I went to the love feast. The excitement was great; the chapel crowded; the burden of speech and experience was, 'Down with Jabez Bunting!' 'Down with the Conference!' Dr. Newton was appointed to preach at Oldham Road in the evening, the pulpit being guarded by the police. The gas was put out, and Dr. Newton had to escape, but was stoned by the mob down Oldham Road to Oldham Street Chapel." Notwithstanding all perils, Robert Newton stood firmly at his post. As a doubt existed in reference to the right of the chairman to preside at some of the business

meetings of the circuit, the President of the Conference took his place; and sat "calm and shrewd in the midst of uproarious assemblies."

In a succeeding article we shall have to deal with the origin and proceedings of the Grand Central Association, which was founded by Dr. Warren on November 27, 1834, on the basis of his three resolutions, and we will reserve our remarks upon it for the present. It is only necessary to say that, not content with stirring up strife in his own circuit, Dr. Warren wandered into other places and preached there, often in defiance of the reiterated protests of the ministers who were responsible for the peace of their Societies. The Theological Institution grievance gradually receded into the background, and Methodist Reform took its place. Dr. Warren entered upon this work of Connexional as distinguished from circuit agitation in defiance of the advice of those who had ridden by his side in his tilt against the Theological Institution. Everett was shocked with his conduct. In *The Disputants* he says: "Others may talk of the Constitution of 1795, of vote by ballot, of lay delegates, of cutting off supplies, as they will; the writer will have nothing to do with such subjects" (p. 42). In a letter to Dr. Warren, dated December 4, 1834, he says: "We are borne away from one thing to another—from the Institution to the Constitution. This is what never was contemplated by any one of the minority, nor even I am sure by yourself. It was a most lamentable circumstance that any persons should have been allowed to avail themselves of an opportunity of hanging other grievances and objections, whether real or imaginary, upon the one which was first urged, and of thus changing the leading features of the controversy. With regard to yourself, I see no possibility of your being saved to the body, in consequence of attending public meetings from home. This will arm the majority of the priestly part of the brotherhood against you, and your Methodist existence will be sacrificed in the struggle. Here I could lie down and weep."*

When Dr. Warren's *Account of the Proceedings of the*

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* *James Everett: a Biography.* By Richard Chew (p. 297).

Special District Meeting was published, it revealed the points of law on which he relied. The first may be stated and quickly dismissed. It arose out of the Leeds Regulations of 1797. In those regulations it is said that the Conference had determined "that all the rules which relate to the societies, leaders, stewards, local preachers, trustees, and quarterly meetings" should be published, with the rules of Society, for the benefit and convenience of all the members. In respect of "any new rule for the societies at large," it was agreed that a September quarterly meeting should have a right to say that the enforcement of the rule in that circuit would be injurious. If a majority of the meeting, with the preachers, decided against the rule, the Conference directed that it should not be enforced that year in opposition to the judgment of the quarterly meeting. But if the rule were confirmed by the succeeding Conference, then it was to be binding on the whole Connexion. The section continues:— "Nevertheless, the quarterly meetings, rejecting a new rule, shall not, by publications, public meetings, or otherwise, make that rule a cause of contention; but shall strive, by every means, to preserve the peace of the Connexion." Instead of quoting the rule itself, Dr. Warren excerpted and published a sentence from the Conference comments upon it. The address of the Conference to the Societies in 1797 says, amongst other things, that in order to prevent any degree of precipitation in making new rules, it had agreed to the article from which we have quoted; and, going on to describe the effect of that article, the address declares that "no regulations will be finally confirmed till after a year's consideration." Dr. Warren seized on the word "regulations" in the gloss on the text, and gravely argued that inasmuch as the Conference had agreed to the "regulations" governing the Theological Institution without consulting the Quarterly Meetings, "the charter of the people's rights had been violated." If the Conference had ordered a collection for the Institution, then, perhaps, that might have been considered a "new rule for the societies at large," but, inasmuch as, with the exception of the sum paid by the Missionary Society, the Institution was supported by voluntary contributions, it is impossible for us, with the

words of the Article of Agreement before us, to understand the relevance of Dr. Warren's objection.

Dr. Warren's second objection was much more ingenious, and was worthy of the attention it excited. It concerned the right of the Special District Meeting to try him. In the "Plan of Pacification," passed in 1795, there is a provision which relates to the trial of a minister, "who is believed by a majority of the trustees, or a majority of the stewards and leaders of any society, to be immoral, erroneous in doctrine, deficient in abilities," or to have broken any of the ten articles concerning the administration of the Sacraments and the performance of Divine Service, which are contained in the first section of the "Plan." The right of summoning a District Meeting is given to such trustees, stewards, and leaders, and it is provided that they shall be associated with the ministers of the district in the trial of the preacher. Then, in another section, it is expressly stated that "no preacher shall be suspended or removed from his circuit by any district committee, except he have the privilege of this form of trial." Dr. Warren, conceiving that he had discovered a flaw in Methodist legislation which he could work into a loop-hole for escape, determined to carry his points of law into the civil courts, where, he had little doubt, they would be decided in his favour. Availing himself of the fact that the trustees of some of the chapels in his circuit had served notices upon him, prohibiting him from ministering therein, Dr. Warren appealed to the Court of Chancery, which at that time was the special pleaders' Paradise, asking it to declare that the District Meeting which had tried him was, according to Methodist rule, an illegal court, and that its sentence of suspension was, therefore, invalid. Dr. Smith has given such full and graphic accounts of the trials which took place before Vice-Chancellor Shadwell and Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst that we need not attempt to paint the scenes of those memorable days. We will confine ourselves strictly to points of law. It is necessary to note that the trust deed of the Oldham Road Chapel contained a clause embodying the provision of the Plan of Pacification described above, and which relates to what was called in the trial the "mixed" District Meeting. Having lost his

case in the Lower Court Dr. Warren appealed, and, after lengthy arguments, final judgment was delivered by Lord Lyndhurst on Wednesday, March 25, 1835. In his judgment he addressed himself to the two points: Has the District Committee power to suspend a preacher? And, if so, have they regularly exercised that power in the present instance? His lordship first dealt with the provisions of the trust deeds, and decided that they could not deprive the Conference, which was the legislative body of the Society, of the right to try and to suspend a preacher in the mode which it had appointed. He dismissed the arguments from the trust deeds, remarking that they had not been much relied on by either side. Coming to the main point, he said that the question must be decided principally by the acts of the Conference, and he had to determine what, taking all those acts together, was the legitimate and proper construction of them with reference to the point under consideration. He then entered upon a review of the legislative events which followed the death of Wesley, showed how his power had passed to the Conference by the Deed of Declaration, and especially dwelt upon the origin and the functions of District Meetings.* He expressed his opinion that, by the legislation of 1791, a preacher who introduces disorder or disturbs the harmony of a Society and endangers the Connexion brings himself under the law, and that the "Assistant," who, in 1791, possessed the power of summoning the District Meeting, would have been justified under such circumstances in exercising his power. His lordship considered that the basis of the law of the District Meeting was to be found in the Conference enactments of 1791, and that those enactments applied to Dr. Warren's case. But it was necessary to determine if the subsequent Acts of the Conference had abrogated the original law. Coming to 1792, Lord Lyndhurst showed that the Conference had then empowered a District Meeting to try and to suspend its chairman, and he thought that it had been reasonably argued that it would be extraordinary that a District Meeting should possess power to suspend its chairman but have no power to suspend any other preacher. He con-

* See No. cxxix. of this Review (October 1885).

sidered that it was almost impossible for any one to be led to that conclusion. Touching upon the Minor District Meeting and the legislation of 1794, he at last reached the point upon which Dr. Warren relied. Summing up the regulations concerning District Meetings passed by the Conference up to the time of the "Plan of Pacification," he said:

"How, then, did the law stand at the commencement of the year 1795? I think that it is impossible to doubt for a moment, after the history which I have given of these laws, that, in the early part of the year 1795, and before the Act of Pacification was passed, the District Committee had the power to try, and, as the result of that power to try, to remove and suspend, any travelling preacher; to remove and suspend him only till the next Conference. I think that deduction is clear, and absolutely certain and decisive."

That being so, it remained to be decided whether the Plan of Pacification had made any alteration in the law, whether it had so interfered with the power that a District Meeting previously possessed as to have destroyed it. His lordship proceeded to show that if the clause in the Plan of Pacification which created the "mixed" District Meeting had stood alone, there would have been no difficulty in deciding the question. That clause merely gave authority to the trustees, stewards, and leaders to summon a District Meeting and to take part in the trial of a preacher; in fact, it was one of several ways in which a preacher might be tried. The doubt which had been brought into the case was occasioned by the words: "No preacher shall be suspended or removed from his circuit by any District Committee, except he have the privilege of the trial before mentioned." After admitting that the meaning of that sentence was doubtful, his lordship proceeded to search out that meaning by the light of history. Was the authority of the District Committee to suspend, and to remove from the circuit, taken away by the Plan of Pacification? Lord Lyndhurst showed that, in 1797, when the "Plan" was passed, the Conference published a code of Methodist laws, and in that code the old rules relating to District Meetings are printed as well as the new regulation concerning the "mixed" District Meeting. From the republication of the old rules in 1797 he concluded that in the opinion of the legislative body the powers previously possessed by the District Meetings were not

taken away in 1795. Emphasising the fact that the "code" was published by the Conference, he said: "Who are the parties promulgating these laws? It was the legislators themselves; it was the very parties who promulgated the Act of Pacification; it was they who promulgated this law, and who, by that very act of their own of promulgation, made it become of itself a Legislative Act; and it is a declaration by the legislature that the power of suspension still continues in the District Committee." His lordship then pointed out that the usage of the Conference, that is "of the very legislative body itself, acting under and interpreting its own laws," refuted the idea that the Plan of Pacification deprived a ministerial District Meeting of the power to suspend a preacher. Since 1795 that power had been exercised in at least seventy cases. Concluding his survey of the crucial question which he had to judge, Lord Lyndhurst said:

"It does appear to me, therefore, that the case is very strong and very clear with respect to the power of the District Committee, and that the District Committee still, notwithstanding the Act of Pacification, have a right, have authority, to suspend or to remove a preacher in all cases, except in those particular cases mentioned in the Act of Pacification, where the trustees and the other parties therein mentioned choose to interfere. I think in all other cases they have authority to suspend or to remove." *

As to the proceedings in Dr. Warren's case, his lordship held that they were regular, and he affirmed the judgment of his honour, the Vice-Chancellor, and dismissed Dr. Warren's appeal.

The judgment of Lord Lyndhurst must ever be considered one of the chief landmarks of Methodist Constitutional History. It is not only important as a decisive interpretation of the laws of the District Meetings; its deliverance upon the force of the Deed of Declaration, and its recognition of the Conference as the sole legislative body in Methodism is of pre-eminent value. In the controversies which disturbed the Societies at the close of the last century, one of the most fiercely contested points concerned the transmission of Wesley's power to the Conference. It was argued that, by

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* Dr. Warren's *Chancery Suit*, p. 15.

the Deed of Declaration, the Conference possessed power over the preachers, but that the Societies were theoretically free from its control. Lord Lyndhurst's judgment tore this reasoning to tatters. He affirmed that the Conference was the fount and origin of law, that it was the interpreter of its own laws, and that the rules it passed were binding on both preachers and societies. That much debated point was for ever settled. In summing up the results of the trial, Dr. Smith says:—"The Deed Poll was recognised as of established validity; the authority of the District Committees was vindicated; the subordination of the provisions of the Plan of Pacification concerning discipline to its legitimate and proper cases, as recognised in the general usage of the Connexion, was admitted to be correct. In a word, Methodism, as administered by the Conference, was, on this great occasion, invested with all the permanence and security of British law, and henceforth became one of the great religious institutions of the country."*

Although Dr. Warren had lost his cause in the law courts, he continued his passionate appeals to the Methodist Societies, and to "every British heart"; and these appeals were continued up to the meeting of the Conference. Then the hour came when he had to appear before the "supreme legislative and executive body," whose authority over him was unquestionable and irresistible. The Conference assembled on July 29, 1835, in Carver Street Chapel, Sheffield, Richard Reece being elected president. Dr. Warren was early in his place, ready to vote, and to exercise his rights as a Methodist preacher. There were some who objected to his voting, but the objection was not pressed. However, at a later stage, the Conference expressed its judgment, "That a preacher under suspension has no right to vote on any question in the Couference while his suspension is continued; nor even to be present in its meetings, without leave, until his own case shall be brought forward."† The next morning Dr. Warren's case came under consideration, and his trial commenced. By

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* Dr. Smith's *History*, vol. iii. p. 277.

† *Minutes of Conference*, vol. vii. p. 549.

the kindness of the Rev. George Stringer Rowe, we are able to give a bird's-eye view of the proceedings. A letter lies before us, which was written from the Conference, and which presents the course of events in a succinct form. The report of the Special District Meeting having been read, "the President asked if any appeal had been made, and the answer was returned in the negative. 'Do you appear, Doctor, for the purpose of making an appeal now?' 'Unquestionably.' Then a demur was made to his right of appeal on three grounds—(1) Having omitted to give notice. (2) Having appealed to other tribunals prior to waiting the decision of the Conference. (3) Having refused submission to the sentence, and in other respects having acted disorderly, unmethodistically, and to the injury of the body. The answers to these objections were—(1) Ignorance that there was a law requiring notice of appeal to be given; appearance at Conference he judged was itself sufficient notice. (2) His addressing himself to the people was that those who have a right to the ear of the Conference might request it to revise those laws which had operated so injuriously in his behalf. (3) His appeal to the Chancellor was because the Plan of Pacification was so mystified a document that a legal opinion upon it was absolutely necessary. The question of his having forfeited his right was ably argued, principally by Dr. Bunting, and clearly proved; and a document was drawn up stating that, for the reasons therein contained, the doctor's right of appeal was denied, but that, having made that disclaimer of his right, the Conference were willing to waive that point, and go fully into the matter on both sides, without regard to mere formalities or technicalities. The resolutions of the October and May District Meetings were read, in which was embodied the opinion of the district on the whole of Dr. Warren's conduct; and he was called on at 12 o'clock on Thursday for his reply. . . . . He commenced by expressing his surprise that such laboured charges should be brought against him; stated that he would yield to none in his love for Methodism, 'as it was when he consented to embrace it,' but maintained that 'between Methodism as it was and Methodism as it is, is all the difference.' . . . . That the following usage and not law

was the grand cause of the present evils. . . . . It would be impossible to go through the whole of the Doctor's defence, as it related to matters which have been voluminously brought before the public, and it was by cross-examination that the truth was elicited. . . . . On Friday morning, Dr. Warren was asked if he wished to say any more, and he requested that Bromley might speak in his behalf. Bromley's speech referred almost entirely to the conduct of the District Meeting towards himself. One important fact was elicited by Bromley's speech, and the conversation which ensued afterwards, viz., that Bromley had never been apprised by the doctor that the permission to attend the meeting was connected with the restriction that he should take no part. The discovery of this fact very much softened Bromley's feelings in reference to the district, and also mitigated the severity of the feelings of the district towards him. . . . . Reference was made to some bundles of letters which, it was circulated far and wide, the Doctor had more than once pointed to as from preachers abetting and encouraging him. After much twisting, it came out that he had said 'he had received them from his brethren,' taking the word in a general sense, and not meaning preachers. This important fact was elicited and admitted positively, that he had no preachers supporting him. In defence of his visiting other towns, the Doctor said that was the only way left of vindicating the characters of himself and associates, which had been traduced in the pamphlet diffused far and wide by the Book Room. . . . . Beaumont wished to know if the Doctor felt any regret for the steps taken since his suspension, and if he was willing to retrace his steps. The Doctor said he felt regret equally on both sides, for the cause and the effect—the cause he maintained to be the refusal of the last Conference to give him a hearing, and this he regretted—he regretted that in consequence he had been obliged to act as he had done. . . . . About half-past twelve on Friday the Doctor was requested to retire."

After Dr. Warren's retirement the minutes of the Manchester District Meeting were confirmed, Bromley alone dissenting. Then the Conference deliberated upon the question of the penalty to be inflicted on Dr. Warren for his

conduct. It was moved and seconded that he be expelled. A number of speeches were delivered; and it was determined that the decision should not be taken until the next day. Beaumont and Bromley did not attend the morning session at which the conversation was resumed. At last, the President put the motion for expulsion. Only one minister, who was in favour of a milder sentence, voted against it; and he subsequently withdrew his opposition. As Dr. Warren wished to be present when the act of expulsion was performed, notice was given to him, and he was in his place to receive his sentence. In another letter we catch a glimpse of the closing scene of this noteworthy trial. "Mr. Reece's address was marked by great dignity and tenderness . . . . but it produced little effect on the Doctor. He replied that he felt it no disgrace, it gave him but little pain; that Methodism which expelled him was not the same with that which had admitted him—that he felt it his duty to express his sense of the lordly, unscriptural, tyrannical conduct of the last Conference—(here he was rebuked by the Chair, and desisted from this line of remark). He went on: He had been unjustly deprived of his fraternal inheritance, and he should make an effort to regain it. If spared twelve months, he might meet the President again, he hoped, under more favourable auspices."

In these words Dr. Warren bade farewell to the Methodist Conference. His half-veiled threat to renew legal proceedings was not carried out, and he retired to play for a little while longer the *rôle* of the agitator. But the quarrel all through had, on his part, been merely personal. He soon abandoned his revolutionary allies, and sought refuge and found obscurity in the Church of England, by this course showing how hollow and "unprincipled" had been the agitation he had set on foot to the misguidance of many "simple souls." In watching the scenes which we have described it is natural that we should seek to discover the true reasons for Dr. Warren's sudden outburst of rebellion against the Conference. He attributed it to his desire to crush the power of Jabez Bunting, and of those who acted with him; but we are not able to accept this assurance as an exhaustive explanation. One fact to us is clear. Everett hit the mark when he said, that it was a most lament-

able circumstance that any persons had been allowed to avail themselves of the opportunity of hanging other grievances and objections upon the question of the Institution, and of thus changing the leading features of the controversy. Dr. Warren's original quarrel might have been with Jabez Bunting, but he soon fell under the dominion of men who quarrelled at large with the whole of the Methodist Constitution. By them he was hurried from grave to graver indiscretions. His sudden determination to resist the District Meeting, after such repeated professions of his intention to submit to its decision, can only be explained on the supposition that he yielded to the force of a will that was stronger than his own. We find in the discoveries that were made in the Plan of Pacification the evidence of the presence of an adviser possessing a mind differing much from Dr. Warren's. Those discoveries seem to indicate a legal intellect, over-sharpened by too much indulgence in special pleading—a mind open-eyed towards law, blind to equity. That Dr. Warren was not without advisers and abettors is certain. It is well known that he did not conduct his Chancery suits at his own expense. The money was found by those who were using him in their attack on the Methodist Constitution. But in the present article we cannot go on to trace out Dr. Warren's connection, for the time being, with the subtle lawyer who, for years, from London as a centre, had made it his evil aim to undermine Methodism with conspiracies of disaffection and revolutionary plots. We can only understand the eccentricities of Dr. Warren's conduct by recognising that in him the fable of the fly on the wheel, gratified with the dust it was raising, was once more illustrated. Shortly after his expulsion he discerned his position, sundered his alliance with his agitating "brethren," and quitted them for ever. But we are compelled to push our investigation a little further. Conduct reveals character. What was there in Dr. Warren that made him an easy prey to the men who victimised him? That he was vain could readily be shown by quotations from his pamphlets. But that was not all. He was a disappointed man. His contemporaries, impatient of prolonged psychological analysis, bluntly said that if he had been made a tutor of the Theological Institution, or

if Bunting had vacated the secretaryship of the Missionary Society and he had been elected in his place, he would have been satisfied. His contemporaries may have been right. Even his friends were inclined to look in the same direction for a solution of the mysteries of his conduct. Thomas Jackson, in his autobiography, says:—"I once observed to a very sensible lady, a near relation of his, that for several years he maintained a highly respectable character in the Connexion; and that, had he persevered as he thus began, there can be no doubt that he would have been made the President of the Conference. 'Had he believed that,' said she, 'he would never have turned agitator.'" * As we stand by the grave of his Methodist reputation, we read the epitaph, graven in lines which lapse of time is more likely to deepen than obliterate: "Slain by disappointed ambition!"

Art. IV.—ITALIAN WORTHIES.

Italian Characters in the Epoch of Unification. By the Countess Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1890.

"THE tide of interest in historical events advances, recedes, and recurs. . . . . But there is one thing endowed with a perennial charm, and that is character," says the Countess Martinengo, inviting our inspection of her collection of modern Italian portraits.

As we traverse the modest gallery, considering the vividly varied types, the heroic single figures, the family groups so gracious and so touching, which it offers to our gaze, we acknowledge the truth of the axiom, and find it acquire a fresh significance. There is a special charm in the study of these characters. The sublime of self-devotion is exemplified in them all, and it is accompanied by a dignity and elevation of mind, a grandeur and purity of purpose, which

* *Recollections of My Own Life and Times*, p. 277.

give a certain air of family likeness to personalities sharply contrasted in other respects—a unity in variety, recalling the indefinable air of high-bred grace possessed by every Vandyke portrait, no matter who was the sitter. But *here* the secret of the resemblance is not in the skill of the artist, though that is great; it lies in the fact that the keynote of every character portrayed is the same—that enlightened patriotism which seeks at any and every cost of personal suffering to the patriot, to promote the best interests of the fatherland and its people—a love of country worthy to be called a Religion, because authorised by obedience to God.

"Our country is our home, it is the house God gives us, our common workshop, the fulcrum of the lever we have to wield for the common good. We are bound to make it a community of freemen, and to maintain it in loveliness and strength."

This high conception of the citizen's duty was embodied in action by every man and woman celebrated in the volume before us. The consideration of lives like these cannot fail to produce on the student a moral effect analogous to that physical one which, it is said, the Apollo Belvedere has on its beholders, who "instinctively become more erect and assume an attitude of greater dignity and grace." And the virtues which went to the making of Italy are such as are greatly needed also for the ennobling of England. Therefore, we gladly hail the volume which introduces this cluster of Italian characters to English readers.

We have spoken of the element of contrast which is strong in these biographies; it is very marked in the two first, those of Ricasoli and Settembrini. All the strength of the North is in one, all the sweetness of the South in the other. The career of the Lombard noble Bettino Ricasoli bears throughout the deep imprint of the inexorable will that was his legitimate heritage from the strong Teutonic forefathers who, twelve full centuries ago, planted themselves in Tuscany, where ever since their descendants have maintained their proud position unimpaired. Well was it for Italy that Ricasoli and his formidable will-power—which was backed by rare mental gifts, and which "seemed to have more in common with some irrestrain-

able nature-force than with human hesitations and pliabilities "—stood always arrayed on the side of righteousness.

Born in the first years of our century, Baron Ricasoli found ways other than political of serving his country during the dark days when Italy, in Metternich's contemptuous phrase "was a mere geographical expression." He saw, none better, the pressing need of reforms; but he held firmly to the opinion that "reforms should begin at home, with the individual," and that they were needed not only in politics, but in matters "social, educational, industrial, and commercial." His special position enabled him to work at these latter through all the strong prime of his manhood. An early orphanhood, which left him the master of a great but ill-ordered inheritance, gave him the freedom to shape his life his own way. He chose a domestic and rural seclusion on his own estates, in the Chianti wine district, near Siena. Here, aided by the "pure, gentle, and lofty" helpmate, on whom he had fixed his choice when he and she were mere boy and girl, he consecrated all his powers for more than twenty years to a threefold object; the developing of his own estates by scientific cultivation, the material, mental, moral elevation of his peasantry, the perfect education in body and soul of his one child and heiress, Bettina, "whom he loved passing well," and whom he was determined to train into a noble woman and a worthy servant of Italy.

He pursued these aims with a curious inflexibility, and with such a rigorous adherence to a pre-determined plan as might have beseemed a Divinely-instructed legislator working at the development of a nation; nor had he an inferior conviction of the sacredness of his work. "Agriculture in Tuscany," said he, "needs heart and head; it seems to me an apostolate. Without giving oneself, body and soul, to the education of the peasant, it is idle to talk of the rest." And he did give himself, body and soul, to the service of his people, among whom he dwelt in honour and usefulness, an austere and peremptory, but kindly and much-trusted father and master. This highly-cultured noble who set up at Brolio, where stood his grim feudal castle, the first Sunday-school in Italy, and taught in it himself for the sake of being intimately

connected with his men; this wealthy man of business whose financial ability was freely used to help the thrift of his workers, who identified himself with the sufferings of the poor and passionately resented their injuries; this titled Baron whom his peasants accosted as plain "Bettino," had nothing to fear from Revolution, and he did not fear it; he was prepared to hail and help it if it were but wise and thorough in its work. But to him "weakness was the unpardonable sin." He drew away, therefore, from the Florentine rising which ended disastrously in 1848, when he perceived it was being directed by irrational extremists, by men who could talk but could not govern. Rhetoric without statesmanship never saved a nation, and no one knew this better than Ricasoli, who promptly acted on his knowledge, and refused to aid an ineffectual Revolution.

It was otherwise in 1859. He saw then a movement in Tuscany which might serve Italy, which might culminate in sweeping all the feeble, foresworn, foreign princelings out of the peninsula, and in uniting the nation under the one faithful king. He accepted on such terms the invitation to head it, threw himself into it with all his ripened powers, and guided it prosperously to the close that he desired. For twelve months he was practically dictator of Tuscany, and he used his power for one end—to confirm the great proud province in its self-renunciation, to hold it steadfast to the programme of Italian liberty and unity. The plottings of self-seeking "friends" of Italy, the opposition of her avowed enemies, broke into idle foam against his sleepless sagacity, his granite firmness. In 1860 he could "consign to the king of his choosing the results of the plebiscite which gave him two million new subjects. The unanimity of the vote stopped cavilling; Europe bowed the head; there was no more talk of vetoes or of armed intervention."

Other opportunities of serving his country came to Ricasoli in the later years of his long life, which closed only in 1883, and he used those opportunities well. But the work of his one year's dictatorship is that by which he deserves best to be remembered. For this, it may be said, he was born, to this his whole life had tended. In the details of that life there

were many things to admire; exquisite family affection, a kind of austere poetry in thought and expression, religious feeling both pure and enlightened—the lofty fervour, the consuming intensity of a Milton or a Dante, expressed in deeds rather than in words. Happier lot for him than for Dante, the "Beatrice" to whom his boyish heart vowed homage became his own wedded wife, to whose dear memory he remained ever faithful, from that summer day of 1852 when Death let all his veil between them, to the autumn evening in 1883 when the survivor suddenly passed, himself, beyond the veil.

For all these gracious tender touches, however, it is hardly possible to think of Ricasoli otherwise than as the "Iron Baron" of irresistible will, with skilful hand constraining and guiding the wild steed of popular Revolution into the right path—a figure of antique grandeur, which fitly confronts us as we step over the threshold of our historic portrait gallery.

If in Ricasoli's stately shape we find incarnated the virile force of the Italian character, its tenderness, its grace, its fire, are hardly less strikingly exemplified in Luigi Settembrini, to whom it was given to serve Freedom most by suffering for her, and who endured "trials as severe as could fall to the lot of any man" with the smiling patience of a faithful martyr. He was no lord of wide domains, arbiter of the fate of others. The orphaned son of a Neapolitan lawyer, who could bequeath no legacy but an unstained name and a pure example to his children, Luigi had thought himself happy in obtaining, when he was twenty-two, a modest Professorship of Greek and Rhetoric at Catanzaro, which enabled him to marry and to make a home for his sister and younger brothers—a home whose tranquil poetic happiness endured for four years, ending suddenly in 1839, when its master found himself swept as a suspect into one of those filthy Neapolitan dungeons where the Bourbon king loved to immure his political opponents. Settembrini had fallen into the pardonable youthful error of conspiring secretly and ineffectually in favour of Italian freedom and unity, and had been denounced by a traitorous associate. It was his rare good fortune to escape on this occasion with *only* three and a half years of imprisonment for an unproved offence—thanks to the heroic obstinacy of his

wife, whose endless efforts, pleadings, importunities, wearied Ferdinand II. at last into an act of unwilling mercy. No one had looked for such energy in the shy, gentle Gigia Faucitano, the dove-like saintly girl, trained up by her parents for the cloister, whose angel-face, inspiring Settembrini with a sudden lifelong passion, had spurred him on to make for himself the career that enabled him to claim her for his wife. That Raffaelle-Madonna aspect of hers hid under its softness and sweetness stores of love-inspired courage and constancy, not to be exhausted even by the terrible strain of the years that were to come.

Settembrini conspired no more. He tried instead to serve his country through the work of teaching, by which he now earned a humble livelihood, endeavouring to train the new generation in the noble principles he had learnt from his own father. But it was hard for him to remain inert in view of the infamies that shamed the Bourbon rule at Naples—that "*negation of God erected into a system of government.*" Like Dante he would have scorned as the meanest of the fallen those lost angels who "were neither rebellious nor faithful to God, but were for themselves alone," and who, "hateful to God and to His enemies," are driven from Heaven and not admitted into Hell, which too much disdains them. From his poisonous prison-cell he had brought only an added faith in his fellow-men—the very gaolers had been human-kindly to their gentle captive—and a deepened loathing for the Government that made vile use of good material, and that answered every cry for reform by filling the gaols with all who were suspected of too much ability or patriotism. He could not hold his peace for ever as this went on; and he fared accordingly. The dawn of 1848 found him a refugee under British protection in Malta; he had been driven to flee as the suspected author of a too popular "Protest" against high-handed tyranny, which he had dared to issue anonymously; the summer of 1850 saw him in Naples, awaiting his doom in that monstrous trial of forty-two political prisoners in one batch, which, beginning on the 1st of June, and enduring six shameful months, ended by consigning "eight prisoners to nineteen years of irons; one to twenty, three to four-and-twenty, one

to thirty, three to thirty-five years of irons; two to the galleys; and three to death," the last sentence being afterwards commuted by the royal *clemency* into lifelong durance on a rocky islet, in a small room shared night and day with half-a-dozen of the vilest criminals. One of those who bore this living death during eight years was Luigi Settembrini. His only guilt was that he had been lured back to Naples like the moth to the flame, by that rash fierce blaze of Revolution that ran through the Two Sicilies in 1848—a fire of straw, soon quenched in blood. Nowhere did the party of Freedom show itself feebler; nowhere was the reaction more atrocious. It availed Settembrini nothing that, discerning the hopeless weakness of the Liberal Administration, he had promptly severed his connection with it, despairing of serving his country amid such a chaos of divided counsels and mischievous impotence; and burying himself in a rural solitude near Posilipo, had given himself up to his humble work as a teacher. Mere inoffensiveness could not save a victim honoured by the special dislike of the foresworn king, whose servile instruments perfectly understood the trade of manufacturing evidence and forcing convictions.

"Martyrdom is redemption." This word of Daniel Manin finds noble illustration in the story of Settembrini and his fellow martyrs, whose years of lingering agony in an earthly hell were as fruitful a service as they were a costly sacrifice to the cause of Italian freedom. The monstrous injustice of their condemnation, blazoned to the world by the indignant eloquence of Mr. Gladstone, was kept ever in the world's remembrance by other friends of liberty and humanity, who found in it a stirring text from which to preach the enfranchisement of Italy. And when Ferdinand II., of Naples, beaten by the ever-growing storm of public indignation, and justly fearing for his throne, released some sixty-six of the most illustrious of his political prisoners, who, much against his purpose, made their way to England, the world, that saw the handwriting of tyranny graved deep on the wan and wasted but still noble visages of the sufferers, was moved to a passion of pity and anger which boded ill for the tyrants. That tardy grudging mercy was granted in 1859;

the next year, Garibaldi's year, saw Settembrini, the captive of the Bourbon, on his way to offer, as one of the Neapolitan delegates, the Bourbon's empty throne to the sovereign chosen by an enfranchised people—to Victor Emmanuel, "King Honestman."

We may not wonder that freedom came too late to some of the liberated captives. Baron Carlo Poerio, "the typical victim of Neapolitan misgovernment," highest in fame and in position, was not only maimed in body for life, through the galling of the fetter that had linked him for seven years to a vile malefactor; the affections of his pure and noble heart, too long driven in on themselves, were now veiled from the common eye by an impassive calm like that of death, a glacial air of stoicism that did him wrong. For he was in fact dying by inches, though he survived his release seven painful years.

It was otherwise with Settembrini, whose physical sufferings had not been so frightful, and who seems to have possessed an eternal youthfulness of heart. He had indeed a talent for loving that amounted to genius; his affections were enlisted for his very gaolers, whose humanity a little softened his captivity. Yet, exquisitely sensitive and pure of spirit, he suffered moral tortures from his enforced association with the wicked, he dreaded more than death the contagion of vice, the ruin of his soul. There is a heart-piercing pathos in those prison meditations, in which, lifting his soul to "God, the Father of the unfortunate, the Consoler of those who suffer," he implores for "the grace of death" to save him from the taint of crime. Yet he rejected a project framed for his escape, because it would involve the simultaneons release of "seven or eight hundred abominable criminals," pests to society, as firmly as he refused to address to King Ferdinand the petition for pardon that would certainly have been granted, becanse it would imply a confession of guilt. With all this sternness of principle, with all this shuddering repulsion from vice, he and his comrades actually won the respect and regard of their criminal fellow-prisoners; so rare a combination of gentleness and loftiness was presented by these patriots, doomed by the Bourbon of Naples to hopeless prison—a doom reversed by the righteous God.

We may not linger on the details of Settembrini's story, on

the dramatic incidents of his release and his return to Naples, on his honourable career as professor of literature and senator, on the calm, beautiful years of his closing life, spent blissfully amid the children nobly trained up by the wife and mother, who, like him, had found in her confidence in God the secret of surviving her sorrows, and who tended and cheered the declining years of his life, until, "serene and gay to the last," and full of plans for future usefulness, he passed away to the greater world on the 5th of November, 1877. A fitting epigraph for this tale of love and suffering may be found in the words he addressed to Gigia from his prison :

> "Those who have not suffered as we have suffered know not that misfortune strengthens and purifies love. Oh! if our love be an inexplicable sweetness, a balm to the wounded spirit, a light, a harmony which makes our calamities endurable, let us thank Almighty God who has given us those calamities and this love!"

Between the two extremes of noble character personified for us in Ricasoli and Settembrini the range is wide. Our author, who has skilfully selected her typical figures, has chosen to set beside that of the gentle Neapolitan a martial and imposing form—the Count Giuseppe-Camillo Martinengo, illustrious for his superintendence, in 1849, of the ten days' defence, which heroic little Brescia opposed single-handed to "all the might and hate of Austria," concentrated on it for its destruction. The story of that siege is written in fire and blood, and the atrocities amid which it culminated have branded with undying infamy the Austrian commander Haynau and his Croats. The devoted city, which had dared to make a stand for liberty even when "armed with valour rather than with steel," was chastised by a three days' carnival of slaughter, when it had at last yielded to an overwhelming force; "fire and sword ran riot through the streets, and the hunt for fugitives was the pastime of soldiers drunk with wine and blood." Yet amid these rolling clouds of horror many a noble deed shines the brighter for that blackness. We may single out the self-forgetful devotion of Count Martinengo himself, who, more obnoxious to Austrian vengeance than any other, as the inspirer and organiser of Brescian resistance, yet lingered long in utmost peril, endeavouring to interpose some stay to the fury

of the conquerors; and not second to him in heroic humanity, those eighteen butcher-apprentices who arranged and carried out the Count's escape at imminent risk of their own lives. He had ventured all for them and theirs; they would venture all for him. Thanks to their intrepid faithfulness, he succeeded in making good his retreat into Piedmont.

The whole story of his flight is a romance of daring and devotion; but it seems a quite natural episode in the life of this soldier-noble of high untainted lineage, who was but carrying out the patriotic traditions of his family, when, young, handsome, gifted, and wealthy, the darling of a brilliant society, he lightly put aside all the glories and pleasures of worldly life in order to serve his country, and passed proudly for her sake into hopeless-seeming exile. He had his reward at last. Having returned in safety to Brescia, the joy was granted him of hailing the glorious advent of freedom, in 1859; and he lived long to serve his liberated fatherland, with undiminished energy, though with shattered health. His old age was bright, sympathetic, tolerant; its serenity only ruffled when anything evoked the dark memories of "the old shame," the time of humiliating submission to tyranny. "I would shoot myself twice over sooner than see those days return," is the energetic expression recorded of him. He died in 1884, after much physical suffering, having lived seventy-six years, made beautiful by "honesty, probity, and every domestic and civil virtue," and in particular by a rare combination of high practical ability, dauntless courage, and a humanity alike enlightened and inexhaustible.

While Martinengo was still mingling daily in the "brilliant social gatherings" of the Lombard noblesse, and nourishing in secret those dreams of coming freedom which he strove vainly but heroically to realise by force of arms in 1849, a Venetian advocate of Jewish-Christian descent, with no vantage-ground of wealth or high position, was making unremitting war on the Austrian oppressors of Venice with the peaceful weapons drawn from the armoury of their own code of laws. His aim was to demonstrate to the Venetians, sunk as they were in the "impotence of despair," that their tyrants, after all, were not clothed in divine omnipotence, but could be

defeated and foiled at many points. His skill, his moderation, his pleadings always calm amid their fervour, enabled him to gain not a few successes, which produced such an effect as he had planned. The heart of the beast that cowers and crouches was taken from the people, the man's heart was given back to them; they could do, and they could dare. There is not a more admirable chapter in the history of modern Italy than that which tells the tale of the Venetian Republic, ruled throughout its short life—from the 22nd of March 1848 to the 24th of August 1849—by the man who had called it into existence, the Venetian-Jewish advocate Daniel Manin, whose impress is deeply stamped on it throughout in heroism, wisdom, self-abnegation.

It is something of a moral miracle for a people unfamiliar with freedom to demean itself well in the first day of its power; for a people excitable, imaginative, full of the quick suspicions and hasty angers born of ignorance and ill-usage, to achieve a peaceful revolution, to show magnanimity towards fallen foes, to turn a deaf ear to factious plotters, and remaining faithful amid dark and threatening days, to win by sheer obstinate valour terms of honourable capitulation from an enemy flushed with victory and eager for reprisals. That praise for such deeds can be claimed for the Venice of 1849, is owing to the implicit confidence the populace had learned to repose in Manin, and to the noble use he made of his influence.

He who worked these wonders was a man in middle life, frail in health, slight in figure, with a vivid, speaking countenance, lit by eyes of vivid blue, whose rapid changes of expression well aided the charm of his "magically persuasive voice." His life was a long triumph of mind over matter. The acute sufferings and the physical lassitude resulting, which had been his portion from childhood, had opposed no bar to his hunger for knowledge and for usefulness. An accomplished linguist, a profound jurist, a speaker whose clear, strong ideas were expressed with forceful simplicity, he showed when the time came the keen insight and prompt decision befitting the statesman and the soldier; the man of books proved himself a man of action. With these rare mental qualities he united a purity of nature, a womanlike

sweetness and tenderness which made him an ideal husband and father; and beside the holy ambition of serving well his own land and people, he had none other. Such was the character of transparent integrity and goodness wedded to strength which had won the hearts of Venice. "Our good father, poor dear! who has suffered so much for us, may God bless him!" murmured the people as they strayed about his door in that sad night when, a penniless exile, he took his lifelong leave of his own fair city. For Venice was enslaved once more, and Manin's presence was too incompatible with slavery to be tolerated there.

But his work survived him. Nine years after the banished Manin had passed away to rejoin in a brighter world the dear wife and daughter whom he had long mourned in loneliness and pain, his heart's desire for Venice was granted. The Austrian eagles disappeared in 1886 for ever from her streets, to be replaced by the Italian tricolor symbolising that free union with noble Piedmont he would himself so gladly have effected. His ashes, and those of his loved and lost ones, transported from their resting-place in Paris, lie now entombed in marble under the shadow of St. Mark's; and before the house once his home stands his statue as Venice knew him when he harangued her people, stimulating them to virtue and restraining them from violence. For she is not thankless nor forgetful; she has done what she could to honour his memory who did so much for her.

In every story that we have hitherto dealt with there are glimpses afforded of a beautiful, pure, family life, exercising an ennobling, strengthening influence on the makers of modern Italy. This element becomes more and more noticeable when we are introduced into such home circles as those of the Poerios, the d'Azeglios, the Mameli, the Ruffini, the Cairoli. In each and all we find the dominant inspiring figure is that of a noble woman, an unblemished wife and mother, rich in all gifts of heart and soul, and ready for all sacrifice that can be demanded in the name of God and Freedom.

"One of the noblest," we are told, "of the noble company of Italian women was Mazzini's mother, who for many years was spoken of by all the party of action

simply as 'La Madre.' Every one understood whose mother was meant."

How high was the praise implied here can only be estimated aright when we note the lofty level attained by all the members of this "company." One of the least famous among them, the Marchesa Eleonora Curlo-Ruffini, has appealed, anonymously as it were, to many an English heart from the pages of her son Giovanni's remarkable romance of *Doctor Antonio*, where, "under the thin disguise of the Signora Eleonora," she stands revealed in her meek, unconquered dignity, bearing her mother-martyrdom with the radiant patience of one who refuses to despair or to repine. She had borne more for Italy than the novel allows us to perceive; her son Jacopo, a youth of great promise and of singular beauty of character, having died in prison by his own hand, rather than betray to his tyrants those of his comrades who were not yet in durance; his brother Giovanni, more fortunate, could yet find safety only in exile from the fatherland so passionately loved by him.

Such was the lot that befell "Signora Eleonora" in 1832; seventeen years later a cup of suffering like hers, only without its one bitterest ingredient, was offered to the lips of her sympathising friend and compatriot, the Marchesa Adele Zoagli, daughter of one of Genoa's proudest houses, who became the mother of Goffredo Mameli, the golden-haired young hero-poet of the Italian Revolution. He it was who fulfilled the mission of *singing* what Mazzini *said*, and whose impassioned lyric:

> "Fratelli d' Italia,
> L' Italia s' è desta!"—

became the Italian Marseillaise.

This song, which thrills like a trumpet-call, was produced by a youth of nineteen, who did not suspect the power in his own martial notes. "His songs," said Mazzini, "wandered across his lips unstudied, inspired, spontaneous as the morning song of the lark: songs which he forgot and the people remembered." Battle-hymns as they are, there is no hate in them, no thirst for mere slaughter; though wrath inspires them,

it is holy; blended with hope unconquerable, and faith in the avenging justice of God, who "gives His thunderbolts to the people and marches at their head." This faith, this hope, this fine patriotic fire were Goffredo's heritage from the mother who was, "before all things," a patriot, and whose rare mental gifts, developed by a sound education and wedded to unusual force of character, gave her a commanding influence over her children. From his father, Admiral Mameli, the heroic sailor, he derived that dominant sense of duty which would not let him be satisfied with singing for Italy. He fought and he died for her. The story of the last few years of his life is "simply a record of his songs turned into action," and he passed away at last in a dream of glory, having received a mortal injury while serving under Garibaldi in that defence of Rome by Roman republicans against the armies of the French Republic and its false Prince-President, which won immortal honour for the Italians, defeated by treachery rather than valour, and added one more stain to the soiled name of Napoleon.

Goffredo, who lay wounded and delirious in the Pellegrini Hospital when the French entered Rome, died three days afterwards, on July 6, 1849, "singing and almost conscious."

"In his delirium," said Garibaldi, "he had prophesied of his country," as if visions of her coming enfranchisement were vouchsafed to him. He was not more than twenty-one years old. Not till 1872, when the fall of the Napoleon dynasty restored to Italy her natural capital, Rome, was it known where Goffredo Mameli's mortal remains lay hidden. Then it was revealed that friendly hands had buried them in the little church of the Stimmate, with the cognisance of the monks, who guarded the secret long and well. Some of his still undimmed fair hair was taken from the coffin, and given as a precious memorial to his mother, whose life after many griefs was yet whole in her, and who did not repent of her noble sacrifices. She survived until 1885, a stately beautiful old lady, surrounded still with filial love, and speaking willingly and proudly of the past. "Mine was a strong generation!" she would say. One has to own the truth of the saying after studying the history of that generation and its deeds. And those achievements cease to be a wonder when

we see what manner of women trained and inspired the heroes.

Carolina Poerio, mother of the Neapolitan martyr, Carlo Poerio, and of his less famous, but no less noble, brother, the poet and soldier Alessandro, slain while fighting the Austrians in Venetia, deserved well of the country to which she freely gave two such sons, "her widow-comfort, and her sorrow's cure." All her wedded life she trod undismayed the way of sacrifice, encouraging and inspiring husband, daughter, sons, kinsfolk, to serve their generation faithfully and uprightly, and repining neither at the poverty and the straits that ensued for herself, nor at the separation and the perils for her children. "I am content, or rather proud, that all who bear the name of Poerio are bestirring themselves for the good cause." So she wrote in the year of fate 1848. Her character stands portrayed by her own hand in her long intimate correspondence with the absent Alessandro, bound to her by the closest affection,—a character, "brave, true, tender, full of womanly refinement and strong common sense; religious without bigotry, patriotic without affectation," transparently truthful but full of sweet habitual courtesies, and most loving, but never permitting affection to override principle. But for the training guiding hand of this "mother of most holy memory," who sank and died under her griefs, while Baron Carlo still dragged his festering fetters in a Bourbon dungeon, should we have had that shape of monumental grandeur to admire?

Equally noble in simple, lofty self-devotion appears the Marquise Constance d'Azeglio, who, a Piedmontese subject, dwelling and working in her own more favoured land, escaped such heart-piercing trials as befell Carolina Poerio, but served the good cause with equal faithfulness and rare intelligence. We are able to know Constance d' Azeglio as she was, through her twenty-five years' correspondence with her son, Marquis Emmanuel d'Azeglio, who long resided in England, first as Sardinian, then as Italian, ambassador, and who was greatly aided in using his position for the benefit of Italy, at the crisis of her fall, by the priceless information as to the "inner workings and developments of the Italian movement," sedulously

gathered and steadily transmitted to him by that fine quick observer, his mother. Her letters have still a distinct value as historical documents, *mémoires pour servir;* but their great charm is their unconscious revelation of the writer's mind and life. They show to us Constance and her husband, Marquis Robert, worthy brother of the all-accomplished Massimo d'Azeglio, acting spontaneously as the zealous servants of the poor. "Wherever there were sick or wounded to be nursed, orphans to be taught and succoured, poverty to be alleviated, ignorance to be enlightened, they hastened to their post with unaffected and business-like punctuality."

Their means might be crippled, like those of many Piedmontese nobles, by the national losses incurred under the rule of the luckless King Charles Albert, that "Hamlet of monarchy"; but they refused to curtail their benefactions by a sou. Therefore, this high-bred pair, accustomed to courts and palaces, passed joyfully into the humble retired life that might befit a *bourgeois* family of narrowest means, retaining active philanthropy as their one luxury. The poor understood the sacrifices made for them; Marquis Robert possessed with them an influence which he used most effectively in the dark days following 1849, to uphold "patriotism and order," and when, having seen their heart's wish fulfilled in the liberation of Italy, the husband and wife "ceased at once to work and live," in 1862, the crowds of humble mourners, parents and children, who followed their biers, witnessed to the living power of their life-work. By such citizens, a nation's best greatness is established.

Lives such as that of Constance d'Azeglio may, however. be lived in every age and country; but a life like that of Adelaide Cairoli-Bono is possible only in great national crises, Wedded in 1824, when a mere girl, to the good physician and true patriot, Carlo Cairoli of Pavia, she saw this much-loved husband die broken-hearted under the news of the disastrous battle of Novara, so ruinous to the hopes of Italy; of her five noble sons four passed away before her, martyrs to their love of country; while the eldest born who alone survived her carried away from Calatafimi, where he was wounded fighting under Garibaldi, the seeds of lifelong suffering. There is

epical grandeur and infinite pathos in the soldier-story of Adelaide's sons, bound to each other by the tenderest affection, and fighting and falling side by side, or even more sadly, alone—always under Garibaldi—in Lombardy, in Calabria, before Rome; there is a halo of majestic purity about the memory of Benedetto, the one survivor, who, when Prime Minister, interposed his own body between his beloved young King Humbert and the assassin's knife, and "smiled radiantly" while his blood streamed fast from the wound, happily not fatal—Benedetto, who, called in 1878 to exchange "the simple heroic part of the soldier for the perplexing almost contaminating *rôle* of the statesman," in a time of extreme difficulty, "brought to the task not laurels only, but the rarer white flower of an unsullied reputation," which lost none of its purity "in the air of an official residence." But virtue and devotion rise almost to sublimity in the character of the mother, the mild compassionate woman abounding in all lovely charities, whose "high and humble" part it was to train her young heroes for their work, to consecrate them to it, to send them from her side to encounter battle and pestilence and death, and unrepiningly to endure, consoling herself with good works, when, one by one, the children who had gone forth to convert her teaching into deeds were brought back to her lifeless. Only when the youngest, the household darling, "Giovannino," sank under his wounds after long, cruel suffering, did the lion-heart that beat in the mother's tender breast give way. She outlived him eighteen months only. But she saw the Rome that he had died to free liberated at last, she saw the Papal bands that had slain him disbanded; for she did not pass away till 1871, and Rome was the capital of free Italy.

The "Roman question," fatefully important in the story of the Cairoli, affected more or less almost all the lives on which we have lightly touched. It was a pure and fervent piety that animated many of these noble hearts, a piety that by God's especial grace escaped the taint of the superstitions fostered by Rome; yet it was inevitably coloured by the surrounding medium, by hereditary and educational prepossessions in favour of Catholicism. Therefore the attitude of fixed hostility to Freedom finally assumed by that very Pio Nono, whose first

acts as a ruler had aroused rapturous hopes in Italian breasts, created a peculiarly cruel situation for those good souls who had entertained the futile expectation of seeing the Popedom reform itself, and of marching under the banners of their Church to fight the battles of their country. But being compelled to choose, they chose rightly; they cast away neither patriotism nor religion, but only faith in the Papacy and allegiance to it.

In the figure of Ugo Bassi, the martyr-monk, we have the painful struggle between these opposing forces most strikingly personified, and the inevitable result of the strife for an upright soul plainly indicated. Bassi, who simply refrained from following the Papal example of defection, must have gone much further on the path of dissent from Rome had he lived longer. He did not stand alone of his order; he had other priestly comrades besides Gavazzi, men who gave not only their prayers but their lives for Italy; but something of rare and heavenly beauty in his life, something of pathetic grandeur in his death, gave him a hold on the people's heart and memory, denied to not a few patriot monks and priests who dared to cleave to their country's cause when their fallible Head betrayed it.

This preacher, whose passionate poetic eloquence swayed the masses like a mighty wind, this intrepid hospital worker, who feared neither the ghastly cholera plague nor the shells of Rome's besiegers, this unarmed, spotless paladin of humanity, who rode foremost of Garibaldi's horsemen, intent ever on the rescue of wounded and endangered comrades, needed only the Austrian prison and the lawless death sentence, and the bloody grave in unhallowed ground near his own Bologna, to be enshrined as a martyred saint in the heart of an imaginative people. For his sake they had been willing to forego the deep distrust and dislike with which the priest's black robe inspired them; they never forgot that the barbarian bullets which pierced his breast passed first through the red Garibaldian uniform that covered it; and the peculiar horror aroused by the cold-blooded murder of one not only innocent but holy deepened into shuddering hate the existing aversion for the foreign tyrant. So, living and dying, Bassi served his country.

It is impossible now to dwell on the details of a career which had all the elements of poetic romance, and which has already been worthily celebrated in English verse. Nor have we been able to do more than glance hastily at a few out of the dazzling crowd of heroic or beautiful shapes that move before us through the pages we have been studying. It is a panorama as full of suggestiveness as of charm; a spectacle that gains instead of losing in significance and impressiveness when we remember that we have not been invited so much to contemplate the greatest leaders and rulers of the Italian movement—though these are neither absent nor forgotten—as to single out some of their less famous fellow-workers—men and women well content to take the lowest and the least place, if thus they might aid the great cause they loved.

Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi—these are epoch-making, providential exceptional figures, that can hardly be absent from any account of the Italian Revolution; the same may be said of Victor Emmanuel, the one Italian Sovereign who dared to be true to his people—the "King Honestman," whose loyalty to his word alone made Italian unity possible. History that will assuredly remember these names may be more careless of others not less noble. On her roll there may appear the name of Nino Bixio, the intrepid sailor, since it is inseparably associated with the glorious deeds of Garibaldi and his "Mille" in the two Sicilies; she may admit there Ricasoli, the king-maker, while quite forgetting "Bettino," the Brolio landlord; she may remember Poerio and Settembrini, the Neapolitan martyrs, while neglecting the mother of the one and the wife of the other; and she may be more or less oblivious of Carlo Cairoli, surgeon of Pavia, and father of heroes; of Beppe Dolfi, the Florentine baker and popular leader, ambitious only of "making good bread and serving his people;" of Angelo Brunetti, the Roman wine-carrier, half mythical prodigy of helpful strength and courage, whom his fellow citizens best knew by the loving nickname of "Ciceruacchio;" and many a noble of high descent who fought shoulder to shoulder with partisan and peasant, many a gentle heroic lady who sent forth husband, son, or lover to die for Italy. These may pass into unmerited oblivion; these may find their only permanent memorial in such a little cluster of gravestones as may be

often seen in Italian cemeteries, "all bearing the same name, and each with the date of an Italian battle;" or in the records of hospitals, schools, refuges and the like charities, in aiding which some heart, breaking for those dead on the field of honour, has sought relief. For these, happily for their land, were exceptional only in this, that their lot being cast in exceptional times, they could show what was in them to do and to bear. But without the superb devotion of the obscure Many, the work of the famous Few had never been done.

Seeing, then, how admirably Italian men and women "of all sorts and conditions behaved, when the strain came on the rope, when the emergency arose which put worth to a test that none might gainsay," may we not hope for glorious future things from a race and a land of which such characters were not extraordinary products?

That Italy has much yet to learn and unlearn; that her Government has made not a few serious mistakes; that some of her newly enfranchised peoples are not yet freed from the childish follies, the heedless vices bred of ancient slavery; that thanks to the errors, the abuses, the determinedly anti-national spirit of the Romish Church, many thousands of Italians are yet sunk in degrading superstitions, while others a little more enlightened have learned to deem ill of all religion, and to hold it unworthy of a free spirit; all this we may grant, and still cherish the hope that the nation for which Heaven raised up so many noble champions, and amid which such admirable lives were lived, in the darkest days of its thraldom, will yet be enabled to work out its own redemption, and take a worthy place among the free peoples whom the Truth makes free.

ART. V.—TRADE UNIONS.

IT is commonly supposed that Trade Unions are established in the exclusive interest of the industrial classes. That is not the case, however, for, as stated in the Chief Registrar's Report for 1888, "the Trade Union Acts apply as well to combinations of employers as to those of workmen." . . . . The list of associations of employers comprises a Milk Dealers'

Protection Union, two Licensed Victuallers' Protection Unions, besides two Unions in the Yeast Importers' Trades, two Butchers' or Cattle Dealers' Associations, and a Smack Owners' Union. The tenth is a genuine employers' trade union, registered in 1872—viz., the "Association of Master Engineers and Brass Founders of North Staffordshire and surrounding districts, having for its object—*the purpose of defence against any demands that may be made by workmen in combination, either through trade unions, special leagues, or otherwise, which demands may be considered detrimental to the interests of the trades represented.*"

With these exceptions, the trades union system of this country is an organisation entirely in the interests of employés, and, as may be supposed, is a system of vast extent, having its ramifications in almost every trade centre in the United Kingdom. The following table, showing the funds, annual income, and membership of the sixteen trade unions that sent in returns last year (in which are included the largest and most important associations), will give some idea of the dimensions of the system in England where the working-class population so greatly preponderates:—

Name of Society.	Funds.	Income.	Members.
	£	£	
Amalgamated Society of Engineers	111,679	173,687	52,019
" " Railway Servants	55,709	12,710	9,609
" " Carpenters and Joiners	46,725	76,192	24,979
" " Operative Cotton Spinners	35,124	49,801	16,579
Operative Bricklayers' Society	32,398	10,487	6,393
Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Asociation	29,474	8,991	13,226 and (half-members) 1,183
Durham Miners' Association	26,663	44,507	30,000
Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders	21,895	67,239	25,541
Amalgamated Society of Tailors	17,319	19,134	13,724
London Society of Compositors	17,609	12,891	6,585
Society of Operative Lacemakers	12,316	11,543	4,345
National Society of Operative Boot and Shoe Rivetters and Finishers	9,658	12,315	5,079
Kent and Sussex Labourers Union	8,871	11,690	10,300
National Agricultural Labourers Union	6,134	6,887	10,366
Friendly Society of Ironfounders	5,984	53,652	12,037
Total	£449,974	580,064	254,741 besides half-members

The Registrar, in comparing the foregoing table with that of the previous year, states that it shows "an increase of £61,225 in funds, £183,682 in income, and 106,002 in membership; but if there be deducted two societies making their return for the first time—the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the National Society of Operative Boot and Shoe Finishers—the result would be a decrease of £62,478 in funds, but an increase of £1627 income and 40,024 members."

These figures do not, of course, indicate the full strength of the system as established in England; for in the Registrar's Summary of Annual Returns it is stated that on the 31st December, two years ago, there were 207 trade union societies and branches (145 returns) with a total membership of 317,458. As a matter of fact, however, even those statistics do not by any means represent the exact state of matters, at least with regard to membership. For, a year or two ago, as is pointed out by the Registrar, Mr. Giffen, the well-known and accurate statistician to the Board of Trade, gave it as his opinion, based in all probability on assured data, that there was "a total membership of over 600,000 among all trade unions throughout the country." Moreover, Mr. Burnett, Labour Correspondent to the Board of Trade, is also reported to have stated that at the Trades Union Congress in 1885 no less than 633,038 members were represented. "That being the case," says the Registrar, commenting on that statement, "since a very large number of unions sent us representatives to the Congress, Mr. Giffen's estimate of 'over 600,000' must be far too narrow. *Probably a million would not be an exaggerated estimate.*"

Such a powerful class-combination as these associations represent in the aggregate must exercise a most important influence on the fortunes of those labour conflicts that are repeatedly taking place between some branch or another of capital and labour, and as they gather strength year by year, and acquire more and more experience of the vicissitudes of such conflicts, they must ever constitute an element of the greatest consequence as affecting the general well-being. Moreover, some idea of their far-reaching economical benefit to

the community may be obtained from a glance at the following figures, giving an epitome of the financial results of such organisations during the past twenty or thirty years. The statistics of only a few of the largest societies are quoted by the Registrar, but they are sufficiently indicative of the magnitude of their cash operations in the furtherance of their aims and objects, and suggestive of their great power and influence.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, in thirty-six years, 1851–86, expended	£2,656,724
The Friendly Society of Ironfounders, in thirty-five years, 1852–86, expended	959,729
The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, in twenty-seven years, 1860–86, expended	637,193
The United Society of Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders, in fifteen years, 1872–86, expended	605,518
The Operative Stonemasons' Friendly Society, in twenty-one years, 1866–1886, expended	509,677
	£5,368,841

Of course, by far the greater portion of this sum (the estimate has been made that, over all the societies during the period indicated, about nine millions sterling have been expended) went towards sick and superannuation benefit; but, although the Registrar has not quoted the amount of what are termed "dispute payments" in every instance in the foregoing table, in the case of the Stonemasons' Society, he mentions that no less than £87,373 was between 1866–1886 spent in tiding over those memorable "days of dispute" in the history of that Society. He also states that this Society is "remarkable on account of the large proportion which its benevolent and ordinary provident purposes bear to its trade purposes proper;" that, in fact, "it does not pay any regular benefit to unemployed members, but only to such as travel from place to place in search of employment. Every provision is made by the Society's rules to enable its members to maintain or improve their social position, but at the same time every care is taken that disputes shall not be entered into rashly." It is not to be thought that the principle with respect to the avoidance of disputes, which is a prominent feature in the constitution of the Stonemasons' Society, is not so well regarded by the other associations. Indeed, of the

weekly contribution—fivepence in amount from each member —to the general fund of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, only one penny per member is set apart for "dispute" purposes, the balance of the levy being devoted to the Society's general benevolent schemes—viz., the sick, unemployed, and superannuation benefits. Disputes may be, so far, easily enough got over, or perhaps avoided altogether, but sickness, want of work, and old age are, humanly speaking, inevitable and must be provided for. Hence the wisdom shown by the trade union societies in loooking mainly towards the latter contingencies.

No reference to our system of trade unions and the important part they play in one branch of the economy of life would be adequate without touching on the subject of the other systems—viz., the friendly, building, industrial, and provident, or co-operative societies, all of which—and they form a truly magnificent scheme of economy!—were originated and are conducted by the working classes of the country for their own exclusive benefit. The combined statistics of these powerful associations are deeply significant, and speak—albeit from the Blue Books!—with an eloquence that is strikingly clear and commanding; the burden of their lesson being the wonderful increase of the twin-blessings—temperance and providence—enjoyed by the classes in question during the past half-century.

Without giving details, it may suffice to state in proof of this—were proof needed—that at the present time there are in the United Kingdom over 1400 industrial and provident societies under the Friendly Societies' Acts, with a membership exceeding 800,000 and with funds approximating to thirteen millions sterling. In England and Wales alone there are about 2200 building societies (under the Act of 1874) with a membership of over half a million, and with funds of about fifty millions. Add to these figures the number of working-class depositors in the Savings Banks (there are, roundly stated, over five million depositors, owning £100,000,000 in the two systems; but let it be granted that a half only are grown working men and women with, say, £40,000,000 at their credit there), and it will be found that, by means of such

agencies as their trade unions, friendly and provident societies, co-operative associations and savings banks, our working-class population is making rapid progress towards a condition of moral and material well-being never before experienced in the history of the people. "Such agencies," as Dr. Baernreither, an Austrian writer on English associations of working men, affirms, "perform great works of education; they enlarge working-men's knowledge; they teach economy and foresight; they raise the sense of duty of the individual towards himself and family. They also raise the cohesion of the working-classes and bind individual elements, in themselves without power or influence, into a social power, whilst founding a bond of brotherly support."

Art. VI.—MÖHLER, DÖLLINGER, AND OXFORD ANGLICANISM.

1. *Symbolik, oder Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten nach ihren öffentlichen Bekenntniss-schriften.* Von J. A. Möhler. Mainz, 1838. Fünfte Auflage.
2. *Der Gegensatz des Katholicismus und Protestantismus nach den Principien und Haupt dogmen der beiden Lehrbegriffe.* Von Dr. F. C. Baur. Tübingen. Zweite Aufgabe.
3. *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de la Théologie Catholique.* Par I. Goschler. Tom. xv. Paris. 1870.
4. *Herzog: Real-Encyclopädie.* J. A. Möhler. B. x. 1882.

In the *Speaker* of January 18, Mr. Gladstone made the following reference to the distinguished man whose name appears at the head of this article. He said: "Dr. Döllinger was the successor of Möhler, the justly celebrated author of the *Symbolik,* of whom Cardinal Wiseman said that it would be no extravagance to place him first among the Roman Catholic theologians of this age." This estimate will not be

regarded as extravagant by any who are acquainted with Möhler's achievements. To Englishmen, however, there is an additional interest attaching to the memory of this remarkable thinker who died at forty-two. His writings were "epoch-making" in his own Church, and also in the entire circle of European Christianity; but, further, what is known as the "Catholic Revival" in England was largely indebted to his luminous genius. Those who were most dependent on his suggestions would not be disposed to make their source a matter of public notoriety, and his name has continued to be little known to readers in general. His successor, Döllinger, who owed him so much, has by his lengthened life and eventful career come to a much wider fame. But the light of Möhler cannot be much longer concealed, and we shall need no apology if we attempt to exhibit the character and work of one who exercised so large an influence on the religious thought of Europe.

The brief but active labours of Jean Adam Möhler terminated fifty-two years ago. He was born on May 6, 1796, and died on April 14, 1838. He was the son of an innkeeper at Igersheim, Wirtemberg, who discerned his ability and was able to give him a good education. Having completed his term in the Gymnasium with success, he proceeded to advanced studies under the Faculty at Ellwagen, A.D. 1814, where his vocation to the priesthood became more evident. In 1816 he entered the University of Tübingen, and attended lectures under Drey, Hirscher, Herbst, and other eminent teachers in historical, dogmatical, and practical theology. In 1819 he was admitted to the priesthood. His superiors had observed his bent and quality, and were disposed to find him a suitable position; but, at his own request, he was allowed to engage in pastoral work for one year.

In 1820, after a year's absence, he was again in Tübingen as tutor in the Normal School. He had already shown talent for classical and philosophical learning, which now became his selected study. His biographer says, "He was most diligent in Greek history and philosophy, which produced keenness and clearness of judgment, elegance of style, and dialectical activity

in expression." * He was inclined to seek a position as teacher in philosophy, but others desired to retain him in the service of theology. Accordingly, he was instituted to a Privat-docent Professorship in Theology, and was also furnished with a "travelling scholarship," of which he made good use. He visited the Universities of Göttingen, Berlin, Prague, and Vienna; he listened to the best teachers of his own Church, and was not ashamed to hear what those who were illustrious in German Protestantism had to say.

At Göttingen he found Plank, who had already won great renown, and who was a pioneer in the modern science of Church history. At Berlin he heard Neander, who was beginning to grow famous; and Marheineke, who afterwards replied to the *Symbolik.* Yet more powerful, as many believe, was the influence of Schleiermächer, who is responsible for so much in the intellectnal life of modern Germany. This actual contact with the freer thought and investigation of Protestantism must have been a powerful factor in the mental progress of one so susceptible as Möhler. Reithmayer objected to the Protestant boast that Möhler had been "framed in their school"; but it cannot be denied that the method and spirit of the Reformed teachers influenced him in his later inquiries. These opportunities revealed to him the strength and weakness of the Protestant position. He learned what points of attack were most open to the Romish controversialist, and, above all, he learned that he must not despise his antagonists nor ignore the seriousness of their assault on the authority of his Church.

In his earlier publications Möhler displayed an unmistakable tendency to become a critic of Romanism. In 1824 he wrote a review of Schmidt's *Harmony of the Eastern and Western Church.* In this he frankly favoured the concession of the cup to the laity, and censured all who opposed it. He was quite as decided in his rebuke of some features of the Mass, and of the use of Latin in the public services. In consequence he was in bad odour in Rome, and it was under consideration whether his writings should not be put in the *Index.* Döllinger, when he edited the collected writings of

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* *Lebenskizze des Verfassers,* prefixed to the 5th edit. of the *Symbolik,* 1838.

Möhler in 1839, omitted two of the early essays because they were so pronounced in their liberalism.

In 1825 Möhler produced his first important publication on *The Unity of the Church.** In this book "the vices of the external unity and of the hierarchy were exposed without hesitation: and if the principle of the Reformation could not be accepted by Möhler in its ultimate and beneficent depth, yet one may admire his noble language on the place of the Bible in the first Christian communities, on the invisible Church, and on the common priesthood." † In its first part the author discusses the mystical and spiritual fellowship of believers. However here, as in the *Symbolik*, he makes the spiritual fellowship to depend on the historical formalities of Catholicism. He knew that the essential distinction between the "Catholic" and the Protestant lay at this point. He admits that the former teaches that the "visible Church is first, then the invisible; the latter reverses the order. The Protestant says that the invisible is first, then the visible."

This is a neat distinction, which, if it does not render full justice to the Protestant theory, helps us to understand the reasoning of the Romish advocate. But the Protestant holds that the Church is both visible and invisible. Each of these aspects has its own attributes and predicates. The Protestant alleges that the Romanist claims for the visible Church the qualities and prerogatives which can only belong to the invisible: the Romanist, on the other hand, charges the Protestant with the denial of the claims of the visible Church. The Anglicans who assert that "communion with Christ depends on communion with His Church," and that "on the Bishop depends our chief means of communion with God," take the Romish side of this contention. It cannot be denied that they have many of the "Fathers" from Cyprian with them; but this was one of the "traditions" against which the Reformation protested. It is, therefore, very natural that the Anglicans should dislike and denounce the Reformation.

In the second part of the *Unity*, Möhler centres the

* *Die Einheit in der Kirche, oder das Princip des Catholicismus*, 1825.

† *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*, t. ix.

unity of the Church in the Bishop, then in the Metropolitan, and finally in the Pope. But he carefully pointed out that the supremacy of the Pope was not recognised in the first three centuries when the Church was at its best. In order to revive the flourishing condition of the primitive period, he held that it would be necessary to go back to the original episcopacy. This was the position which presented such a powerful fascination to the Anglican disciples of the German Catholic. Towards this "consummation so devoutly to be wished," Newman, Pusey, Liddon, and Gore have earnestly striven. When Archdeacon Wilberforce wrote his book on the *Incarnation* * he only referred to Möhler on a subordinate topic: though his whole work was built on the foundation which the Romish divine had laid down. Mr. Gore, however, lays aside all disguise and openly accepts Möhler's definition of the Church. "By the Church," he says, "Catholics understand the visible community of believers founded by Christ, in which, by means of an enduring apostleship established by Him and appointed to conduct all nations, in the course of ages, back to God, the works wrought by Him during His earthly life for the redemption and sanctification of mankind are, under the guidance of His Spirit, continued unto the end of the world." †

By this doctrine the grace of the Christian salvation is made to depend upon the "Apostolical succession." It would seem from this that without a ministry of three orders redemption itself is void and sanctification impossible. Both the Romanist and the Anglican wish to mitigate the severity of this conclusion against non-episcopal Christians by a reference to "uncovenanted mercy"; but, at best, that only comes in as a charitable speculation. It is clear, however, that on essential points the position of Möhler, subsequently maintained by Döllinger and others, was that of our own High Churchmen. None of them counted it a difficulty to allow the Bishop of Rome supremacy among the

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* *The Doctrine of the Incarnation*, by R. J. Wilberforce, M.A., 1852; 4th edition. The subject referred to was Original Sin, p. 61.

† *The Church and Ministry*, by the Rev. C. Gore, M.A.; quoted from the *Symbolik*, i. 5.

Bishops; this concession was needful to give integrity to their theory.* They all, including Newman, Hefele, Döllinger, and Pusey, objected, if not to the doctrine of "Infallibility," at least to its formulation as a necessary dogma, and to other developments of the Romish cultus, but agreed that a moderate statement of the doctrine of the Primacy would be no fatal impediment to intercommunion. Though Möhler died in full fellowship with Rome, Dr. Schulte, at the first Congress of "Old Catholics," placed the new movement under his patronage, and under that of Döllinger, who never formally left the Romish fold. It is, therefore, with some degree of propriety that Möhler has been called the "creator of modern Catholicism." He certainly has been the "guide, philosopher, and friend" of that great host of European Christians who, in this nineteenth century, have dreamed that Christendom might be re-united on a foundation of "the historic episcopate" without Papal despotism.

In the year 1827 Möhler published another famous book: *Athanasius the Great, and the Church of his Time in Conflict with Arianism.* This work disclosed yet more extensive investigations into the history of the Church and its dogmas. It did something more. The author thought he saw in the conflict of the Arians with the Church a counterpart of the antagonism which Protestantism presented to the Church in his day. Since "history repeats itself," it occurred to him that modern heresy was but a reappearance of the old. He studied the history of the Protestant Churches, he read the lives and works of the Reformers, he compared their *Confessions* in order to exhibit his thesis the more effectively. The fuller results of his inquiries were embodied in the *Symbolik,* which appeared first in 1833. This work brought him European fame. When he died, five years later, he was engaged in the preparation of its sixth edition.

Those who are acquainted with the history of the lately deceased Cardinal of the Birmingham Oratory, will remember the coincidence in his experience with that of the German Catholic. The Anglican's experience is the later in date, and

* Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon.*

may have been influenced by the opinions of Möhler, whose *Symbolik* had been translated into English in 1843. Dr. Newman thus describes his own course of thought:

"My stronghold was antiquity: now here in the middle of the fifth century I found, as it seemed to me, Christendom of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite. . . . . What was the use of continuing the controversy if, after all, I was forging arguments for Arius or Eutyches, and turning devil's advocate against the much-enduring Athanasius and the majestic Leo" (*Apologia*, p. 114). "What the See of Rome was then such it is now; that which Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches were then, such are Luther and Calvin now; what the Eusebians or Monophysites then, such the English hierarchy now" (*Anglican Difficulties*, i. 379). "In 1839 I thought I saw in the [Monophysite] controversy and in the Ecumenical Council connected with it, a clear interpretation of the present state of Christendom, and a key to the different parties and personages who have figured on the Catholic or Protestant side at and since the era of the Reformers. . . . . During the autumn of the same year a paper I fell in with upon the schism of the Donatists (by Dr. Wiseman) deepened the impression . . . . and I felt dazzled and excited by the new view of things which was thus opened upon me. . . . . At the end of 1841 the translation of the doctrinal treatises of St. Athanasius brought up again before me the whole question of the Arian controversy. I clearly saw in that history, what I had not perceived in the first study of it, the same phenomenon which had already startled me in the history of St. Leo and the Monophysites" (*Anglican Difficulties*, i. 370).

Neither Möhler nor Newman, who about the same time had arrived at the same conclusions, paused to consider the difference between the doctrines denied by the heretics of the fourth century and those denied by the Reformers of the sixteenth. The former denied the Divinity of Christ, or the unity of His person; the latter denied the authority of the Bishop of Rome. When Newman had conceded to Möhler that the voice of the Church was the voice of God, it was necessary to allow that all opposers were all in the same condemnation: where the law of God is concerned, if any "stumble in one point he is become guilty of all." As the logicians would say, the *matter* of the offence in each case might differ, but the *form* was identical and brought all into the same condemnation. Both set themselves against tradition—the highest law of the Church—and both merited the highest censure. To be separate from the Church, which is in organic unity with its invisible Head,

is to be separate from Christ. As Dr. Bannerman says, "On the Cyprianic view of the Catholic Church this reasoning is irresistible." * To this Neo-Christianity, or Cyprianism, Newman and Liddon and their followers have fully committed themselves; but one may wonder that the nature of the conclusion did not produce some suspicion in the minds of some of these men respecting the solidity of the premises on which it rested.

To be consistent with this extraordinary conclusion, Newman has since had to "consent" to much for which he did not bargain. We find that Möhler also had to relinquish or modify some propositions which he had advanced, and to accept doctrines which once he did not receive. The view of the condition of man before the fall which he had elaborated in the first edition of the *Symbolik*, had to be withdrawn in later editions: it was found to be contrary to the decrees of Popes and the writings of Bellarmine. "Obedience" in the Roman discipline is not a merely nominal thing, and infallibility itself is largely conditioned by the party that happens to be in power.

Newman's dependence on Möhler has been noticed before to-day. "Dr. Döllinger said that it was a mistake in England that Newman had derived his theory of development from Möhler." This information is supplied by a writer in the *Guardian* of January 23, 1890. That writer, who uses the initials H. P. L., states that for thirty years he had annually visited Dr. Döllinger.† The learned German delighted "to discuss Möhler, with whom he had been on terms of close intimacy during their association with each other as brother professors at Munich, and whose essays he had himself edited after Möhler's death." There is little doubt that Möhler was the guide of Döllinger in the path of investigation and argument

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* *The Church of Christ*, i. 38.

† These are the initials of Canon Liddon. Intimations of this kind give an interesting revelation of the cultivated intimacy which has prevailed during the last few decades between the leading Anglicans and Continental Romanists. Mr. Gladstone's article in the *Speaker*, that of Canon MacColl's in the *Contemporary* for March, and Dr. Plummer's "Reminiscences," in the *Expositor* for March, all bear the same witness.

which made the latter an opponent of the extreme doctrine of the Papacy. When Möhler was transferred to Munich, Döllinger resigned his own chair of ecclesiastical history to him, and accepted that of dogmatic theology. Their association was full of sympathy in opinion and pursuits; and we cannot have a surer guide in regard to the connection between Möhler and Newman. But, though he might doubt whether Newman had directly borrowed his great doctrine of development from Möhler, Döllinger does not deny that he derived from him important suggestions. Mr. Palmer, who gives us a *Narrative of Events* connected with the early history of the Tractarians, tells us that "the doctrine of development (derived from the writings of De Maistre and Möhler, in which it is employed for the defence of Romanism) has been received without hesitation, and is now both publicly and privately advocated.* Romish controversialists have, within the last few years, devised this mode of evading the objection which is founded on the silence of primitive tradition in regard to the Papal supremacy, the worship of saints and angels, and other Romish doctrines and practices." Mr. Palmer also states that the Romanist had long relied on the defences of "unwritten tradition" and the *Disciplina Arcani*, but had been compelled to abandon them, and the doctrine of "development" was selected as the final redoubt. So that the idea was "in the air."

Wiseman, whose influence over himself Newman admits, was a great admirer of Möhler, and, if he did not sympathise with all his views, was glad to do his best to make current in England this convenient doctrine. In its more mature form this theory does not belong even to Möhler, but it is an easy corollary from his conception of the Church. If the Church is the ever-living representative of Christ, "in organic unity with Him," it will be natural to expect that new truths shall be ever and anon disclosed if only for the honour of the "visible head." The difficulty then arises how the boast of identity in the Church can be maintained if you once allow that forms and even doctrines have altered. One of the essential differences

* *A Narrative of Events*, by W. Palmer. Rivingtons, 1883. [Reprint of the edition of 1843.]

between the Romanist and the Protestant occurs here: the former alleges that the continuity of the Church is evident in its forms: the latter says it is only in its spirit. So that, actually, the acceptance of the theory of development is a concession by the Romanist to Protestant facts and arguments. But this concession was only made when men like Möhler and Wiseman and Newman had made themselves acquainted with all the facts of the case.

Towards fifty years ago there was more encouragement for friendly *rapprochements* between Anglicans and Romanists than now. There were on the Romish side learned, liberal, and progressive students of Church history like Möhler, Döllinger, Friedrich, Reithmayer, Hefele, and others. These were free to confess the vices of the Papacy, the corruptions of the Church, the superstitions in the popular faith and worship—especially in the extending Mariolatry, in the sale of indulgences, and in the burlesque of celibacy. On the Anglican side there were Newman, Froude, Manning, the Wilberforces, and many others, looking with eager eyes to the ancient patriarchates of Rome and Constantinople. Laymen, like the late Mr. Hope Scott, Mr. Beresford Hope, and Mr. Gladstone, lent willing ears to the promise that a world-wide unity of Bishops in the "succession," combining the Eastern and Western Churches, would furnish a final and irresistible rebuke to infidelity and "Dissent" alike, and its magnificence would seem to the world like the dawn of the latter-day glory. With what tender interest would men like Döllinger gaze upon the rapid progress of the "Catholic revival" in England, which was transferring scores of its clergy and aristocracy into the Romish communion every year! How earnestly did enthusiastic Puseyites look for some amendment in the hard ways of Rome in return for such sacrifices! But the sinister hand of the Jesuit spoiled everything. In A.D. 1854 was announced the ominous dogma of the "Immaculate Conception" of the Virgin. This cast a stumbling-block, disheartening indeed, in the way of those who thought they were in the path which should unerringly lead to "unity" on the episcopal foundation. But in 1870, *annus horribilis*, the dogma of "Infallibility" for ever closed the door of hope. The bubble that had drawn so many

votaries was one of the biggest and most brilliant which have ever cheated the human imagination, and its collapse will remain as one of the most memorable experiences of mankind.

In vain did Hefele and Döllinger, if not also Newman, protest. In vain was the appeal to Scripture, to history, to policy. It will be to the perpetual honour of Döllinger that he refused to "soil his soul" with the professed acceptance of a dogma which he believed to be false. Hefele and many others, including Newman, submitted to hold as heavenly truth that which they had denounced as very earthly error, or at least objected to as very inopportune doctrine. From that date the Anglican Churchman has begun to be aware that there is no chance of reunion with Rome except by absolute submission. Perversions have become more rare. Controversial Ritualists like Dr. Littledale and Mr. Gore have written treatises which expose the hollowness of the Papal pretensions. Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on the *Vatican Decrees* was but a sign of the shock which had befallen the Anglican camp. He had long been on terms of close friendship with Döllinger, and had even seen him so early in the history of the Oxford development that he reckons it to have been a virtue in the Romish ecclesiastic that he took no pains to pervert him. But the "Puseyite" has ceased to expect anything from Rome. In the providence of God an œcumenical Church, on the basis of the "undivided Church" of the fourth century, has become an absolute impossibility. The "Catholic Church" must betake itself to the foundation which was laid in the first century, for none other is left for unity to build on.

The appearance of the *Symbolik*, in 1833, "electrified men's souls and awakened a new movement of minds within and without Catholicism."* "Whatever of vigorous vitality is possessed by the most recent Catholic theological science is due to the labours of this man."† As Kurtz says, in this work "he combats Protestant doctrines with the weapons of Protestant science." His biographer adds, that "what many had thought or surmised, but had not in clear consciousness or

* Biography, in *Symbolik*, 5th edition.

† Hagenbach's *History of the Church*, ii. 496.

adequate expression, he clearly brought out." At this time Möhler had retreated somewhat from his earlier liberalism, and was intent upon making the best possible case for Romanism. His Catholic friends say that "his intelligence passed through different periods before it arrived at maturity and at certainty of doctrine."* It is not without reason that they attribute his lack of subservience to Church teachers to the condition of the German Universities in his day. There was a freedom assumed then by Catholic professors which made it possible for such men as Möhler and Döllinger to think and work. Since 1870 the Jesuit policy has brought in another *régime* everywhere, and no one challenges the oracle of infallibility.

Möhler had already said, in 1831, that the Reformation in Germany was a revolutionary movement. By it, he said, the quiet development of the Church in the Middle Ages and of its germs of goodness, was destroyed. Like his adversary, Baur, he had given lectures on "Symbolism," or the Science of Creeds, and thus collected material for his famous book. In this he carefully compared the teaching of the opposed Churches in regard to Original Sin, Justification, Good Works, Faith, the Sacraments, and the Church; and proceeded to review the minor sects, such as Anabaptists, Quakers, Moravians, Swedenborgians, Arminians, and Socinians, not overlooking the Methodists.

His chief information respecting the Wesleys he derives from Southey. However, in reviewing the items of the Methodist creed, he does not fail to notice its departure from Calvinistic theology. He quotes Fletcher's *Checks to Antinomianism*, and, in fact, travels himself on the same lines as Fletcher in the refutation of the doctrines of election and imputed righteousness. "To many of his [Möhler's] arguments against the exaggerated doctrine of imputation," says Dr. Pope, "we must concede their force. But the fundamental question of the relation of faith to justification, though stated with much subtilty, is not relieved of its unscriptural character." † Möhler is too astute to pass by the famous *Minutes*

* Goschler. † *Compendium*, ii. 435.

of 1770, in which Wesley says he cannot cross the line between "according to our works" and "for the sake of our works." In fact, he thought "Wesley was clearly very near the truth."* Properly considered, the occurrence of Methodism in the Protestant sphere was a reply to nearly all that Möhler had said.

The approximation of the Methodist doctrine of justification to that of Rome is more apparent than real. It was enough, however, to attract Möhler and Döllinger to a cursory study of the system. The latter says that "John Wesley was, next to Baxter, the most important man whom Protestant England has produced. . . . . He obtained effective support in his friend Fletcher, whose writings against the Protestant system are the most important that the theological literature of England in the latter part of the eighteenth century has to show." † He also asserts that "the experience of some years convinced Wesley and his brother Charles that Protestant justification by faith and Calvinistic predestination were the ruin of all serious religious life. 'We must all fall,' he wrote to his brother, 'through solidifianism, if we do not summon James to our help.' In 1770, a fact which shows strikingly his personal greatness, he was able to make his whole sect turn from Calvinism to Arminianism."

The change was remarkable enough, and its effects remain. It is in consequence of this great deliverance in the last century that the modern revolt against Calvinism has scarcely touched the Methodist Churches.‡ The agitation respecting eternal punishment and exact substitution has only reached them in a modified form; whereas in the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches of the Continent, of Scotland, England, and America, it has wrought widespread destruction. But there was no real discrepancy between the earlier and later creed of Wesley. He always held that Faith works by Love; that Regeneration is inseparable from Justification.

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* *Symbolik*, p. 457. † *The Church and the Churches*, p. 181 (1862).

‡ "I remember once," says Mr. Gladstone (*Speaker*, Jan. 18), "submitting to him [Döllinger] an observation on the perilous position in which an extreme predestinarianism appears to place the moral attributes of God, and therewith the entire scheme of belief. Even here he seemed not so much to concur as with a kind of reluctance to admit."

The protest of Wesley and Fletcher was against the position that good works had no part at all in the work of human salvation; that original sin in the unregenerate was absolute; that salvation depended on foregone decrees rather than upon the actions of responsible men. Against these, also, Möhler turned his powerful artillery. But, unfortunately, he confounded these perversions of truth with the essential results of Protestantism. With the real genius and higher aim of the Reformation he never came fully into sympathy. His skill in controversy betrayed him. He lingered over the logical failures and errors of interpretation made by the Reformers, until all chance of his arrival at a true estimate of the movement was lost. He also seemed to forget, at length, that Protestantism originally arose out of criticism upon and remonstrance with his own Church. Unwilling to be an apologist for the corruption and abuses of Romanism, he assumed the offensive as a skilful, keen critic of Protestant ideas and ways. He contrasted the concrete on the opposite side with the abstract on his own; as it has been well said, "he caricatured Protestantism and idealised Catholicism." Baur, in his reply to Möhler's principal work, shows that the advocate of Romanism had no right to claim for his book the title of *Symbolik*. That would assume that he had accepted the standpoint of the Protestant who sought by what is now called "the comparative study" of Confessions to arrive at dogmatic truth. On the contrary, the Romanist must assume that the dogmas of his Church are inspired and infallible truth; he can allow no place of authority to the statements of heretical parties. Besides, the *Syllabus* denies the right of any one to "reconcile the Church with modern science."

It must be allowed, however, that Möhler's picture of the Church—complete in its unity, glowing with heavenly purity and love, free from the discords and vulgarities of "Dissent"—fascinated many in England and Germany. He had revealed the weaknesses of the principal Protestant theological systems; he set in a powerful light the ideal Catholicism which all the faults of the Roman Church had not utterly buried. Though Hirsch and Marheineke as well as Baur replied to the *Symbolik*, no reply rose quite up to the level of Möhler's

production. Certainly, the Catholicism which he advocated was not that of the *Syllabus* and of infallible Popes. He shows no ardour in the defence of Mary-worship, and says nothing about modern miracles or indulgences.* He admits that Romanism must be judged by Scripture and by history. The result was that his views are not quoted as authoritative on many points of doctrine, and on some are expressly challenged. His doctrine on the essential matter of the *opus operatum* in the Sacrament—namely, that it was due to Christ and not to the elements or to the Sacrament itself alone—met with active opposition. But, however unlike the popular Romanism of Spain or Austria, his sketch of a divinely authorised Church, full of grace-giving ordinances, seemed to some to be little less than a revelation.

The controversy which the *Symbolik* aroused made Tübingen unsuitable for the continued residence of Möhler, and he accepted a professorship in Munich, a more largely Catholic city. His first lectures were given in theology; but, as already stated, his friend Döllinger vacated for him the chair of ecclesiastical history. Warm anticipations of extending success greeted the tall, handsome, and graceful professor, just in his prime, who had carried the war into the camp of the enemy as no Catholic advocate had done since the Reformation. But his health, never robust, soon began to fail. Influenza, which singularly enough was fifty years later the beginning of the fatal illness of his friend Döllinger, attacked him in 1837. On this supervened a development of phthisis, and his strength rapidly forsook him. In his last hours he had fever and delirium. Awaking at midnight from a short sleep he said, "Yes, I have just seen it; I will write a book; but now it is gone." His monument at Munich bears the inscription, *Defensor fidei, literarum decus, ecclesiæ solamen.*

What course such a thinker as Möhler might have taken if life had been prolonged, we may scarcely guess. He had begun to apply himself to the study of Scripture, and had given lectures on exegesis. His lectures on "Romans" were

* In 1845, Dr. Döllinger told Mr. Gladstone that in Germany the "development" of the doctrine of indulgences "scarcely existed." Since that day the profession which Tetzel followed has become widely established in the land of Luther.

never published. Continued life and prolonged inquiry might have made him a successful supporter of his friend Döllinger in what became a single-handed combat with Ultramontanism, and history might have been changed. But it is useless to speculate in this direction: we must take the man as we find him. His naturally keen intellect, quickened and enlightened by a liberal education—which, again, was enhanced by some special opportunities—did not allow him to defend the more conspicuous abuses and superstitions of his Church. But he did not live, as Döllinger did, to attain a fuller acquaintance with the methods and demands of modern criticism. His knowledge of Scripture was comparatively superficial, and he does not often refer to it.

Like "Catholic" advocates in general, he misleads himself and his readers by speaking of the Church of the third and fourth centuries as "the primitive Church." For instance, he says that "the form of the Mass" was in existence in the first days of the Church, but he can only refer to the liturgies of Antioch and Alexandria, not one of which is older than the fourth century. He quotes Irenæus on "Apostolical succession," but is quite oblivious of the effect of Irenæus's canon on Romish novelties. If nothing is to be believed but what Apostles had handed down, then the dogmas of the "Mass," of a separate priesthood, of an infallible Pope, must be renounced. Möhler could also be philosophical, and even mystical, at times. The following observations might have suited the volume of essays lately published at Oxford * :

"Those who misunderstand the needs of men and the lofty aim of our divine Redeemer in the institution of the Sacrament, usually object to it that it is but a rude, sensuous form, like the Manichean's, and, pursuing a false spiritual idea, reject the Catholic dogma. To such an one the cultus is spiritual only as it is fictitious. He presents to God the thoughts and resolutions of his own spirit. He does not refer to the outer, historical Christ, only to the ideal which has issued from his own subjectivity. But, since the revelation of the Logos has been outer and actual the inner worship must also have a positive and external basis; and since the manifestation of the Logos took form as an offering for the sin of man, this must be represented also. How, therefore, any one who has received the full significance of the Incarnation of the Godhead into his mind, and has seen that it is intended to lead him

* *Lux Mundi, or the Theology of the Incarnation*, 1890.

through the phenomenal into that which is the true and divine life; any one who has advanced to the view that the doctrine of pardon through Christ, with the apotheosising of man, and the impartation to him of a divine life, remains fruitless until it meets us in a wholly concrete form, and in the direct individual relation—how such an one, I say, cannot venerate in the Catholic Mass a divine instruction, I cannot comprehend." *

This is that "Theology of the Incarnation" which the later Oxford school, like their predecessors, Pusey and Wilberforce, desire to recommend to the English mind. The history of the Archdeacon, and of many others, proves that the logical result of this dogmatic position is that the Church of Rome is the only Church of Christ. Wilberforce laid it down that "the Sacraments, which are the chief means of binding us to the mystical body of Christ, derive their efficacy from the influence of His body natural."† Having proceeded thus far, it was inevitable that he should next unite himself to the Church whose Sacraments he could not deny to be valid. Grant that the Church is a "visible body," that the Sacraments are "the chief means of uniting us to the mystical body of Christ," that the Sacraments of the Romish Church in relation to the one body are valid, and there can be but one conclusion as it seems to us.

It is quite possible that Möhler was referring to the theory of an ideal Christ, as advanced by Schleiermächer, when he argued that the only alternative to the Mass is the repudiation of the historical Christ.‡ This is but one instance of a frequent unfairness with which his argument is vitiated. As we have before intimated, his acquaintance with real Protestantism was very imperfect, and derived more from books or controversies than from actual contact with its life. If he had known more of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which the Reformation brought into prominence, he might have found reason to modify some of his opinions.

That the Anglican party has been dependent for books of devotion upon Roman Catholic authors has long been a reproach, and was vigorously urged by Monsignor Capel some

* *Symbolik*, p. 318. † Wilberforce: *The Doctrine of the Incarnation*, p. 255.

‡ Dean Lefroy, in his recent book on *The Christian Ministry*, p. 573, &c., shows that the main positions of Mr. Gore (whose work, on the *Ministry*, he so well refutes), are traceable to Möhler. See also Dr. Fairbairn's article in the *Contemporary* for Feb. 1890.

years ago. It is also fairly certain that they have been diligent students of the dogmatic teaching of the Papal schools. None amongst them has become conspicuous in Biblical learning except Dr. Pusey, and he only in the Old Testament, which his office in the University required him to know. They have habitually disparaged the great authors of their own Church, such as Usher, Barrow, and Hammond, who were strongly Protestant, even while they defended High Church theories. The evangelical interpretation and life of the Nonconformist Churches they disdainfully ignore. On the other hand, Möhler, Döllinger, and even Probst, have been and are their chosen teachers and guides.* They confess, with much emotion, their "annual visits," extensive correspondence, and overflowing sympathy with their foreign friends in common misfortunes. English Bishops, for the first time since the Reformation, are present without any disguise at services where the "elements" are adored. An "Old Catholic Congress" would scarcely be complete without a deputation of Anglican dignitaries. But to one-half of the Christians of their own land, who worship the same Saviour, and hold every doctrine of Scripture, and would welcome true intercommunion, they still say *non possumus.* The schism is too wanton and unreasonable to be permanent: "a house divided against itself cannot stand." If a *modus vivendi* could be devised by which Döllinger and Pusey could come into relation, it is absurd to say that it is impossible for one to be invented which should include Westcott and Moulton, Liddon and Dale, Ellicott and Spurgeon. A true-hearted effort towards "Home Reunion" on some broader basis than that of the "historic episcopate," would at least be free from the imputation that the leaders of a "Protestant" Church were in league with its direst foes. That this suspicion has not been without a foundation no one can now pretend to deny; that the conspiracy has not been a success is evidently due to the hand of Providence more than to any lack of zeal in those who have engaged in it.

* A writer in the *Church of England Quarterly Review*, January 1890, says of Mr. Baring-Gould's book on the *Eucharist*, that the "results when they are not Probst's" are not to be depended upon.

Art. VII.—CURRENT ETHICAL PROBLEMS.

On Right and Wrong. By William Samuel Lilly. London: Chapman & Hall. 1890.

WE are often reminded that the present is a period of transition in religious beliefs; it is not so generally recognised that we are passing through a crisis of most serious import in the region of ethics. That there is a close connection between these two facts, few will dispute; but we do not wish to touch that point at present. All close observers of the signs of the times must be aware that a momentous change is passing over the standards by which men judge of right and wrong. The old foundations have, with a terribly large proportion of the present generation, given way, and new ones have not yet been found. The fundamental position from which Mr. Herbert Spencer starts his *Data of Ethics* is, that, in his opinion, "supernatural ethics" is defunct, that moral injunctions have lost the authority given by their supposed sacred origin, and "the secularisation of morals is becoming imperative." Mr. Cotter Morison said substantially the same thing in the introduction to his *Service of Man* and evolutionists like Mr. Leslie Stephen have been as if groping their way amidst tottering walls and falling stones to find a foundation on which to rebuild what they consider a doomed edifice. We do not take by any means so gloomy a view of the situation, but there is enough in the present condition of society and morals amongst us to raise most serious questioning. It is not a question of practice, but of standard. When the standard is true and the moral ideal high, it is hard enough to keep feeble human nature steady in the pursuit of that which all acknowledge to be pure and noble. But if the very goal towards which the racers are striving has vanished, or appears to be itself changing its place, what confusion will there not be in the arena? To follow the call of duty, "stern daughter of the voice of God," may often be hard, though her tones be clear and her words unmistakable; but "if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?"

This, however, is by no means all. The seriousness of the symptoms to which we now allude does not consist merely in a measure of uncertainty concerning the right and a certain vagueness in the ethical standards of our time. There is danger around us. Ominous sounds of distant thunder are in the air. There are indications of upheaval in society, of which we do not wish to speak in alarmist tones, but which have a very decided bearing on the point in hand. We are proud of our nineteenth-century civilisation, but it does not need very close observation to perceive how much hollowness and rottenness lurks under a fair exterior. There are dangers on the one hand from the luxury, the self-indulgence, not to say the profligacy, of the rich, and, on the other hand, from the terrible condition of the poor. "I know the East-end of London very well," said Dr. Ryle, the Bishop of Liverpool, "the men are living there little better than beasts." It is pitiful to read of the condition of our modern poor, "their soured spirits, and their stunted forms, their lives without enjoyment, and their deaths without hope." The civilisation of to-day has been described as "the paradise of the rich, the purgatory of the middle classes, and the hell of the poor." But Victor Hugo put a sharp edge on that saying when he added that "the paradise of the rich is made out of the hell of the poor." We do not expect to find in these statements more than the measure of truth which is usually found in an epigram, and it would be easy to set forth another side. But the danger of the situation, in our opinion, lies not so much in the existing evils as in the absence of a generally recognised standard by which they are to be remedied. It is a thin crust which separates civilisation from the red-hot lava of human passions, and the explosive forces of moral anarchy. And if that crust be rapidly thinning, eroded and worn away by teaching which destroys the authority and weakens the sanctions of moral law, it is time to beware. There is no need to paint the picture in lurid colours, to forget all that makes life pure, and sweet, and good, the millions of tranquil lives, the tens of thousands of happy homes made bright by pious and loving hearts. But when pestilence is abroad in the earth, it is of no avail to point to whole neighbourhoods

untouched by it, to the thousands uncontaminated by its polluting and fatal breath. It is hard enough to maintain truth and purity when moral standards are universally accepted, and moral sanctions felt to be universally binding. But when these foundations are being gradually sapped or openly shaken, it becomes every good citizen, not to say every good Christian, to keep a watchful look-out for dangers ahead, and utter a timely warning.

On these and kindred subjects, Mr. W. S. Lilly has written freely and ably in current periodical literature. His books, *Ancient Religion and Modern Thought*, and *A Century of Revolution*, touched upon these topics more or less directly, but in the volume before us Mr. Lilly reprints, with important additions, some essays which go to the very heart of the subject, and raise in a very practical and impressive manner a number of questions, which surely may be pronounced "burning," if any deserve the name. As a devout Roman Catholic, Mr. Lilly has his own cure for the evils he describes, and here and there he points out the direction in which he himself thinks men ought to move. He does not write, however, as a Roman Catholic, but argues out his case on moral grounds with a breadth and earnestness which make his volume a valuable contribution to the cause of righteousness and truth. He wishes especially to point out the evil tendencies of the Materialism of the day, and, as a philosopher, he has a Transcendentalism of his own to oppose to it. It is not easy, as a rule, to interest readers in any branch of moral philosophy, but Mr. Lilly's style is so clear and forcible, and his pages are so full of apt illustrations and telling phrases, that few intelligent readers can find him dull. We do not propose to review the volume in detail, and we may be doing some injustice to Mr. Lilly by abstaining from a description and examination of the metaphysical position on which he bases his arguments. But we hope our readers will consult the book for themselves. We use it at this time chiefly to point out certain grave symptoms in the moral life of our day, indicating only in a few sentences what is Mr. Lilly's diagnosis of the disease and our own.

One fundamental moral feature of our time is a predomi-

nant sentimentalism. It has its fairer side, but it implies a feebleness of moral fibre which weakens the sense of right and dissolves away the claims of justice in a flood of tears over the temptations to which the criminal was exposed, and the suffering and hardships involved in the sentence pronounced upon him. Sympathy with the weak, the ignorant, and the erring, is a valuable and important element of character; but history has shown how insufficient a guide in morals is the unrestrained sympathy of those who are themselves erring and weak. If not strengthened and kept in their place by a manly maintenance of right at all costs, and by something of a Divine hatred of wrong as wrong, our moral moorings will very soon give way. When, in addition to this, the existence of free-will is more than doubted and the reality of responsibility virtually denied, the position becomes more serious still. Balzac complains that in his time crime was made poetical and "tears were drivelled over assassins," but it is left for our own generation to advance the paradox, that the only meaning of punishment is to be found in its effect on others, and its sole end is deterrent and preventive.

On this point Mr. Lilly has some remarks which are well worth laying to heart. His tone and standard are undoubtedly high, and his medicine will probably be found too severe a tonic for many in these degenerate days. Many will shrink from the plain, strong phraseology. "I say that the primary object of punishment is not the protection of society nor the reformation of the criminal. I say that it is first and before all things vindictive." Mr. Lilly himself anticipates that such language will repel many, and regards it as no satisfactory sign of the times that he should have to justify what he holds to be the elementary truth that punishment is involved in the transgression, is, as Hegel expresses it, "the other half of crime." We must quote a portion of Mr. Lilly's own words on this subject, so admirably do they correct the lax views which are rapidly gaining ground amongst us:

"Punishment is not something arbitrary. Wrong-doing—called variously, according to the point of view from which it is regarded, sin, crime, delict—is the assertion of a man's own particular self-will against the Universal Will, which is supreme reason, supreme right, for reason and right are synonymous.

Penalty is the re-assertion of the Universal Will. It is not a wrong done to the criminal. It is a right done to him to redress his wrong—a right due to him as a *person*. It is a manifestation, an application of that reason wherein he, too, consists, and which he has outraged. His compulsion is undone. He is restored to his right. The moral law must rule over all: over the good by their submission to its behests, over the evil by their endurance of its penalties. Justice is an absolute and aboriginal principle of it. And we shall find no better definition of justice than Ulpian's: 'The constant and perpetual will to render to every man his right.' Punishment is the right of the wrong-doer. It is the application of justice to him. It is, in Augustine's fine phrase, 'the justice of the unjust.' The wrong whereby he has transgressed the law of right has incurred a debt. Justice requires that the debt be paid, that the wrong be expiated" (pp. 127, 128).

Plato, Augustine, Robert Browning—here are three great thinkers and teachers of diverse age and history who concur in insisting upon this primal thesis, plainest law, which is in danger of sinking out of sight of this generation. It rests upon a fundamental instinct, and in our day instincts are distrusted, being either despised as an inheritance from the times of religious convictions now extinct, or explained away in terms of physiology, which is much more to the taste of moderns than any theology whatsoever. But this is not a question of theology. Such a jurist as Sir Henry Maine has pointed out that two instincts lie at the root of criminal law: to avenge and to deter. "Revenge," said Bacon, "is a kind of wild justice," and the criminal law of States, when well ordered, conserves the justice without the wildness. As Mr. Lilly says, "the natural tendency of an injured person is to do unto the offender as he has done, *and more also*." But the early *lex talionis* of the Jewish law, and still more fully the Christianised legislation of later times, was intended to check revenge, not to encourage it. Christianity, however, does not forbid "resentment," in Butler's sense of the word. Moral indignation is the *due* of sin and evil, and penalty is the correlative in actual life of such just and pure feeling. As Augustine said, *nulla pœna, quanta pœna!* A world of no punishment—that may be a conceivable definition of heaven to the wrong-doer, in effect it implies a very definition of hell.

To pass to a concrete example of the lowering of the ethical standard that is taking place amongst us, we may refer to the

Ethics of Marriage. There are few more important or more difficult subjects for the moralist than this. It is not one that can be discussed in detail in these pages; but it would not be too much to say that the Christian view of marriage is essential to the maintenance of Western civilisation, as that phrase is generally understood, while it is lamentably certain that that lofty view of the marriage-union is fast losing its hold upon most of the States of Europe, the United States of America, and the British Colonies. Instead of viewing matrimony as St. Paul did, as a *μέγα μυστήριον*, an indissoluble union possessing a sacramental character of its own, this generation is fast coming to regard it as a mere civil contract, having its uses no doubt in the present constitution of society, but the binding character of which must ere long be considerably relaxed, while the whole question of the regulation of divorce is regarded as one of expediency only. The proceedings of the Divorce Court in this country unfortunately speak for themselves only too loudly in the public prints; in America the relaxation of the marriage laws which obtains in many of the States is already felt to be a grave social danger; in Australia, the clamour for a freer permission of divorce has wrung from the Government at home a reluctant assent. "In the Protestant parts of Germany"—we quote from Mr. Lilly—"where the influence of Lutheranism from the first has been strongly hostile to Catholic matrimonial traditions, the nuptial tie has become a mere cobweb. I was assured the other day, that at a recent dinner-party in one of the provinces of Prussia, five out of eight ladies present were the divorced wives of one of the guests."

On this subject Mr. Lilly may not be a perfectly unbiassed witness; but there can be no question that he is right in maintaining as far as may be the loftiness of the Christian standard, amidst the growing laxity permitted by civil laws, a laxity for which in these latter days it is no longer allowable to plead the hardness of men's hearts. For overt attacks are being made by educated, and presumably refined, men and women upon marriage itself, as a useless or even mischievous bond. Mrs. Mona Caird and Mr. Grant Allen may not carry much weight outside a narrow circle of "advanced

thinkers," but their recent utterances on this subject are a sign of the times, which moralists cannot afford to ignore. "Legalised life-long monogamy," forms a bond all too strait for these advocates of free thought and free living. Mr. Karl Pearson, in his *Ethic of Free Thought*, from which Mr. Lilly quotes a long extract, holds that "the socialistic movement, with its new morality and the movement for sex equality, must surely and rapidly undermine our current marriage customs and marriage laws." Mr. Pearson holds, and there can be little question that he speaks for many besides himself, that "sex relationship, both as to form and substance, ought to be a pure question of taste, a simple matter of agreement between the man and the woman, in which neither society nor the State would have any need or right to interfere. Children apart, it is unbearable that Church or society should in any official form interfere with lovers." There is no mincing matters here. No standard of duty or right is recognised by this representative of free thought and free love; it is simply "unbearable" that the State of the future should fetter in the slightest degree promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, except so far as the interests of children are concerned.

There are, however, offences against the law of purity with which the State concerns itself but slightly, or not at all, and here the rapid relaxation of moral standard has made itself painfully evident. Mr. Matthew Arnold has spoken of the worship of "the goddess Lubricity," which is so grossly prevalent on the other side of the Channel. Beyond question France has much to answer for, and a pestilential stream of foul literature pours forth from that country to pollute the minds and debauch the morals of other countries of Europe. But we cannot as a nation afford to be pharisaical. It may not be true, as the Parisian says, that the Englishman is as licentious as himself, though he doubles his offence by masking it with hypocrisy. But we have our own sins to answer for. Zola writes in France; but he is widely, even eagerly, read in England. The name of the evil is French; but the reality, alas! is not peculiar to any one country. Our own Laureate writes bitterly of the art and the literature of the day:

> "Authors—essayist, atheist, novelist, realist, rhymester, play your part,
> Paint the mortal shame of nature with the living hues of Art;
> Feed the budding rose of boyhood with the drainage of your sewer,
> Send the drain into the fountain, lest the stream should issue pure.
> Set the maiden fancies wallowing in the troughs of Zolaism—
> Forward, forward, ay and backward, downward too into the abysm."

Mr. Lilly's testimony is sadly given in the same direction, and he quotes, to confirm his own judgment, the language of one who always chooses his words most carefully, the pure and devoted Dean of St. Paul's:

> "On every side we may discern the tokens how the old reverence for woman and for that virtue of chastity which is the very centre of her moral being, is being sapped among us, as Materialism advances. The 'Christian idea of purity,' the Dean of St. Paul's observes, 'has still a hold upon our society, imperfectly enough. Can we ask a more anxious question than whether this hold will continue? No one can help seeing, I think, many ugly symptoms. The language of revolt is hardly muttered; the ideas of purity, which we have inherited and thought sacred, are boldly made the note and reproach of "the Christian".' 'Ugly symptoms' indeed abound on every side. Think--but briefly—of one of them; of the apotheosis of prostitution, which is a distinctive note of our epoch. Hitherto, the infamy of the courtesan's trade has at least been generally recognised. It has been reserved for the Materialism of the nineteenth century to make of this unclean creature an object of admiration, of envy, nay of respect; the heroine of France, the type of comedy, the theme of romance, the arbitress of fashion, the model curiously and attentively studied by great ladies with daughters to marry, by *débutantes* with husbands to find. *Hoc fonte derivata clades.* No one can go much into society without learning how widely spread the corruption is" (pp. 31-33).

We need quote no more. The subject is nauseous, and of some of its details it is a shame even to speak. But it is not long since Mr. J. C. Morison was contrasting "the barren prostitute" with "the prolific spouse," greatly to the disadvantage of the latter, while the lofty words in which Mr. Lilly sets forth the moral loveliness and purity of the marriage-bond, as Christ understood it and defined it, will be, we fear, but as pearls before swine to many modern readers. The Christian ideal to them is not even beautiful, or, if it be viewed as abstractly desirable, the bondage it implies is deemed practically "unbearable." What wonder that good men should tremble as before a great crisis in morals, for if the purity of family and personal life be threatened, where is

the authority to which moralists can appeal, when the bonds of religion are discarded and Utilitarianism reigns supreme?

One of Mr. Lilly's most interesting chapters is entitled *The Ethics of Journalism.* There is no need to enlarge upon the immense and still rapidly increasing importance in our day of "The Fourth Estate." If literature not long ago took upon itself the functions of the pulpit, the Press has latterly usurped to a large extent the functions of literature. Roughly speaking, it is the only literature and the only pulpit recognised by a large majority of our countrymen. It has not destroyed the influence of the pulpit and of literature in religious and cultivated circles, but its wide and shallow flood is rapidly sweeping out of the way many ancient landmarks, many noble trees and standing fences. We have heard, too, of "The New Journalism," which one might have hoped in these days of progress would have meant a journalism purer, truer, nobler, with more self-restraint and moral vigour, more charity and generosity than the old. Whether these are the characteristics of the more recent type of journalistic enterprise, let those who know it determine. The Press claims—and justly claims, if the word be rightly understood—its "liberty." It has its rights, it has also most sacred corresponding duties. On these points Mr. Lilly well says:

"The liberty of the Press, like all liberty, means action within the great principles of ethics, not emancipation from them. . . . . Journalism should be the principal instrument of publicity, that greatest terror to evil-doers; the most energetic mode of resistance to tyranny, because its protest is perpetual; the most noble, because its force lies in the moral consciousness of men; and therefore the most effective auxiliary of truth and justice. . . . . This then is the liberty which the journalist may rightly claim: liberty to state facts, liberty to argue upon them, liberty to denounce abuses, liberty to advocate reforms. This is his right. What is the corresponding duty? It is clearly indicated in Lord Erskine's words: 'Every man seeking to enlighten others with what his own reason and conscience have dictated to him as truth.' What the journalist owes to his readers is truth. Veracity is the very law of his action. . . . . Accurately to state the facts, fairly to comment upon them, correctly to sum them up, and candidly to indicate the conclusions to which they point—such, surely, is the ethical obligation laid upon the newspaper publicist. The masses who look to him for guidance have a right to expect so much from him. 'Man consists in truth,' says Novalis. The journalist, of all men, should consist in truth" (pp. 164–167).

With this one cannot help comparing Ruskin's savage definition of modern newspapers—"acres of badly printed lies." Ruskin is a poet, or a prophet, or an epigrammatist, and must not be taken *au pied de lettre,* but in delineating the virtues of modern journalism, one would not exactly begin with veracity. All newspapers are not, of course, equally to blame, and in those that are culpable it is not the "lie direct" of which one usually has cause to complain. It is the *suppressio veri,* or, at the worst, the *suggestio falsi,* that does the mischief. But, meanwhile, the love of truth for its own sake, never too strong in frail mortals, becomes daily dulled and its fine edge blunted, till we cease to expect from a journalist, simply because he is a journalist, that accuracy aud precision which are necessary to the very outline and lineaments of Truth. Alas! it is still "the glistening and softly spoken lie, the amiable fallacy, the patriotic lie of the historiau, the provident lie of the politician, the zealous lie of the partisan, the merciful lie of the friend, and the careless lie of each man to himself, that cast that black mystery over humanity, through which we thank any man who pierces, as we would thank one who dug a well in a desert." If the thirst for truth still remains with us, we fear it is not due to the care for it exhibited in modern journalism. Mr. Lilly brings a stern indictment against the newspapers of the day—English, American, Continental journals, journals religious and anti-religious—none are exempt. He holds that to it is largely due that corruption of the intellect which is as evil as the corruption of the flesh, and in many respects even more dangerous.

His closing sentences are very severe:

> "I think I may truly say that the newspaper press during the last quarter of a century has done more than anything else to de-ethicise public life; to lay the axe to the root of duty, self-devotion, self-sacrifice, the elements of the moral greatness of a nation, which is its true greatness. Such is the practical working of the philosophy of relativity in the sphere of journalism" (p. 173).

Verily, these are bitter words; but when the moralist of the future judges the character of the latter part of the present century, we fear that somewhere among the forces tending gradually but surely to the degradation of its ethical standard will be found the prevailing character of its journalism.

Adulteration Acts! We refuse to allow our tradesmen to give margarine for butter or put *cocculus indicus* into our beer, but who is to purify our newspapers and see that the daily mental pabulum of the million is free from that which would relax the moral fibre, corrupt the intellect, or slowly poison the life of the nation?

Larger questions are raised by Mr. Lilly when he comes to discuss the ethics of politics and the ethics of property. We regret that we can only glance at the important questions he raises, and the answers he himself is disposed to give. Is morality the same for nations as for individuals? Lord Lytton, in his address a year or two ago, as Rector of Glasgow University, answered: "No, because there is no sanction of public morality." He considers public morality to be merely a branch of prudence. This, as Mr. Lilly shows, is only too likely to resolve itself into mere respect for force, and the denial that there is an absolute law of right and wrong in the universe. Mr. Lilly lays his finger upon a deep tap-root of mischief in modern political life when he says: "Respect for 'established facts'—that is the favourite phrase—without the least regard to their moral aspect, is precisely one of the most notable signs of the times. Whence do our public men in democratic countries—and all countries are becoming democratic—profess to derive their rules of conduct? From what is called public opinion. And what is an appeal to public opinion, but an appeal to force? The special kind of force now dominant is the force of numbers, disguised as public opinion. The political faith of the day is that what the numerical majority—miscalled the people—wills is just; that it is possible to determine what is right and wrong in the public order by counting heads. No absolute rule of right or wrong is admitted. All is relative. No homage is paid to social truths and principles, eternal, immutable, paramount, against which the voice of the largest and loudest multitude should be powerless." Here is a note which needs to be clearly and vigorously sounded in our day if the reign of democracy in the twentieth century is not to mean the advent of moral anarchy There is no need to "resist the tide of democracy," as the current phrase runs, as if the government of the people, by the people,

for the people, were in itself an evil. But it must be distinctly understood who "the people" are and how their judgment, which is to be paramount, is arrived at. They are not the true friends of the people who wait for the crowds to shout and then shout with the loudest, still less those who put cries into the lips of the many in order to advance the ambition of the few. "To worship force," said Dr. Arnold, "is devil-worship," and there are other kinds of force besides the best arms of precision and the biggest battalions. A crowd, whether in the streets, or at the polling-booths, may be only a beast with a thousand heads, and although Mr. Lilly half apologises for his earnest words as "mere midsummer madness" in the ears of many, we have been delighted to read them in his pages, and should be still more delighted to hear similar words from the lips of those who aspire to lead the peoples of to-day:

"I say that at the root of the laws of a nation lies conscience. They are judgments of right and wrong. They are essentially derivative. They owe their majesty, their life, to the eternal truths of morals, of which they are the transient settings. They are, as Plato taught, adaptations to social wants of that Universal Reason, which is the supreme rule of ethics; supreme over nations, as over the individuals of whom nations are composed; and no more to be violated by nations than by individuals without incurring the retribution which is 'the other half of crime,' its natural and necessary complement. St. Paul, upon a certain memorable occasion, reasoned before the trembling Roman governor of 'righteousness, temperance, and—judgment to come.' The judgment does come. 'Rarely,' sings the Latin poet, 'has punishment lost sight of the criminal, slow though her foot be.' Rarely? Never. Dark as are the ways of that Eternal Justice which rules the world, we can see enough of them to be sure of that. And the longer the penalty is deferred, the worse for the people that has to pay it" (p. 156).

The *Ethics of Property* would require at least an article to itself, but we fully agree with Mr. Lilly and other enlightened observers that the importance of Socialism in the present day consists in the strength and earnestness of its protest against existing evils, and the aspirations after better things which it expresses. So long as Socialistic advocates point out the enormous, the steadily increasing evils of our present economic condition, their arguments are cogent and their appeals strike home: when it comes to the adoption of their

remedies, wise men shake their heads. A system which reduces all labour to the level of unskilled labour, which is in conflict with man's natural rights, and is fatal to human liberty, stands self-condemned. "Its method," says Mr. Lilly, "is like that of the well-intentioned but unwise father, who is related by Mr. Samuel Weller to have cut off his son's head, in order to cure him of squinting."

These are some of the chief ethical problems started in this powerful and timely book. Mr. Lilly does not touch upon the Ethics of the Turf. It might be thought that a chapter on this subject would be like the famous one on the snakes of Iceland—"There are none." But a discussion of the terrible prevalent evils of betting and gambling and of speculation in commercial life would have been very much in place in such a volume as this, and it would have enabled Mr. Lilly to point some most forcible lessons as to the root of existing demoralisation and the degradation of the ethical standard that is going on amongst us to-day. It remains only that we point out in a word or two what our author considers the root of the mischief to be, and what is our own position in relation to current ethical controversy.

Mr. Lilly holds that the terribly rapid changes in our ethical standard are due to the materialistic tendencies of the day. But he does not use the word materialism as a convenient missile to hurl at the heads of metaphysical opponents. He points out that such men as Professor Clifford, Professor Huxley, and Mr. Herbert Spencer agree as putting aside as unverifiable all that the senses cannot verify, everything beyond the bounds and methods of physical science. And nineteenth-century phenomenism, he contends, is in its essence materialism, though decked out in metaphysical trappings which partially disguise it. The following passage very fairly describes Mr. Lilly's position:

"It will be found in the long run that there are two, and only two, schools of thought, which I shall denominate Transcendentalism and Materialism, until better terms are forthcoming. Transcendentalism looks beyond experience for the explanation of the universe, and holds it as a fundamental truth that the nature of our thinking being imposes our way of conceiving, of valuing, and even of apprehending sensible things. Materialism maintains that in those sensible things must be sought the explanation of our ideas and of our

wills. Transcendentalism postulates a First Cause possessing perfect freedom and recognises true causality in man also, with his endowment of limited and conditioned liberty of the will. Materialism holds that we can know nothing beyond phenomena, denies causation, in the proper sense of the word, and demands, in the words of Mr. Huxley, 'the banishment from all regions of human thought of what we call spirit and spontaneity.' Transcendentalism insists upon the unity of our consciousness, upon the *Ichheit des, Ego*—the self-hood of the Me—as the original and ultimate fact of man's existence. Materialism dissolves the Ego into a stream of sensations, makes of consciousness an accidental and superficial effect of mechanism, and exhibits man as a mere sequence of physical action and reaction. Transcendentalism maintains the absolute nature of ethics; the immutable distinction between moral good and moral evil. Materialism refers everything to heredity, temperament, environment, convention. Transcendentalism affirms the supersensuous, yes, let us venture upon the word, the supernatural in man, and finds irrefragable evidence of it in

'this main miracle, that thou art thou
With power on thine own act, and on the world.'

Materialism makes of the soul, with Professor Tyndall, 'a poetical rendering of a phenomenon which refuses the yoke of ordinary mechanical laws,' explains will and conscience as merely a little heat and force organised, and in Coleridge's pungent phrase, 'peeps into death to look for life, as monkeys put their hands behind a looking-glass.' Such are the two schools of thought which are dividing the intellect of the world" (pp. 15–17).

We have quoted this passage at length because it expresses clearly and forcibly the fundamental distinction between two diametrically opposed habits of thought and theories of the universe; a distinction which affects the tone and tendency of all thinkers to-day in their dealing with all the problems of our complex life. The distinction is radical and insuperable. One view must be right, and the other wrong; no reconciliation or compromise is possible. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the distinction which Mr. Lilly has described so clearly, and the significance of which he freqently emphasises in the course of his book. Of the current philosophy of the day it must be said in Michelet's striking phrase, *Il me prend mon moi*—it robs me of myself. With self-hood and free-will responsibility vanishes, or the ghost of it only remains in a certain liability to punishment with which society threatens me if I do evil, not because the evil-doing is really mine, but because thus I may be dragooned from without into avoiding that which, without the motives drawn from

my desire of pleasure and fear of pain, I could not keep myself from committing. Virtue and vice therefore are, according to this school, as M. Taine says, "merely products, like sugar and vitriol," and the evil in the world, as Mr. John Morley tells us, is "the result of bad education and bad institutions."

Who can be surprised that teaching of this kind is rapidly producing its characteristic evil fruit? Not that the growing laxity observable is always, or perhaps usually, the direct fruit of the teaching. The philosopher, whether of the Porch or the Garden, does not directly influence the multitude. But it does not take long for ethical teaching to filter through from the few to the many, especially when it tends towards a relaxation of those bonds of obligation which are always felt as unwelcome restraints, and which many chafe against as galling and intolerable. Let it not be understood for a moment that we are describing the reigning "philosophers" of the day as consciously setting before themselves the relaxation of existing bonds of duty as an end to be pursued. Here and there are found those who purposely and even vehemently make war upon "Puritanism," and all its works and ways, but the ethical tone of writers like George Eliot, Mr. John Morley, and Mr. Frederic Harrison, is in many of its aspects very high and pure. But the influence of generations of Christianity is felt in the blood of those who repudiate its doctrines, while they exhibit the power of its ethics by living and teaching a higher morality than their creed can warrant. What the influence of the phenomenism or materialism of the day would be, if ever by any possibility it succeeded in sweeping the Christian religion out of a country or a generation, it is not difficult to conceive. "By their fruits ye shall know them," and already a bitter first crop has come up from the seed diligently sown during the later years of the present century, which augurs ill for the opening decades of the next.

So far we have travelled with Mr. Lilly, and we thank him heartily for his vigorous and much needed protest against the reigning materialistic and evolutionary ethics of the day, and his attempt to bring us back to "nobler manners, purer laws." We may hope much from the appearance of

such books as his, heralding here and there a return to that higher and sounder philosophy which we trust will soon take the place of the shallow deductions from the data of physical science which at present dominate too much of our thinking; but for ourselves we do not look to the triumph of a sound philosophy to bring about the desired results in our codes of ethics and the conduct of life. Negatively, much may be effected by this means in removing hindrances and stumbling-blocks out of the way. Positively—and here, no doubt, Mr. Lilly would fully agree with us—pure philosophy can accomplish little. Religion alone can afford a stable and effective basis for morals. Religion alone can raise and purify the ethical standard with adequate discrimination and penetration. Religion alone can furnish the requisite moral dynamic. Adequate and sustaining impulse is the one thing which systems of moral philosophy, however pure and lofty, have always failed to supply. Of what use are the masts and sails, the ropes and manifold gear of a vessel, if there be no propitious breeze to fill the loose, flapping canvas, and impel her on her way? Of what use are the rods and cranks, the cylinder and piston of an engine, if there be no steam to drive it—fuel enough for its fires, but no flame to kindle them? Never was there system of morals yet which sufficed for the heart and soul and life of man. In the inability of man to fashion for himself a moral code to guide his life, and still more in his inability to live up to the standard he has himself devised, we find a proof that man is made for God himself, restless and dissatisfied until he find Him. The human soul thirsts for the living God; the brackish waters of Materialism cannot detain men long, even the purer streams of true philosophy cannot satisfy them: they must drink at the fountain-head. The current ethical problems of our day will not be solved, the crisis in morals through which we are passing will not be satisfactorily ended, till the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ determines the standard, sways the motives and directs the life of the generations, the men and women whom He died to redeem from sin, and whom He is able to save to the uttermost, because He lives for ever to make intercession for them.

ART. VIII.—DOCTRINE AND CHURCH IN THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

1. *Die Gemeindeordnung in den Pastoralbriefen.* Von Dr. ERNST KÜHL. Berlin. 1885.
2. *Die Pastoralbriefe, kritisch und exegetisch behandelt.* Von Dr. H. J. HOLTZMANN, Ord. Professor der Theologie in Strassburg. Leipzig. 1880.
3. *Dissertation on the Christian Ministry.* By Bishop LIGHTFOOT. Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, pp. 179–267 (3rd edition).
4. *The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches.* Bampton Lectures for the year 1880. By Dr. EDWIN HATCH.

A YEAR ago (October 1889) we entered upon an examination of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus, in view of the critical questions so long under discussion touching their origin and authenticity. We proposed to inquire into "(1) *the vocabulary and style* of the Pastoral Epistles; (2) *their personal and circumstantial details*; (3) *their doctrinal features*; (4) *the ecclesiastical situation* which they assume."* In that paper we discussed the first and second of these topics, "which supply," as we then said, "a distinct and to our mind demonstrative argument for the strict Pauline authorship." To this previous article we must refer our readers for the statement of this part of our case, and also for such a general survey of the history and bearings of the critical problem as is necessary for its adequate comprehension.

It is, however, on the latter grounds, on the nature of their theological and ecclesiastical contents, that the opposition to St. Paul's authorship of these letters is chiefly based. Holtzmann is almost alone among his associates in seeking to ground his theory on a proper linguistic analysis of the documents. For the most part, the Tendency School take it as a thing self-evident and beyond the need of proof, that the heretics con-

* Page 9, art. "St. Paul and the Pastoral Epistles."

demned in the Pastorals were Gnostics of the second century, and their interpretation proceeds on this assumption. The concluding sentences of Dr. Pfleiderer's account of the Epistles, given in his recent and most instructive work on Early Christianity (*Das Urchristenthum*, Berlin, 1887), exhibit very clearly the point of view from which the Tendency critics regard these writings, and the path by which they have arrived at their conclusions. "The Pastoral Epistles," Pfleiderer writes (pp. 822, 823)—"especially the latest of them, the so-called *First to Timothy*—pave the way for that development of Episcopacy in the Church which we find completed in the Ignatian Letters; and it is in this very purpose of helping to victory the idea of the Episcopate as an Apostolic institution, that we discover, side by side with the polemic against Gnostic heresy, the second main object of these Epistles. In reality, these two objects are one and the same. . . . . From the same necessity that the Church should assert herself against the heretics there came about on the one hand the authentication of tradition in the form of *ecclesiastical dogma*, and on the other the Apostolic authorisation of the Episcopacy—*ecclesiastical hierarchy*: the latter being the practical embodiment of the former, the former the ideal ground of the latter."

With Pfleiderer at present, as with Baur fifty years ago, the deductions of this school against the authenticity of so many N.T. writings rest upon their *à priori* construction of the history of the primitive Church. That construction has been remodelled in Pfleiderer's hands, but in principle and method it remains the same as when first laid down by Baur.

No judgment, however, that we might form respecting the system of doctrine and Church organisation indicated in these Epistles, whether favourable or adverse to authenticity, ought to be regarded as in itself decisive upon this point. The data for such a judgment must be gathered from an unprejudiced examination of the documents, and they are themselves contingent on a multitude of questions of language and circumstantial detail which need to be first carefully considered. The literary character of the Epistles and the personal and local references they contain, along with the external attestation to their origin, supply the *proof* of authorship in the first instance. We ask

our readers, therefore, to combine the results we now hope to arrive at with those developed in the former essay. It is enough if the ideas contained in the Epistles are in no way contradictory to the presumption already established. At the same time, our inquiry, if rightly conducted, ought to serve more than a merely defensive and negative purpose. We shall strive to show, what is at least manifest to ourselves, that the teaching of the Pastoral Epistles and the life of the Church as therein disclosed, stand in an intimately harmonious connection with that which the previous and acknowledged Epistles of St. Paul present to us.

III. In reviewing *the doctrine of the Pastorals*, we take for our starting-point the following sentence of Holtzmann (p. 159): "The general basis of ideas is unquestionably Pauline. It is no other doctrine than that of Paul which these writings profess and seek to expound. But," he continues, "the bare and impoverished form of this representation betrays its unauthenticity. Paul's doctrinal conceptions are weakened and brought down to the level of a later age. We have before us a diluted Paulinism, accommodated to the demands of an advanced stage of Church life, ecclesiastically modified and stereotyped, and which has come to terms with Jewish Christianity, the Paulinist and Legalist parties being at length compelled to join hands under the pressure of Gnostic and heretical assaults."

So far as this alleged "impoverishment" of the true Paulinism is a question of style and expression, we have discussed it already in our former paper (pp. 14, 15). As a description of the theological character of the Epistles, there is a modicum of truth involved in Holtzmann's depreciatory estimate. St. Paul's characteristic doctrines do not here assume the commanding prominence given to them in the major Epistles; they are not thrown into the same bold relief, nor developed with the same logical completeness. But then this observation applies equally to his earliest writings, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians. When those former letters were written, the Legalist controversy, which occupied the central period of Paul's apostleship and called forth the mightiest efforts of his genius, had not yet arisen; by this time it had to a large

extent subsided. The doctrines of salvation are quietly assumed, where before they were vehemently argued and defended. For they constitute, in the view alike of writer and readers, a conquest securely won, a foundation enduringly laid. But in this matter-of-fact assumption they lose nothing of their cardinal importance. The sentences in which they are affirmed serve to re-state with axiomatic weight and precision that gospel which is to Paul and his sons in the faith a fundamental certainty. Most of all do the doctrinal passages of the Epistle to Titus (i. 1–4; ii. 10–14; iii. 3–7) protest against the disparagement that the Pastorals contain a half-effaced and diluted Paulinism. These luminous *aperçus* of the method of redemption carry it backward to the Divine causation—"which God who cannot lie, promised before times eternal"—and forward to its moral operation, and its issues in the life beyond; while they describe in full and glowing language the agency by which the work of man's renewal is brought about. "We were senseless, disobedient, wandering, enslaved to manifold lusts and pleasures. But when the kindness and philanthropy of God our Saviour appeared—not by works done in righteousness, which we had wrought, but according to His mercy He saved us, through the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Spirit, which He poured on us richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour, that being justified by His grace, we might be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life." The sayings of the Pastoral Epistles bring the doctrines of grace to a rounded fulness and chastened ripeness of expression, that warrant us in seeing in them the authentic conclusion of the Pauline gospel of salvation in the mind which first conceived it.

It is impossible within moderate limits to discuss all the points in which Holtzmann detects a difference between the teaching of the Pastorals and that of the genuine Epistles of Paul. We will deal with the most considerable of the alleged discrepancies, and those which alone raise any serious difficulty. (1) Amongst the chief is that touching *the nature of God.* The Divine character and agency are set forth under appellations new to us in St. Paul, and some of them unique in the N.T. He is the "King of the ages, incorruptible,

invisible, the only God"; "the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, Who alone hath immortality, dwelling in light unapproachable, Whom none of men hath seen, nor can see" (1 Tim. i. 17; vi. 15, 16); "the living God, Who is Saviour of all men," and "gives life to all things" (1 Tim. iv. 10; vi. 18). Six times does the expression "God (our) Saviour" recur in these Epistles, found but twice besides in the N.T. (Luke i. 47; Jude 26).

The emphasis thus laid on the Divine absoluteness has manifestly a polemical intention. But it is not necessary to go to the second century for its explanation. The clue lies nearer to our hand. We find it in the false dualism, current amongst Hellenistic Jews in St. Paul's time, which separated God from the world, and treated the material creation as the work of inferior and intermediate beings. This system of theosophy, the daughter of Platonism and mother of Gnosticism, the Apostle has already combated in his Epistle to the Colossians, dealing with it there chiefly in its bearing on the Person and work of Christ. Philo of Alexandria, Paul's contemporary, was the chief exponent of this doctrine on Jewish ground. He represents what we may call the *Broad Church* of Judaism, whose influence inevitably made itself felt amongst Pauline Christians at a very early time. Indeed Gnosticism, as Dr. Jowett aptly says, might be described as "the mental atmosphere of the Greek cities of Asia." It limited the Divine prerogatives by confining the supreme God, under a false notion of reverence, to a purely spiritual and transcendental region. Hence God is here acknowledged as wielding in unshared dominion all creaturely and earthly powers, while in His own nature and blessedness He holds a realm of light inaccessible and life undecaying.

The dualism of the earliest Gnostics, or Gnosticising Judaists, is reproved in its *ascetic* consequences in 1 Tim. iv. 3-5, where marriage and physical sustenance are vindicated as things of the Divine order—"sanctified by the word of God and prayer" (comp. Col. ii. 20-23). But the writer condemns the false spiritualism of the coming "latter times" in no other strain than we should expect from the Paul of 1 Corinthians, who had said, "To us there is but one God, the Father,

of Whom are all things and we for Him"—Whose is "earth and its fulness;" and who again has written, "The woman is of the man, and the man through the woman; but all things of God."

The work of grace is placed with emphasis in the hands of *God*, in the interests of the Divine unity, and in tacit contradiction to those who "professing" above others "to know God," yet barred Him out from contact with human life, and so robbed Him of the honours of salvation. At the same time, the expression has an intrinsic fitness. The Apostle's *theology* proper, his doctrine of God, resumes and absorbs his *soteriology*. His system of thought anticipates the goal marked out for the course of redemption—when "God shall be all in all" (1 Cor. xv. 28).

(2.) "*The image of Christ* presented in the Pastorals is indeed composed of Pauline formulæ, but it is lacking in the Pauline spirit and feeling, in the mystic inwardness, the religious depth and moral force that live in the Christ of Paul." So says Schenkel, quoted by Holtzmann with approval (pp. 166, 167). Of the justice of this stricture every one will form his own estimate. It appeals not to the critical expert, but to the feeling and discernment of the devout Christian reader. For ourselves, we find no defect, either of depth or force, in such a sentence as 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6, with its conception of the "One Mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus, Who is man; Who gave Himself a ransom for all—the testimony to be borne in its own time"; which, moreover, is precisely *not* "composed of Pauline formulæ," for Christ is here called *mediator* for the first time by the Apostle. Nor are his mysticism and religious depth at all to seek in 1 Tim. iii. 15, 16 (the "mystery of godliness, He Who was manifested in the flesh," &c.). The expression "in Christ Jesus," almost peculiar to Paul, and which carries with it all the inwardness and depth of his sense of the believer's relation to his Lord, is employed seven times in the two letters to Timothy, in application to Christian acts and states.

It is said that the emphasis thrown upon the Divine "manifestation" and the "appearing" (ἐπιφανεία) of Christ (1 Tim. iii. 16; 2 Tim. i. 10; Titus ii. 13; iii. 4) "is a sign of later Gnostic influence." But in 1 and 2 Thessalonians

similar language is used of the second advent of Christ; and in 2 Cor. iv. 4, 6, touching His first appearance. These expressions in truth reflect the glory of the Divine manifestation of Jesus made to Saul on the Damascus road. In a form of like splendour Paul pictures to himself the Saviour's reappearance. It is the Gnostics who have borrowed their language from our N.T. writings—not these from those.

The Parousia forms a significant link between the earliest and latest of the Apostle's letters. It is, in a sense, his Alpha and Omega. But a change has supervened in his view of the event. It is still to him, and more than ever, "that *blessed hope* and appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ" (Tit. ii. 18); but he no longer speaks of it in the terms of personal anticipation that we find in 1 Thessalonians and 1 Cor. xv. For he has reconciled himself, as already in 2 Cor. v., to the probability of his passing away by death before the Lord's return. He rejoices to feel that "the time of his departure is come" (2 Tim. iv. 6). He has learnt increasingly to see in the inward victories of the Christian life and the "earnest of the Spirit in our hearts" (Rom. viii. 11, 17, 23; Eph. i. 13, 14) the pledge of the believer's final glorification. Though the Parousia ceases to occupy the immediate foreground of the Apostle's outlook, it is no less certainly in prospect and has become an even more splendid vision to the eyes of his heart. Meanwhile, the intervening future grows more distinct, in its darker as well as its brighter aspects. "Evil men and impostors will wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived" (2 Tim. iii. 13). The Second Coming "furnishes the shining background for the gloomy picture of the troublous *last times*" (Holtzmann, p. 188; see 1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Tim. iii. 1; iv. 3, 4). In all directions the horizon was threatening, and the air thick with the sense of coming trouble. The predictions of these Epistles only give greater distinctness to forebodings already expressed by Paul in Acts xx. 29–31, and elsewhere. On the other hand, their representations of present or impending conflict differ, both in colouring and proportion, from any picture furnished by the age of Marcion and Justin Martyr. It is superfluous to discuss

the identifications offered to us; for they contradict each other, and every new critic fixes on a type of Gnosticism different from the last. Holtzmann and Pfleiderer themselves so far fail in the attempt, that they are compelled to assume an artificial infusion into the supposed polemic against Marcionite heresy of elements drawn from St. Paul's time, such as would have made the attack utterly confused and ineffective for the end for which they imagine it designed.

(3.) In regard to the writer's attitude toward the great Pauline antithesis of *law and grace*, the crucial text is 1 Tim. i. 8–11: "We know that the law is good, if one use it lawfully. . . . . Law is not imposed for a righteous man, but for the lawless, &c. . . . . and whatsoever else is contrary to the sound teaching, according to the gospel of the glory of the blessed God, with which I was entrusted." This passage, as Holtzmann allows, belongs to "the writer's general standpoint," and cannot be dismissed as a mere polemical hit at the Marcionites (p. 160). But the standpoint is that of Paul himself, the same which he asserts in Romans and Galatians. The "lawful use" of the law consists in its giving "the knowledge of sin," by "making the offence to abound" and so "working out wrath." It was added "for the sake of transgressions." Hence it is designed "for the lawless and unruly"—to mark and condemn them as such; while the truly "righteous man" is "not under law, but under grace." This is "according to the gospel" of Paul's great evangelical Epistles; and "knowing" it, Timothy will know how to "use the law," not in Jewish fashion as a yoke for the saint, but as a whip for the sinner.

When we read in Tit. ii. 14 of Christ's sacrifice as "ransoming us from all *lawlessness*," this complements instead of contradicting St. Paul's earlier watchword of redemption "from *the curse* of the law" (Gal. iii. 10–14); for lawlessness, if it does not actually constitute that curse, is its cause and concomitant. A redemption saving from sin's punishment, but not from sin, is obviously illusive. In fact, we are here carried forward, along the line of Rom. vi., from the idea of justification as mere acquittal to its positive issue in the new law-keeping, but not law-subject, life of the believer. In the unique and Paul-like compound ἀντίλυτρον of 1 Tim. ii. 6

(*ransom-price*) the N.T. doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice culminates. This word is by itself sufficient to make the First Epistle to Timothy immortal. In vain does Holtzmann speak of the death and resurrection of Christ—"these two facts of central importance, in Paul's view, for the Christian consciousness"—as "receiving but cursory reference" (p. 170). The three Epistles are steeped in their influence. As well argue that the author of Galatians thought little of the Resurrection, because in that letter he happens only once, and in passing, to make verbal mention of it!

It is more to the purpose when our critic observes (p. 169) that in these writings *the Church* rather than the individual is the recipient of the blessings of salvation, and when he sees in this a link between the Pastorals and Ephesians (comp. Tit. ii. 14 with Eph. v. 25–27). The writer's mind dwells mainly on the general and collective aspects of the gospel. He is thinking not so much of Him "Who loved *me* and gave Himself up *for me*," as of "the philanthropy of God our Saviour." And his repeated assertion of the universalism of the gospel is opposed not, as in Rom. iii. 29, 30, to Jewish exclusiveness of race, but to the Gnosticising pride that reserved the knowledge of God to the initiated few. This narrow and vain intellectualism was just now the greatest danger of the Church, sure to be the parent of a brood of errors and corruptions; it struck at what is most vital to Christianity, in God's universal grace to mankind.

In this connection we can better understand the principle laid down in 2 Tim. ii. 19–21, that whatever "vessel" in the "great house" is "purified from unrighteousness," is a "vessel unto honour," being "sanctified" and therefore "useful to the Master." For it is holiness of character, not mere "knowledge," often "falsely so called," that qualifies the vessels of the Lord. Holtzmann, however, can only see in this definition "a characteristic complement to Paul's notion of Predestination, supplying an ethical content to the *decretum absolutum*," which in Romans is matter of pure sovereignty (p. 172). Yet in Rom. ix. 22 there is implied in the "vessels of wrath fitted for destruction" a like "ethical content" to that found in these "vessels of dishonour." It is not to the

Pastorals that we have first to look in order to find St. Paul's doctrine of election balanced and safeguarded by the assertion of man's responsibility. Nor, on the other hand, is the absoluteness of the Divine initiative in the work of salvation at all sacrificed in our Epistles. God's "purpose and grace" are held forth, in opposition to "our works," as the moving cause of redemption (2 Tim. i. 9; Tit. iii. 5) as strongly as in Romans or Ephesians, and with an unction and *empressement* unmistakably Pauline.

(4.) *A higher sacramental doctrine* than that of the genuine Paul is detected in Tit. iii. 5 (Holtzmann, p. 172). We might agree with Holtzmann on this point, if with Ellicott and others, following the Vulgate, we construed "renewal of the Holy Spirit" in dependence upon "laver" (the Greek genitive is here ambiguous). But the alternative rendering of Bengel, Alford, and Hofmann is decidedly preferable. The *laver* (*washing*, A.V.) *of regeneration* and *renewal of the Holy Spirit* are two conjoint though distinct agencies. This text echoes our Lord's great dictum on the new birth "of water and of the Spirit" (John iii. 5), and makes the same distinction between the outward or symbolic and the inward and essential means of Divine renewal. So the passage brings to a focus what we have already learnt concerning Baptism from Rom. vi. 1–6; Gal. iii. 27; Col. ii. 12; Eph. v. 26, where it represents and gives a name to that entire change in the Christian believer of which it is the divinely appointed token.

There is one rite, however, which we meet here for the first time in the Pauline Epistles—that of *the laying on of hands* (1 Tim. iv. 14; v. 22; 2 Tim. i. 6). It is the means of conveying special endowments of grace (*charismata*) bestowed on individual men to fit them for their special vocation in the Church. There is nothing new or foreign to St. Paul in the elements of this conception. The idea of the "charism" is perfectly familiar (see Rom. xii. 6, &c.). And the Acts of the Apostles shows (viii. 17–19, &c.) that this form of ordination —an ancient and most expressive Jewish custom—belonged to the earliest times of the Church. That no magical efficacy is attributed to the rite is evident from the words of the Epistles: "The charism that is in thee . . . . given thee

through prophecy, with laying on of the presbytery's hands;" again, "the charism of God that is in thee through the laying on of my hands." The essence of the matter does not lie in the particular official hands that ministered in Timothy's ordination, but the grace was God's immediate and inward bestowment, attested by the voice of His Spirit in the Church, then sealed and acknowledged on the Church's part in the appropriate form.

These writings are also said to teach a higher doctrine of *inspiration* than is found in the undisputed Epistles. Baur discovered in 2 Tim. iii. 14–17 a covert attack on Marcion (who rejected the O.T.), and an attempt to rehabilitate the Law in the face of second century Gnosticism. "The sacred *writings*," it is said, "are silently contrasted with the oral *traditions* current in the Gnostic sects; and the phrase '*all* Scripture' protests against the arbitrary use made by heretics of certain parts of it." Granting the correctness of this interpretation, it is quite appropriate to the Apostle's time. Theorists such as the false teachers of Colossæ were sure to neglect the practical and moral parts of the O.T. The "fables and endless genealogies," "Jewish fables," &c., on which these letters pour contempt, were the stock-in-trade of men versed in the allegorical method, and who practised a puerile and speculative treatment of inspired Scripture. So the occasion has come to formulate the doctrine of inspiration implicit throughout St. Paul's teaching (see specially Rom. xv. 4, and 1 Cor. x. 12). That doctrine exhibits in the words "through faith that is in Christ Jesus" its specifically Pauline stamp and character.

(5.) The critics note throughout these letters "a retreat of the one-sided (!) religious interest of former Pauline Epistles in favour of *a more ethical conception of the purpose of life*" (Holtzmann, p. 172). This observation, apart from the colouring of censure conveyed in its terms, includes a suggestive element of truth. Only what Holtzmann calls "a retreat" we should describe as an advance.

Evangelical principles, now established and consolidated, are applied on all sides to the practical conduct of life. "The grace of God" which "appeared" in Christ, "bringing salvation to all men," has developed a new moral discipline

(παιδεύουσα, Tit. ii. 12). The religious principle of Paulinism, instead of being "sacrificed" to moral objects, realises in them its living effect. Such passages as Rom. xii. 1; 2 Cor. vii. 1; 2 Thess. i. 11, contain in germ and principle all that is unfolded in the detailed ethical instruction of later Epistles.

"Righteousness," says Holtzmann (pp. 174, 175), appears in 1 Tim. vi. 11; 2 Tim. ii. 22, "as a virtue to be sought after," instead of being, in the specifically Pauline sense, "a peculiar relation to God." But this is equally the case in Rom. vi. 18, 20; 2 Cor. ix. 10; on the other hand, gratuitous justification is unequivocally asserted in the Pastoral Epistles (Tit. iii. 7, &c.). The bond connecting the religious and moral is never broken by the Apostle in his employment of this cardinal term of his theology. The righteousness of imputation he always conceived as the basis of a new actual righteousness of life and behaviour (see, *e.g.*, Rom. viii. 1–4). Holtzmann repeats this objection, which he regards as of decisive weight, when he declares (p. 175) that "there is no room for justification in the Pauline meaning, where salvation is made to depend, as in 1. Tim. iii. 6, 16; vi. 14; Tit. i. 4, on the careful observance of traditional doctrine." In reply to this it is enough to say that the stricture applies with equal force to such passages as 2 Thess. ii. 15; Rom. vi. 17; or 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2. In every case "doctrine" and "tradition" are the means of continued salvation, inasmuch as they supply the objective basis of a continued faith.

(6.) But it is after all in the *religious* rather than the ethical effect of salvation that the interest of the Pastoral Epistles centres. The Christian "profession" is, in one word, "godliness" (1 Tim. ii. 9, 10; θεοσέβεια, "reverence for God"—one of the unique expressions of the Pastorals), of which "good works" are the "fitting ornament." Christianity is "the truth" or "the doctrine *according to godliness*." Fourteen times is the noun εὐσέβεια or its congeners employed in the three Epistles, while it occurs not once (except in the *negative* in Romans) in any other writings of St. Paul. This remarkable fact is due to the cause that we noted at the outset. The Apostle's teaching about *God* and about *godliness* come into like prominence. It was not so much the way of salvation,

it was not so much the Person of Christ, nor even the moral practice of Christianity that was endangered by the pretended "knowledge" of the new Judaists, with their "fables" and "logomachies"; religion itself was at stake. The theories which separated God from nature and body from spirit were fatal to all true piety. They tended to dissolve the religious conception of life, to destroy godliness and virtue—"faith and a good conscience"—both at once (see 1 Tim. iv. i–5; vi. 3–5).

With such dangers present to his mind, and likely to grow in force and seductiveness in the future, the aged Apostle bends all his efforts to guard and strengthen the spirit of piety. His exhortations to Timothy, and his injunctions to both his helpers touching their conduct of Church affairs, bear with concentrated urgency upon this one essential. The appeal, while it springs from the deep devoutness of St. Paul's own nature, is foreshadowed by such passages as Rom. i. 18; v. 6, where sin is "ungodliness"; as Col. ii. 18, 23, condemning false and superstitious notions of worship; and Eph. iv. 24, which combines "righteousness and piety (coming) of the truth" as the leading dispositions of the "new man." Just as we found that Paul's doctrines of grace had enriched his views of the Divine nature, so they appear to have deepened and enlarged his conception of worship (1 Tim. ii. 1–8) and his sense of the part which reverence plays in sanctifying human life.

In general, it is in "the other conditions, partly combined with and partly substituted for faith," that Holtzmann sees "the mediating and catholicising character of these Epistles, their smoothed and softened Paulinism, made most apparent" (p. 179). We should lose, in truth, some of the most precious lessons of the Pastorals if we did not observe this combination, if we failed to note the frequency of such expressions as *faith and love, faith and truth, faith and a good conscience; love, faith, and purity; godliness, faith, love*, &c. But the just induction from these varied combinations is not that faith has lost its supremacy and is merged in "other conditions," but that these are its accompaniments and the guarantees of its reality. On this point, 1 Tim. i. 5 is instructive: "faith unfeigned" is made the ultimate source of the "love"

which is "the end of the charge"—that is to say, the goal of all practical Christian teaching. This is nothing else than the "faith working through love" of Gal. v. 6, in ampler phrase. "Faith" is spoken of oftener, proportionately, in these than in any other of the Epistles, except Galatians. Grace and Faith form the double seal by which the Apostle stamps these writings as his own. No one could imitate his accent or reproduce by artifice the vivid and delicate sensibility with which the master words of Paul's gospel are employed in the letters to Timothy and Titus.

(7.) Once more let us listen to Dr. Holtzmann. "Practical piety," he says, "and *correct doctrine* form the two poles, equally dominant," of the Pastoral Epistles (p. 183). The latter of these two dominant notes he connects with "the growing churchliness" of the second century, under whose influence Christianity comes to be called "doctrine" (Tit. ii. 10) and Christ assumes mainly the rôle of Teacher. The preaching of the gospel takes a conventional form; and in its conflict with heretical theories the truth as it is in Jesus stiffens into a system of authoritative dogma. If orthodoxy is not yet known by name, the idea of it is there; and the ὀρθοτομεῖν of 2 Tim. ii. 15 comes next door to the word itself.

This contention, in substance, we admit. The question is, whether such a phenomenon was possible in the later Apostolic age. To us it seems inevitable. The conservatism of "such an one as Paul the aged," if he lived until the middle of the seventh Christian decade, was sure to take this shape. Looking back on the pathway which his thought has trodden, led by the Spirit of God, and on the completed teaching of his life, he puts his final seal upon it, in face of the denials and perversions to which it was already, and would be increasingly and on many sides, exposed. Such a certification seems even necessary to the ideal completeness of St. Paul's theological work. From the first he has sought to give to his teaching a well-defined form, and from the first he has claimed for it unqualified authority (see Gal. i. 7–9; 1 Cor. xiv. 37, &c.). The "type of doctrine" into which the Roman believers had "been delivered" and which they had "obeyed from the heart" (Rom. vi. 17), was a dogmatic creed, like the "form of

sound words," the "sound doctrine," the "faithful word according to the teaching," on which the writer of these letters insists; and it becomes "*sound* doctrine" because, and so soon as, in other quarters corruption and disease have taken hold of it. Himself "ready to be offered up," with his battle fought and his course run, the Apostle's chief remaining care is that he may see the great deposit, "the gospel of the glory of the Blessed God" with which Christ once entrusted him, committed into faithful and worthy hands, and that he may leave behind him in the Churches he has founded a community so well ordered and equipped, so rooted and built up in Christ, that it shall be for all time to come a "pillar and ground of the truth." Such is the situation which the last group of the Pauline Epistles exhibit. It bears the indubitable marks of historical and psychological reality.

And so we pass in these Epistles from the thought of the "great house" unfolded in the Epistle to the Ephesians, to that of the "vessels" of its service, their qualities and uses, and the solemn responsibilities which accrue to them. Their worth lies in the greatness of the Church they serve, and hers in the greatness of the truth she holds in trust for mankind.

IV. We are now, therefore, as we hope, in a position to appreciate the peculiar features of *the Church order and organisation* set before us in the Pastoral Epistles, and so to complete the task proposed in this inquiry.

To promote "godliness" and "sound doctrine" is the leading object of these letters. This purpose dictates the qualifications laid down in 1 Tim. iii. and Tit. i. for ministerial office; and it accounts for the fact that these conditions are so nearly alike for Bishops (or Presbyters) and for Deacons "The bishop must be without reproach, husband of one wife, sober, sensible, orderly, hospitable, apt to teach . . . . gentle, peaceable, free from the love of money. . . . . Deacons *in like manner* must be grave . . . . not double-tongued, not given to wine, nor seeking base gain, holding the mystery of faith in a pure conscience." These instructions, on the face of them, are not intended as an exhaustive description of what the bishop and deacon should be. They

scarcely look beyond the moral qualities of an ordinary, reputable Christian man. But it is just here, in their commonplace and unambitious character, that the point of the specifications lies. To the need of other and more shining gifts the Churches were sufficiently alive. What the Apostle insists upon is that solid, moral qualities shall not be overlooked, nor taken for granted in any case without strict inquiry. The danger was lest talent and cleverness should carry the day, and the leadership of the Church fall into the hands of men deficient in the elements of a worthy Christian character.

"The prescriptions of these Epistles," as Kühl aptly says,* "bear throughout an eminently practical stamp, and find their characteristic expression in the exhortation to Timothy: *Be thou a pattern of the believers.* The false intellectualism of the errorists is traced to their want of practical piety; and this εὐσέβεια, this open sense for the divine, has in turn in a Christianly moral life its practical guarantee. Such piety it is the aim of these writings in their whole tenor to quicken and renew." If godliness was the chief desideratum for the Church at large, so much the more was it essential to the official ministry. This anxiety on the Apostle's part is in profound accord with the sentiments that he always cherished concerning his own position as a minister of Christ. "Our glorying is this," he wrote to the captious Corinthians, "the testimony of our conscience that in holiness and sincerity of God we have had our conversation in the world. . . . . In all things commending ourselves as ministers of God . . . . in pureness, in knowledge, in long-suffering, in kindness, in the Holy Spirit, in love unfeigned . . . . by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left" (2 Cor. i. 12; vi. 4–7). Such a testimony, both from within and from without, St. Paul desires for his successors.

Along with the primary responsibility for character in the pastors of the Church, there devolves *the charge of doctrine*—committed, not indeed exclusively, but specially and by way of

* We are greatly indebted to Dr. Kühl for the light he has thrown upon the Church economy of the Pastoral Epistles, in the learned, judicial, and lucid essay whose title stands at the head of this review.

guardianship to the separated ministry. "Faithful men" they must be, able to "teach others," to whom above others the things "heard," says the Apostle, "from me amongst many witnesses" are to be "committed" (2 Tim. ii. 2). There is then an *Apostolical Succession,* but it descends to the humblest preacher duly qualified and appointed in an orthodox Christian community. The chain of the succession lies in the believing transmission of the doctrine.

Beside provision for public teaching (Gal. vi. 6; Rom. xii. 7), there were administrative and disciplinary offices to be performed in the Christian societies. And it was for these purposes that local ministers were first required. The relation and adjustment of these several functions to each other in the early Church is a question of extreme difficulty. There are two distinctions which must be carefully borne in mind—distinctions complicated with each other in various ways:—(1) That existing between the official and what we may call the *charismatic* ministry—*i.e.*, between the ministry of persons formally appointed to Church office, and that exercised in virtue of some extraordinary Divine endowment in the man, but not such as of itself qualified him to bear rule in the Church; or, in other words, between the ministry of *official status* and that of *personal gift*, the former in some measure implying the latter, but the latter not of necessity carrying with it the former (see 1 Cor. xii. 4–11; Rom. xii. 3–8). (2) Another distinction of the greatest practical moment is that which separated the *local and congregational* from the *itinerant* or *missionary ministry*. To the former of these classes "the bishops and deacons" of Philippians and of the Pastorals belonged, to the latter the "apostles" and "evangelists;" while "prophets" and "teachers" might labour in a single community (Acts xiii. 1), or might, and in post-Apostolic times commonly did, extend their work over a wide area (see the *Teaching of the Apostles,* and the *Shepherd* of Hermas).

In the earliest times public teaching in the Christian assemblies was free. Each member of the Church might speak, provided it were "in order" and "to edification" (see 1 Cor. xiv). We must presume, however, that even at Corinth there were "presidents" of some sort to determine, in harmony

with the sense of the assembly, *what* was in order and to edification (comp. 1 Thess. v. 12; Rom. xii. 8, and the "presiding elders" of 1 Tim. v. 17). Only the "women must keep silence in the assemblies" (1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35). When now it is said in 1 Tim. ii. 12, "*A woman* I do not permit to teach," we presume that the right of teaching was still reserved for all other competent Church members (comp. ver. 10, "I wish *the men* to pray in every place," obviously relating to the exercise of public prayer). But this license in course of time had come to be abused. Clever and pretentious men found their advantage in it. The Church meetings were made a theatre of "discussions and logomachies, out of which envy and strife arose," tending to "questionings" rather than to promote "the dispensation of God which is in faith" (1 Tim. i. 4; vi. 3–5). While the writer does not for this reason forbid the established liberty of preaching and prophesying,* he is manifestly anxious that the bishops should be efficient in this respect, competent to take a leading part in public instruction and to counteract the attempts of false and foolish teachers. The words of 1 Tim. v. 17 make it tolerably clear that while teaching was not, like ruling, an exclusive nor everywhere indispensable attribute of the elders, still they frequently exercised this function, and the writer wishes to encourage them in doing so.

There is little evidence to be gleaned from other sources as as to the connection between ruling and teaching in the local ministry in Apostolic times. Heb. xiii. 7 indicates that, amongst Jewish Christians at least in the seventh decade, the two offices were commonly regarded as one. James iii. 1 belongs to an earlier time, when things were tending in that

* The teaching office of the bishop is most emphasised in the Epistle to Titus. He was organising new Churches in Crete, where no pre-established license of teaching existed to stand in the way of the full authority of the presbyter-bishops. We observe, moreover, that there is no mention of *deacons* here, who might not be required in small churches, at least in the first stage of Church organisation (comp. Acts xiv. 23), nor is it prescribed that the bishop shall not be a "neophyte" as in the older Church of Ephesus (1 Tim. iii. 6), but he must have "believing children"—a condition necessary to mention in a new community, but that takes a different and stricter form in the directions addressed to Timothy at Ephesus (1 Tim. iii. 4, 5).

direction. In the Gentile communities the liberty of teaching continued to a much later epoch; indeed, the tradition of it remains in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 32), which in their present form are referred to the third or fourth century. In Eph. iv. 11, however, "the pastors and teachers" form a single group, if not identical yet closely allied, and alike distinguished from the several orders of "apostles," "prophets," and "evangelists." It is just this tendency to unite the pastoral and teaching offices to which the Pastoral Epistles give expression.

When we turn to the newly discovered *Teaching of the Apostles*, our most important witness for the development of Church organisation in the post-Apostolic period, we find that now "the bishops and deacons themselves discharge the ministry of prophets and teachers" (ch. xv.); while at the same time there are itinerant "prophets" and "teachers," who possess a preponderant influence and may even supersede the local officers in the conduct of the Eucharist (ch. x.–xiii.). The *Shepherd* of Hermas—dating from the early part of the second century, as the *Teaching* probably from the close of the first—gives evidence to the same effect. Now it is noticeable that our Epistles make no reference to these roving prophets and teachers, whose ascendency is the most conspicuous feature in the picture of Church life afforded by the *Teaching*. Their prominence belongs to the transitional period between the personal rule of the Apostles and the official rule of the mon-episcopal hierarchy established in the second century. Instead of the *Teaching of the Apostles* forming, as Harnack says, "a mean term between 1 Cor. xii. and the Pastorals," the truth is that the Pastorals and Ephesians together are the mean term between 1 Cor. xii., with its fluid and unformed Church life, and the settled and formal order which the *Teaching* delineates.

Since Bishop Lightfoot's famous *Dissertation on the Christian Ministry*, the identity of "bishop" and "elder" in the N.T. may be regarded as an established fact. The presiding congregational officers are *elders* in respect of rank and "honour" (1 Tim. v. 17), and *bishops* in respect of their "work" and responsibility (1 Tim. iii. 1; Tit. i. 7; Acts xx. 28).

The late Dr. Hatch (whose loss by death we deeply deplore in common with all Christian scholars) attempted in his Bampton Lectures to show that the two offices were of distinct and independent origin. He argued that the Presbyterate was a *Jewish* and purely magisterial and disciplinary order; while the Episcopate was *Greek* in its derivation, financial and administrative in the first instance, but taking on in the Church a spiritual and charismatic character. This theory, we are persuaded, will not be sustained on mature examination.* According to Hatch's hypothesis it was only gradually, towards the end of the first century, that the two systems were amalgamated and presbyter and bishop shared the same functions, until the bishop was differentiated from the presbytery in a new way under the mon-episcopal *régime* of Ignatius. If Dr. Hatch is right, then the Pastoral Epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle of James, and 1 Peter must all be relegated, at the earliest, to the closing years of the first century. So Harnack† inferred with irresistible logic from Hatch's premises; and though Dr. Hatch did not draw these conclusions in the Bampton Lectures, his articles on *Paul* and *Pastoral Epistles* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed.) show that he had reached the same result in the case of the Pastorals, and inclined to it in regard to the Acts. If, however, it has been established that St. Paul was the writer of these letters, this negatives the supposition that the Presbyterate and Episcopate were fundamentally different offices.

Very significant for the primitive meaning of *episcopus* is 1 Pet. ii. 25, where Christ Himself is called "the shepherd and bishop of your souls"; and with the "bishop" of this passage the "presbyters" of ch. v. 1–4 are linked as those who

* Kühl subjects Dr. Hatch's theory of the Episcopate to a searching examination, in pp. 87ff. of his *Gemeindeordnung*; and Gore's recent and important work on *The Ministry of the Christian Church*, while less successful in its constructive argument, makes some effective criticisms on the *Hatch-Harnack* hypothesis. See also the *Origin of the Christian Ministry* in the *Expositor*, 3rd series, vols. v., vi.; especially the contributions of Drs. Sanday and Salmon.

† *Analecten zu Hatch.* In the *Expositor*, 3rd series, vol. v. pp. 334, 335, Harnack says, "I regard the Pastoral Epistles as writings which, in their present form, were composed in the middle of the second century; but older documents were made use of in their composition."

"*shepherd* the flock" under the "Chief Shepherd," just as in Acts xx. 17–28, "the elders of the Church" at Ephesus are exhorted to "take heed to *the flock* over which the Holy Spirit made them overseers (bishops);" similarly "shepherds" is the designation for Church rulers in Eph. iv. 11. The same conception of the bishop's work underlies the directions of the Pastorals; it comes out vividly in the question of 1 Tim. iii. 6, "If he knows not how to preside over his own house, how will he *care for* the Church of God?" (comp. John x. 13). A higher care, surely, than of the Church's money chest! These documents bear a common witness to the moral and spiritual character of the episcopal calling, and through it a mutual testimony to each other. They unite to express with touching *naïveté*, and without a trace of second-century ecclesiasticism, the Apostolical conception of the Christian ministry—viz., that of *spiritual shepherding.*

Still the question remains: If Presbyter and Bishop meant the same thing, *why the two names?* For answer, we are left to conjecture. We venture to think that the title *bishop,* first appearing in the speech and from the pen of St. Paul, is due to the Apostle himself, original in so many things. *Elder* preoccupied the field in a community of Jewish origin, and came into use as a matter of course so soon as a board of managers was needed in the new society (Acts xi. 30; xiv. 23, &c.). But this designation had certain obvious defects. It was ambiguous (see 1 Tim. v. 1, 17; 1 Pet. v. 1, 5), and unexpressive. It was, moreover, in frequent use among the Jews as a title of civil office — a circumstance liable to cause confusion, and perhaps distaste to Gentile Christians. The O.T. suggested *episcopus* to those casting about for a substitute, and this term commended itself by the fact that it indicated the peculiar nature of the office (overseership), and was kindred in meaning to *shepherd,* a figure consecrated and endeared by the lips of Christ (John x.; comp. 1 Pet. ii. 25). If about the same time in the older Pauline Churches assistant officers came to be needed in the shape of *deacons,* after the model of Jerusalem (Acts vi.), it would be still more necessary to give the superior functionaries a name implying *superintendence.* We find, in fact, that "bishop" and "deacon" are

correlative. It is not unlikely that St. Paul's address at Miletus, reported in Acts xx., marks the juncture at which the new appellation was coming into use; when he writes to the Philippians a few years later (ch. i. 1), it is an accepted and familiar title. The "helps" and "governments" of 1 Cor. xii. 28 contain in the abstract the antithesis of "deacon" and "bishop," present at this earlier time in the Apostle's mind, although it had not yet at Corinth crystallised into formal expression. But whatever be the true explanation of the double name, it is surely past question that in the Acts and Epistles elder and bishop are synonymous.

The long section devoted to *Church widows*, in 1 Tim. v. 3–16, is interesting on many grounds. It speaks for an early date for the Epistle, that the claims of dependent widows had not hitherto been fully discussed and settled. The sixth chapter of the Acts shows that this matter from the first received much attention. The writer is anxious, too, that the influence of the "aged women" generally should be utilised in the guidance of their own sex (Tit. ii. 3–5). It is not the first time that St. Paul has shown his sense of the importance attaching to the position of women in Christian society (1 Cor. xi. 2–16); and the attempts of heretical teachers to win their adherence (2 Tim. iii. 6) made it the more necessary that the Church should be guarded upon this side. Holtzmann curiously argues (pp. 245, 246) that the recommendation of 1 Tim. v. 14, approving the re-marriage of "younger widows," came from the experience of "a later generation"; and he is surprised at the appearance, within the lifetime of the Apostle Paul, of "widows grown grey in the service of the Church"! Grant ten years' existence to the Ephesian Church and a moderate knowledge of human life to the Apostle, and these critical difficulties are solved. In the young Cretan Churches the question of the widows has not yet arisen.

There is, no doubt, a difference between the Paul of 1 Cor. vii. and of 1 Timothy in the tenor of their observations on marriage and "child-bearing." But the advices of the former passage are based on prudential and temporary considerations (vv. 28, 29). Now that the Church appeared likely to continue on earth for a longer space, family life resumed its natural

importance, and the Epistles of the third group (Colossians and Ephesians) give to it the highest ethical and religious value.

It remains finally, and in distinction from the local officership of the Churches, to consider *the ecclesiastical status of Timothy and Titus.* Since the failure of Baur's attempt to identify the bishop of the Pastorals with the mon-episcopus (or monarchical bishop) of the second century, his successors have turned the functions of Timothy and Titus to account in favour of the Tendency theory. They seek to show that the position of these Apostolic commissioners is magnified in the interests of episcopal autocracy. If so, the supposed Episcopalian forger has shown himself both timid and blundering in the extreme. The only title he ventures to give to either of the delegates is that of "evangelist." They stand in no fixed relationship to the local Churches. The powers they exercise for the time in Ephesus or Crete are the powers of the living Apostle exercised through them, and are of an expressly occasional and limited character. They are to choose and ordain Church officers in the Apostle's absence, and subject to the approval of the voice of the Church (implied throughout 1 Tim. iii. 1–13), and, in Timothy's case, to investigate complaints that might be made against "elders" already in office (1 Tim. v. 19–25; also Tit. i. 6–9). And this is all! There is nothing to show that they charged themselves with details of local administration, or with the discipline of lay members of the flock. Paul had himself excommunicated certain persons (1 Tim. i. 20); Timothy and Titus are bidden merely to "avoid" the mischief-makers. In these directions there is more that differs from than resembles the functions of the later monarchical bishop. Holtzmann says indeed (p. 226) that Timothy and Titus, with their powers of visitation, were prototypes of the *Arch-episcopate.* But who has ever heard of Archbishops till long after the close of the second century?

After all, their relations with the Ephesian or Cretan presbyteries constituted only the incidental part of the life-work of these Apostolic men. "The testimony of our Lord" was laid upon Timothy, through God's gift of grace solemnly attested and committed to him at the outset of his career (2 Tim. i. 6–14). It is his to "do the work of an evangelist,"

and to share with his master in the glorious toils and sufferings of a missionary preacher (2 Tim. i. 8; ii. 1–13). And this mission required, beyond the repetition of the gospel story and the announcement of God's message of peace to mankind (1 Tim. ii. 3–7), that the purpose of grace should be carried out to all its practical issues in the life of believers—"the things which become the sound doctrine." It is not a testimony only, but a *charge* that is entrusted to "my child Timothy," that he may "war the good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience." This testimony and charge are of universal import; they belong to the ministry of Christ's servants and soldiers wherever exercised. And in fact the Apostle dwells with greatest emphasis on Timothy's personal vocation in the second letter, when his commission at Ephesus is about to terminate and he is in the act of summoning him to join himself at Rome.

It is no question, therefore, of ecclesiastical system or episcopal claims that weighs on the mind of the writer of these memorable letters. His supreme concern is for the maintenance of character and true doctrine in the Christian ministry, and through it in the Church it serves. All that was local and of the occasion in the charge of the departing Apostle to his children merges itself in that which belonged to their essential calling as bearers of God's message in the gospel. And the same call, conveyed through diversities of operation, is given to every minister of Christ. Whatever human hands may take part in its bestowal, it is God's *charism*, His immediate and sovereign gift of grace. It is manifest then as now in the spirit of power and love and discipline. To all who bear it the great Herald and Apostle cries: *Preach the word. Guard the good deposit. Suffer hardship with me as a good soldier of Christ Jesus.*

Art. IX.—ADAM SEDGWICK.

The Life and Letters of the Rev. Adam Sedgwick, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Prebendary of Norwich, Woodwardian Professor of Geology, 1818–1873. By John Willis Clark, M.A., F.S.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Superintendent of the University Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy; and Thomas McKenny Hughes, M.A. Trinity College, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., formerly Fellow of Clare College, Woodwardian Professor of Geology. Two vols. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1890.

ALTHOUGH Professor Sedgwick died seventeen years ago at an advanced age, and very few of his contemporaries survive, we can see no reason why these two handsome volumes should not now be devoted to his memory, to portray for us so striking a personality, and to revive our interest in the stirring generations of which our fathers and grandfathers formed a part. On the contrary, we are glad that his biographers, amidst the pressure of other important work, have persevered with the task allotted to them, and have taken "ample room and verge enough" to do justice to the fine qualities of head and heart which characterised the renowned Cambridge Professor. The unavoidable delay in issuing the book is to some extent compensated by its higher value when compared with a hasty, imperfect biography. It might be urged by some severe economists of space that several of the letters should have been omitted; but Sedgwick was a charming writer, and it would have been a pity to lose any of the correspondence here published. Some critics have complained of the pages devoted to his professional work and controversies; but it would have been unjust, if not absurd, to leave undescribed those passages of his history as to which above all he himself would wish to stand fairly in the judgment of his survivors. It is but fitting that a noble nature, a stirring, aspiring life, should be exhibited in full proportions, leaving the reduced likeness to appear in after years, for the

benefit of those who prefer books compressed into the form of "crams," or stripped to the dry bones of dates and the hard anatomy of statistics.

In our narrow space it would not be possible to trace the growth of geologic science from the time of Sedgwick's entrance upon its study, nor to show the influence which his energetic spirit exercised on its advance during his long career. We shall content ourselves with skimming the surface of the book (containing a trifle under 1200 pages), dwelling a little on the surroundings of his early days, and detailing a few of the incidents given in his lively letters.

Adam Sedgwick, who is best known as Woodwardian Professor of Geology in the University of Cambridge from 1818 to 1873, was born on March 22, 1785, at the Vicarage of Dent, a picturesque little village in the wider part of the dale of Dent, in the westernmost extremity of Yorkshire—a corner of the great county wedged tightly into Westmoreland. In one of his amusing letters of after years he tells how his old nurse, that snowy night, carried him down in her apron to the little back parlour where his father was anxiously waiting, and, throwing back the corners of the covering, cried out: "Give you joy, sir, give you joy! A fine boy, sir, as like you, sir, as one pea is to another." The demure clergyman surveyed and kissed the little stranger, and then, to the horror of the old nurse, exclaimed: "Like me, do you say, Margaret? why, he is as black as a toad!" "Oh, sir," she replied, "don't speak ill of your own flesh and blood! If I have any eyes in my head, he is as white as a lily." The parson's eyes, however, were not quite so colour-blind as the admiring Margaret's. Sedgwick's complexion, though scarcely so black as his father's comparison implied, was always very dark—a hue inherited from his mother.

To his birthplace in this remote and rugged dale, where he spent the first nineteen years of his life, Sedgwick ever retained a strong attachment, and he was fond of detailing its properties and peculiarities. He told how Dent was once a land of *statesmen*—small freeholders, who lived each on his own paternal glebe, and who formed the aristocracy of the dale, standing somewhat aloof from their neighbours, and

affecting a difference in thought, manners, and dress. Yet, though a little exclusive, these worthies "never passed a neighbour, or even a stranger, without some homely words of kind greeting," addressing a dalesman by his Christian name only, no matter what his condition in life. The dale was then alive with its special industry, being well known for its growth of wool, and still better for its manufacture of stockings and gloves knitted by its indwellers, and transported to the outer world by trains of pack-horses, or by small mountain carts. The statesmen were long famous for their breed of horses, and for their exports of butter, which, by its large requisition of firkins, caused the cooper's industry to flourish. The housewives of the valley were renowned for good management and economy; and a clever lass of Dent was said to be able to do four things at a time:

> "She knaws how to sing and knit,
> And she knaws how to carry the kit,
> While she drives her kye to pasture."

The industry of the women had a strong social character. The knitters were great gossips, and worked together in little clusters, not in the prison-like confinement and dreary din of a factory, but rambling in the sweet scenery of the valley, or ranged in the quaint galleries which balconied the upper parts of the old houses, or, in winter, seated on the long settles in the chimney-corners, near a blazing fire of turf and logs. Here, while good progress was made with beautiful gloves or warm stockings, "the merry, heart-cheering sound of the human tongue" gladdened the sitting with merry jest or puzzling riddle, thrilled it with love tale or ghost story, or charmed it with ancient songs, of which the gossips never grew weary. Then, by way of change, some bright lassie would, by request, read a chapter from *Robinson Crusoe*, or *Pilgrim's Progress*, her busy fingers still clicking the knitting-needles, save when, for a second, she was turning the leaf.

It was indeed a primitive valley; but we must not suppose that the love of dress never blossomed in the hearts of its fair inhabitants. The statesman's wife in winter would often appear at church in a splendid long cloak of the finest scarlet

cloth, with hood lined with coloured silk: a becoming and costly dress, carefully preserved aud handed down from mother to daughter. Among the younger women hoops would sometimes come on the scene; and Sedgwick tells how the admiratlon, if not envy, of an old statesman's daughter was excited by the phenomenon of a young woman sailing down the middle aisle at church with a petticoat that stretched almost across it and precluded her from a seat on any of the forms. She was, however, equal to the occasion, and, "by a dexterous flank movement," gained a position among the pews; and then, "by a second inexplicable movement, the framework became vertical, and found a resting-place by overtopping the pew-door—to the great amazement of the rural congregation."

Among the men, several bygone vices and follies still lingered in Adam Sedgwick's boyhood. Occasionally, he was present at matches of cock-fighting, and was a witness of their fruits—"gambling, quarrels, drunken riots, and bellowings of blasphemy." One of the customs of the place, dating from long before the time of James I., was for the young men to assemble after Sunday evening service and end the day with a match at football. The festivities of Christmas and other holiday seasons were kept up "with long-sustained and sometimes, I fear, intemperate activity." Morris-dances, rapier-dances, and mask-dances were just disappearing, and the last race was run in Sedgwick's early days. We have not space for his sketches of the village notables—specially Uncle Leonard, who, from time to time, rode off on his rough little horse right away to London, to make bargains for his Dales goods with the John Gilpins of the time; or old Thomas Waddington, who, decked with dark many-curled wig and looped broad-brimmed hat, also rode up to the great city, to buy hats, cloth, drugs, and what not, for the use of his countrymen; or of Thomas Archer, the prince of rural tailors, who would, every now and then, revisit London and work for a few weeks on some fashionable shop-board to coach himself in the latest mysteries of his art. "Many long measures he had; but not one so long as that by which he measured his own standard." Also Blackburne, the renowned barber and wig-maker, from whose deft manipulation proceeded "the ample

full-bottom; and the three-decker (or more rarely the four-decker), so named from its splendid semicircles of white curls that girt the back of the wearer's pericranium; and he made also the humblest of all wigs—the scratch—fitted for a poor man's head."

Over this primitive population, with its many simple virtues, its rough horse-play and occasional excesses, its shrewd, quiet Quakers and quarrelsome boxers and gamblers, Sedgwick's father exercised a gentle but powerful sway. Kind of heart and pure of life, he was loved by the dalesmen as one of themselves; and his son well remembered how, on Sunday mornings, when, with light step, and well-dressed and powdered wig, he saluted his friends on the way to church, each head was uncovered as he passed. The year before Adam was born there was a contested election for the county of York, and William Wilberforce, then "a young man of bright presence and great eloquence," was one of the candidates. He was already famed as an earnest advocate for the abolition of the Slave Trade; and this roused the good parson's enthusiasm in his behalf. Consulting his early friends the Quakers in Kirthwaite and others, he canvassed the valley from house to house, and every vote was pledged for Wilberforce. Soon afterwards a solicitor arrived to canvass on the other side, but found himself unable to make any way. Wherever he asked for a vote the reply was: "Nae use, sir, we o' here gang wi' th' parson." The beaten lawyer left the field, uttering, as he mounted his horse at the inn door, a final anathema, to the effect that Dent was "the —— priest-ridden hole in England." Except on this special occasion, which appealed strongly to his philanthropic heart, Richard Sedgwick meddled not with politics. His influence over his little flock was won by his devout teaching of Gospel truth, the cheerful simplicity of his life, and his "readiness, at every turn and difficulty, to be in true Christian love an adviser and a peace-maker." In his old age he was afflicted with total blindness; but was a very happy old man, and used to say that his blindness was a blessing, as it made him more religious and more fit to die.

Adam, the future geologist, was an active, merry boy, fond of wandering over fells and dales, full of fun and high spirits,

with quick, observant eye, but giving no special promise of intellectual power; frank, truthful, practical. "Adam o' the parson's" soon became a leader of the lads of his own age. When, in 1798, the news of the battle of the Nile reached the valley, he and his fellows piled up such a heap of turf, sticks, and tar-barrels as nearly to set the village of Dent in a blaze, in commemoration of Nelson's victory. At sixteen, he was sent to Sedbergh Grammar School, then under the care of the Rev. William Stevens, "an excellent scholar and a good domestic and social man." His school-days were, for those times, unusually prolonged: he was not sent to Cambridge till he was nearly twenty, having been entered as a sizar at Trinity College in November 1803. Here he was fortunate in having as his tutor the Rev. Thomas Jones, who was not only an able instructor but a fatherly adviser and steadfast friend to his pupils. To the young dalesman, who had scarcely ever been out of the immediate neighbourhood of his home, Cambridge must have seemed a great, bewildering world of stir and wonderment. In after years he loved to recall the stormy period when he came there as a Freshman. "Nations and kingdoms were falling, year by year, before the conquering sword of France." Between it and England the struggle was for life or death. We had half a million of men in arms, and the French were hovering within sight of the British coasts. But in 1805—a year of desolation to most of the Continent—at the very crisis of our fate, Nelson dashed to pieces the naval force of France by the decisive victory of Trafalgar. When the grand news reached Cambridge, on November 7, Sedgwick was lying ill of typhoid fever, in a half-conscious state. But when the bells of Great St. Mary's rang a dumb-peal, and he learnt the glorious and mournful tidings, he insisted on being carried to the window, where, muffled up in sheets and blankets, he watched the illuminations in the street over the Great Gate, and heard, with deep, though half-delirious sorrow, the booming of the muffled bells sounding the requiem of the gallant victor. Throughout this illness he was diligently nursed by his young friend Ainger, to whom, he used to say, he owed his life more than to his physicians.

Of these early days at the University, with which he was to

be so closely connected for two-thirds of a century, we need only say that in January 1808 his name stood fifth in the first class, or Wranglers; and in October 1810 he was elected Fellow of Trinity—a distinction which he had long coveted, but which, like most things on earth, did not bring him all the pleasure he had anticipated. He had, indeed, been desirous to read for the Bar, and would, no doubt, with his ready speech and lively wit, have made his mark as an advocate. But his father's health was failing, and his two younger brothers had to be educated; so he felt it his duty to create an independence for himself as soon as possible. At the same time, the task of teaching was thoroughly distasteful to him. He liked neither mathematics nor the men into whom he had to instil them. "Six of these blessed youths I have to feed each day," he writes in one letter; and in others he deplores his inability to find leisure for private reading, and looks forward to a future in which he will be able "to have done with the system altogether." In 1811 he took the degree of Master of Arts, and acquired the right of dining at the High Table in Hall, but was rather disappointed in his new surroundings. "Many," he says of the M.A.'s, "are gloomy and discontented, many impertinent and pedantic; and a still greater number are so eaten up with vanity that they are continually attempting some part which they cannot support." The fact is, University life was of necessity very dull in those days, and it is difficult to imagine what the men could find to talk about. Foreign travel was impossible, and home journeying was tedious and costly. Newspapers, too, were "slow," both in matter and in transit, and the arrival of a good tattling letter was a rare treat. "The refining influence of ladies' society was almost wholly absent." The biographer draws a gloomy picture of the men who remained in their fellowships year after year, on the chance of obtaining a College living, and then getting married—

> "Sickening in tedious indolence,
> Hope long deferr'd, and slow suspense."

The dead monotony of the College life of those days was a little broken by prolonged festivities at Christmas, by the occa-

sional excitement of contested elections, and by the welcome news, from time to time, of the victories of the British arms. In these breaks and diversions Sedgwick took much delight. In after years he loved to tell how, in 1812, the news of Wellington's victory of Salamanca reached him and his party of pupils at Lowestoft, and how he publicly read out the glorious tidings.

"It was," he writes, fifty-seven years afterwards, "the last time I ever went out with pupils. The whole summer and autumn were seasons of intense excitement. No railroads and no telegrams then. So day by day we went out to meet the mail-coach, on its first entrance, to catch the first whispers of news from Spain and Russia. . . . . We had heard reports of good news, and I took my stand on a little hill that overlooks the London road along with my party. Several hundred of the inhabitants joined us. At length the mail-coach came in sight, rapidly nearing us. On its top was a sailor, waving the Union Jack over his head, and gaudy ribbons were streaming on all sides, the sure signs of victory. The guard threw down a paper to me, and with it I ran to the public room. There, mounting upon a table, I read to the assembled crowd the Gazette Extraordinary of the battle of Salamanca. The cheers were long and loud, but there were notes of sorrow too, for some of us had lost those who were dear to us."

In 1813 a severe attack of inflammation of the lungs, and the breaking of a blood-vessel, alarmed his friends on account of his health, and damped the lively spirits which had given a charm to his correspondence. So his letters of that period contain no details of the great frost of January 1814, when, no coal-barges being able to get up the river to Cambridge, some of the trees in the grounds of St. John's College were cut down for fuel; at all the colleges men sat together in twos or threes in one room; and Sedgwick himself was obliged to burn his gun-case and some of his chairs. But how, in 1815, he brought the news of Waterloo to Dent, can fortunately be told in his own words:

"At that time we had a post three days a week, and each of those days, to the great comfort of the aged postman, I rode over to Sedbergh to bring back the newspapers and the letters to my countrymen. Gloomy reports had reached us of a battle and a retreat; but another and greater battle was at hand; and on one of my anxious journeys, just as I passed over the Riggs, I heard the sound of the Sedbergh bells. Could it be, I said, the news of a victory? No! it was a full hour before the time of the postman's arrival. A minute afterwards, I saw a countryman returning hastily from Sedbergh.

'Pray what means that ringing?' I said. 'News, sir, sich as niver was heard before. I knâ lile about it, but the Kendal postman has just come an hour before his time. He was all covered with ribbons, and his horse was all covered with froth.' Hearing this, I spurred my horse to the Kendal postman's speed; and it was my joyful fortune to reach Sedbergh not many minutes after the arrival of the Gazette Extraordinary which told us of the great victory of Waterloo.

"After joining in the cheers and congratulations of my friends at Sedbergh, I returned to Dent with what speed I could; and such was the anxiety of the day, that many scores of my brother dalesmen met me on the way, and no time was lost in our return to the market-place of Dent. They ran by my side as I urged on my horse; and then, mounting on the great blocks of black marble, from the top of which my countrymen have so often heard the voice of the auctioneer and the town-crier, I read, at the highest pitch of my voice, the news from the Gazette Extraordinary to the anxious crowd which pressed round me. After the tumultuous cheers had somewhat subsided, I said: 'Let us thank God for this great victory, and let the six bells give us a merry peal.' As I spoke these words, an old weather-beaten soldier, who stood under me, said: 'It is great news, and it is good news, if it bring peace. Yes, let the six bells ring merrily; but it has been a fearful struggle, and how many aching hearts will there be when the list of killed and wounded becomes known to the mothers, wives, and daughters of those who fought and bled for us! But the news is good, and let the six bells ring merrily!'"

The opening up of the Continent by the downfall of Napoleon put new force into English life in general, and the University shared in the benefit as one and another of its members broke fresh ground by foreign travel. Sedgwick spent four months, in 1816, in France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland; but the literary results were small—some disjointed notes jotted down in his journal, mere headings and fragmentary details, perhaps intended to be worked up into a narrative at some future time. He spent a fortnight in Paris, but "bad weather, a rooted prejudice against the Roman Catholic religion, and a cordial hatred of all the ways and works of the French, prevented him enjoying it as much as he did a few years afterwards." The Dutch he liked much better, finding them to be "a mighty comfortable, sober-mannered, old-fashioned people."

Soon after came *the* event of his life, turning his energies into a particular channel, and giving both mind and body more healthful occupation than the grinding labour of tutorship. In

1818, the Woodwardian Professor of Geology, having married, by that prudential act rendered his professorial chair vacant, according to the ungallant provisions of the founder's will. Sedgwick at once announced himself a candidate, having as his opponent, or fellow-candidate, Mr. Gorham, afterwards celebrated for his long controversy with the pugnacious Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter. Sedgwick's friends were well aware that he had given no time to the study of geology, and had shown no special leaning to the cultivation of the stony science; but they knew that he possessed fiery energy, and could do thoroughly whatever he took in hand. With the University at large he had won the same reputation; so his personal character carried the day against the scientific acquirements of his rival. He himself stated their relative position in this forcible formula: "I had but one rival, Gorham, of Queen's, and he had not the slightest chance against me; for I knew nothing of geology, whereas he knew a good deal—but it was all wrong." Like most telling antitheses, this was a brilliant exaggeration. A better putting of the same thought was in the resolve he expressed at this time: "Hitherto I have never turned a stone; henceforth I will leave no stone unturned." He had, it is true, picked up fossils when a child in Dent Dale, just as he would have picked up shells on the seashore; but, in order to deliver the lectures which he had announced as part of his programme, much more would have to be picked up by the new and energetic Professor.

His biographers devote an interesting chapter to an account of Dr. Woodward, founder of the Geological Lectureship and Museum. We need only note that he flourished some two hundred years ago; was not only an ingenious theorist about the causes of the "changes and alterations in the terraqueous globe," but also an indefatigable collector of fossils; and had the honour of being presented on the stage, in a farce by Gay, as *Dr. Fossile*, "the man who has the raree-show of cockle-shells and pebble-stones," and of having his pet theory humorously set forth in a Hudibrastic poem, *Tauronomachia; or, a Description of a Bloody and Terrible Fight between two Champions, Taurus and Onos, at Gresham College.* Woodward, like many another man of mark in that age, had his little

peculiarities, and was on particularly good terms with himself; but he certainly did not deserve to be designated *Onos*. He was not only a painstaking investigator of the laws and causes of rocks and fossils, but may also be regarded as "a founder of experimental plant physiology." Above all, he provided for the endowment of that Geological Professor's chair, which Sedgwick filled so admirably for fifty-five years.

He was now thirty-three; and though he had been a hard student and painstaking tutor for years, the confinement to chambers and indoor life had always been irksome to him and had much affected his health. While drudging in his necessary occupation, his heart would often be away in his native dale (though it may be whispered in a parenthesis that when he stayed at Dent for a few weeks together, he found the place insufferably dull and wearisome). Now he was free to roam, and to use his eyes on field and fell; and as soon as Easter Term, 1818, was over, he set out to explore the face of the earth and learn a little of its make before he attempted to lay down the law to others on such a ticklish subject. From a letter to his friend Ainger, which gives a brief sketch of his first journey on this quest, we extract a few sentences:

"My excursion for this summer is ended. I have been about twenty-four hours in Cambridge, during the greater part of which time I have been employed in packing and unpacking, till every table and chair in my room is nearly filled with the spoils of my labours this summer. . . . . After spending a day at Mount Sorrel, I advanced to Matlock, the immediate place of my destination. . . . . My mornings were spent in professional pursuits—that is, in following the strata of the different rocks, collecting specimens, and diving into the mines. The last operation was often attended with no little fatigue, for the *rake veins* (*i.e.*, vertical fissures, filled with spar and lead ore) are sometimes excavated to an enormous depth. What the miners call *climbing shafts* are formed in these veins, by which you descend to the works; not in buckets as in the coal-mines in your neighbourhood, but on cross-bars of wood (called *stemples*) which are placed, like two perpendicular ladders, on opposite sides of the pit. Between these you descend in a straddling position. I let myself down in this way to the bottom of several of the most remarkable mines in the county. In one or two of them the works were nearly 1000 feet below the surface of the earth. . . . ."

Those were the days of travelling by stage-coach, when a journey of several hours, if made in good company, brought

cheerful converse and often led to valuable friendships. On the other hand, if the company happened to be ill-assorted or silent, the coach proved a dull, headache-bestowing prison on wheels. A cheery traveller, however, like Sedgwick, carried with him his own bright atmosphere of mirth and kindliness, and drew hearty enjoyment from every journey. He loved to talk to all sorts and conditions of men, and to make them talk, and was equally at home with "quarrymen, miners, fishermen, smugglers, shepherds, artisans, grooms, innkeepers, clergy of all denominations, squires, noblemen." Somehow he seemed to be always having adventures which did not happen to ordinary, commonplace people, or, if they did, would not strike them as anything unusual. He had, in fact, the happy faculty of drawing forth latent humour, as well as the knack of dressing up little incidents in attractive guise. He was an unrivalled teller of a story, and when he returned to Cambridge from one of his geological explorations, his budget of anecdote and adventure, quip and quirk, was eagerly looked for by the stay-at-homes of the University.

In 1819 he and his friend Henslow, afterwards Professor of Mineralogy and then of Botany, with the cordial aid of Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke, founded the Cambridge Philosophical Society. Sedgwick was one of its first two secretaries, and at the annual dinners his speech was "one of the events of the academical year." Of these after-dinner orations we have a graphic description from the pen of the Bishop of Carlisle:

> "His speeches were the most remarkable things of the kind I have ever heard; they sometimes began with a wild exuberance that nearly touched upon the region of nonsense, and then, apparently without effort, they rose to the solemn and almost to the sublime; the combination, without incongruity, of lofty morality with almost boyish fun was quite wonderful, and almost Shakespearean. It must have been on getting up at one of these dinners that he explained the nervousness often felt on standing up to speak by maintaining that the vital spirits were very much in the nature of a fluid; as long as you were sitting all was right, but the moment you stood up they left your head and went down into your boots."

In the period from 1819 to 1824 he explored, first, the West of England; and next, Yorkshire, Durham, and the Lake District. His letters at this period, though referring chiefly

to his scientific pursuits, give occasional smart touches of character not always flattering. Thus, of the people of Somersetshire he tells his friend Ainger, "They seem a mighty good sort of people, who have not wit enough to cheat a stranger. The men get drunk with cider, and the women make clotted cream." Devonshire rather disappointed him; he had heard too much of it beforehand, and perhaps had "not seen the finest part of the county." At Penzance he made the acquaintance of Professor J. J. Conybeare, and subsequently of his brother, W. D. Conybeare, afterwards Dean of Llandaff; both of whom became fast friends of his, and imparted to him a large amount of geological lore, which was of much service to him in this early part of his professorial career.

Sedgwick had now plenty of work before him; but, as his biographers plainly assert, he lacked such singleness of purpose and devotion to his new duties as might have been expected from one in his responsible position. Energy and industry he had in abundance; but he was deficient in "intellectual self-control," and though he well knew that he had annually to deliver a course of lectures, had to maintain a museum at a high standard, and had the wide and comparatively unexplored field of geology before him, he allowed much of his time and vigour to be wasted in work which might have been done just as well by men of less talent and originality, and who had no great professional studies to pursue. Thus his name appears on a Committee for promoting subscriptions in aid of the Greeks; he is appointed on Syndicates which lead their members into long and tedious negotiations about commonplace business; and he puts himself forward in petty, barren controversies about University procedure, which he had better have left to a Select Council of Tadpoles and Dryasdusts. The consequences of these diversions were serious. "Geological memoranda, which ought to have been arranged when the subject was fresh in his mind, were laid aside; specimens remained for months—sometimes for years—undetermined, or even not unpacked; promised papers were not finished—perhaps not begun."

The chief of these petty controversies took place in 1822,

and what with consultations with friends, and writing polemical pamphlets, occupied a considerable portion of valuable time for nearly two years. It is not worth while to go into the merits of the dispute. Suffice it to say that Sedgwick and Dr. French, the Vice-Chancellor, fired hot *brochures* at each other, and that the former lost not only time for quiet, necessary work, but also the point at issue, which, by award of Sir John Richardson, was determined in favour of the Vice.

We gladly turn to his more pleasant and strictly legitimate occupations in these years. The summers of 1822–4 he spent entirely among the Lake Mountains, constructing a detailed geological map of "that rugged region." Here he made the acquaintance of the poets Southey and Wordsworth, and of the great chemist Dalton, whom he first met near the summit of Helvellyn. It is curious to note that, though Wordsworth had, in *The Excursion*, uttered what Sedgwick terms "a poetic ban against my brethren of the hammer," the latter formed an intimate friendship with the poet, who took deep interest in his pursuits, materially assisted his explorations, and made him always welcome at his house. From the fund of anecdote with which these delightful wanderings furnished him, we extract the following:

"Two or three times I went with Mr. Hunter (a statesman at Mosedale) to break the syenites of Carrock Fell. On my second visit I found his old-fashioned chimney-piece decorated with specimens of syenite. 'Do you think these curiosities?' I said. 'Not a bit,' he replied, 'they are as common as cow-muck. But I put 'em here aboon the chimlay to tell my nebbers what mak' o' things a Cambridge skoller will laëd his horse wi'.' But old Hunter played no tricks. He fed me and my horse well; and he went with me, and carried a great sledge-hammer to break the hard syenites. The last time I drove to Mosedale he spied me before I reached his house, and roared out, 'Fain to see ye again; how do ye come on with your cobbles?'"

"SCENE.—*A room in a small wayside inn, near Wastwater. Enter* Professor SEDGWICK, *very hungry, calling for the* LANDLADY.

"*S.*—What have you got to eat?
"*L.*—There's nothing in the house.
"*S.*—Nothing! What did you have to-day for dinner?
"*L.*—Potatoes and bacon.

"*S.*—Very well. You didn't eat it all, I suppose. Warm me up what's left.

"[*Exit* LANDLADY, *returning presently with the remains of the potato and bacon, and a pot of ale.* SEDGWICK *eats heartily.*

"*S.* (*having finished his dinner*).—What's to pay, missus?

"*L.*—Happen eightpence wouldn't hurt ye?

"*S.*—Nay, here's a shilling for ye.

"[LANDLADY *takes the shilling, and produces four greasy pennies from her pocket, which she lays on the table.*

"*S.* (*pushing them back*).—Nay, nay, you may keep them.

"*L.* (*after a long and earnest look at him*).—I'm thinking that you've seen better days."

In 1825 his professorial lectures were largely attended, and the fair sex desired to participate in the advantage of listening to such an eloquent expositor of scientific research. He endeavoured to moderate their enthusiasm by administering to them "a sedative dose in the form of a three hours' lecture." A day or two after "this act of homage to the Blues," he and his friend Whewell started by mail for Edinburgh, with which "magnificent capital" and its surroundings he was greatly charmed, as well as with the amplitude and variety of good things at a northern breakfast. At evening parties here they met "belles, beaux, advocates, savans, and craniologists; in short, saw everybody and everything." Of Professors Leslie and Brewster he gives this unflattering description:

"The former is a short, butcher-like figure, with a red nose, and may be considered as a singular pachydermatous variety of the human species. He is, however, a man of very original powers, and possesses a great mass of curious information. Brewster is in many respects the converse of this. He is a thin, gentlemanlike figure, and is so sensitive and thin-skinned that you cannot touch him without making him wince. The two philosophers hate each other most cordially."

Jeffrey he pronounces to be "on the whole a very agreeable man; but," he adds, "you may perceive in most things he says the tartness and causticity of the Edinburgh critic." Walter Scott "talks exactly as he writes, and before you have been two minutes in his company he begins to tell good stories."

Early in 1827 he again visited France, and this time much enjoyed his stay at Paris. He "attended public lectures, examined public institutions," and made the acquaintance of

several eminent men of science—Laplace, Arago, Cuvier, Humboldt. Old Marquis de Laplace had had some experience of "Catholic" priests, and expressed his opinion of them pretty freely. His advice on the Emancipation question, then agitated in England, was this: "You have these fellows down—keep them down. If you admit them to power they will only endeavour to destroy those who lifted them up."

The want of congeniality which Sedgwick had felt in the society of Trinity had disappeared long before this time. In the intervening years a succession of remarkable men had filled the Fellowships, among whom were Sheepshanks, Thirlwall, Macaulay, Airy, Peacock, Hare, Romilly, and Whewell. With several of these Sedgwick formed intimate friendships. His dearest friend was the Rev. Joseph Romilly, whose well-kept diary was nearly as full of Sedgwick as of himself, and has been of much use in this biography. All were glad to enjoy the society of such a genial companion, brilliant talker, thorough original, as the Professor of Geology, who not only infused life into the dry bones of his own science, but was well furnished on every topic, and, instead of being a pedantic bore, made a lasting and favourable impression on all who came within his range. But his especial delight was to entertain ladies and children, "whom he amused in all manner of quaint ways, and sent home with a store of memories that never faded from their minds." Outside Trinity, his favourite resort for some years was Hyde Hall, near Sawbridgeworth, where Sir John Malcolm, the distinguished scholar and diplomatist, had settled down after his career in India and Persia. Here Hare, Whewell, and Sedgwick loved to visit; and of its master the last-mentioned writes to Ainger:

> "Sir John has more of the elements of a great character than any other man I have had the happiness of knowing. As a mere author his rank is high, but with all this he is a great Oriental scholar, has been three times Ambassador at the Persian Court, has ruled empires with wisdom, and commanded victorious armies; and, what is of more consequence, in his own house he is one of the most rationally convivial men that ever sat at a table, or romped with a family of smiling children."

No doubt the "smiling children" were to the susceptible Professor the chief attraction of Hyde Hall. He soon became

the chosen friend of all of them, but particularly of the third daughter Kate, with whom, as she grew up, he established a correspondence, which was carried on until his death. His letters, in this instance, fortunately have been preserved, and selections from them add great attraction to the Life of the writer.

The year 1827 is memorable in Sedgwick's career as the time of his first journey in the company of Roderick Impey Murchison, whose acquaintance he had made at the meetings of the Geological Society, of which he had been elected a Fellow in November 1818. "From his buoyant and cheerful nature," says Murchison, "as well as from his flow of soul and eloquence, Sedgwick at once won my heart." Whatever the origin of their friendship—whether mutual convenience or mutual liking and admiration—they were for many years close companions and co-workers. Sedgwick was for a time the towering Gamaliel at whose feet Murchison sat, and was not ashamed of his hero-worship. "Perhaps you know," writes Lyell, "that he idolises even more than the Cantabs 'the first of men,' as Adam is usually styled there." Their friendship, however, does not seem to have stood on a very firm basis. It ended as suddenly as it had begun. But this sad estrangement, which clouded their closing years, was as yet far in the distance, when, in July 1827, they set off for the North in high spirits, their object being "to ascertain, if possible, the true relations of the red sandstones of Scotland." In one of his amusing letters of this date, Sedgwick tells how delighted he is with what he has seen of the Highlanders:

> "They are good-humoured, high-minded, well-informed, racy, and dirty. The day before yesterday, at Loch Ranza, I asked a fine, dark-eyed lass for a pair of slippers. She immediately pulled off her own shoes and offered them to me, saying: 'I dinna want 'em. You may wear 'em yoursel while I clean your ain.' On returning yesterday over the mountains we passed two fine lasses: one had a green veil, and the other a velvet reticule. Yet both were walking without shoes and stockings."

The next summer found him in Cornwall, when he stayed nearly two months at Camborne, and, in conjunction with Airy and Whewell, conducted experiments at the famous copper mine of Dolcoath, swinging pendulums in order to determine the density of the earth.

In February 1829 he was installed President of the Geological Society, and at the anniversary dinner astonished his scientific brethren by his brilliant speeches and humorous hits. When proposing the toast of the Astronomical Society, and Herschel, its President, then about to be married, he wound up with the following sentiment: "May the house of Herschel be perpetuated, and, like the Cassinis, be illustrious astronomers for three generations. May all the constellations wait upon him; may *Virgo* go before, and *Gemini* follow after." As to his scientific papers, Mr. Geikie, in his *Life of Sir C. Lyell*, tells how Sedgwick could

"by a few broad lines convey, even to non-scientific hearers, a vivid notion of the geology of a wide region, or of a great geological formation. Embalmed in the Society's Transactions, the paper, as we read it now, bears about as much resemblance to what it must have been to those who heard it, as the dried leaves in a herbarium do to the plant which tossed its blossoms in the mountain wind. Brimful of humour, and bristling with apposite anecdote, he could so place a scientific fact as to photograph it on the memory, while at the same time he linked it with something droll, or fanciful, or tender, so that it seemed ever after to wear a kind of human significance. No keener eye than his ever ranged over the rocks of England; and yet, while noting each feature of their structure or scenery, he delighted to carry through his geological work an endless thread of fun and wit."

In his North Wales tour in 1831, Sedgwick had for two or three weeks the company of Charles Darwin, then a young man of twenty-two, in whom he discerned something of his future greatness as a naturalist. In after years, replying to a note from Sedgwick, Darwin wrote of this tour as "a memorable event" in his life. "I felt it a great honour, and it stimulated me to work, and made me appreciate the noble science of geology." In the following year, Brougham, then Lord Chancellor, asked Sedgwick to accept the living of East Farleigh, an offer which the latter unhesitatingly declined, much to the regret of his friends, who pictured to themselves the punishment which a solitary bachelor's life in a University would probably entail on a warm-hearted man like Sedgwick as he advanced in years. "He made," says his biographer, "a fatal mistake when he cut himself off, irrevocably, from marriage. . . . . In the loneliness which is inseparable from old

age within the precincts of a college, he not seldom dwelt on what might have been had he been blessed with a wife and children."

We must pass rapidly over the incidents of these middle years of his life—his Commemoration Sermon (1832), a Discourse which had for its subject the somewhat secular topic, *The Studies of the University*, and, when printed, swelled out in various editions, from "the modest octavo of 109 pages into a ponderous tome, in which 442 pages of preface, and 228 of appendix, include between them 94 pages of discourse" —his Presidentship of the British Association in 1833—his reply to Beverley's attack on the University of Cambridge—his endeavours to procure the abolition of tests on proceeding to degrees—his presentation to a prebendal stall at Norwich by Brougham on the very day before the eccentric Chancellor gave up the Great Seal. This last event made a happy change in Sedgwick's life, inasmuch as it necessitated his residence at Norwich at least two months of each year, and introduced him to a fresh circle of friends and future correspondents. Altogether it made a wholesome break in the monotony of continuous lecturing and stone-breaking.

> "Here I am," he writes "from the Close, Norwich," to Dr. Ainger, "in my own Residence, as good a Prebendary as you can see on a winter's day, though still without a shovel hat. My friends in college have been putting about a shilling subscription to buy me a gorgeous shovel hat. I shall receive it with due gratitude, and hang it on a peg to be looked at, but as to putting it on my nob, that is another question."

It is "passing strange" that in the same letter, after showing dolefully that the fees and furniture necessitated by his new appointment would run him into debt "to the tune of £600 at the very least," he expresses the wish that "some good Christian would just now give me a thousand pounds; it would just make a poor body comfortable." Within six months his wish was literally fulfilled. An old lady of fortune in Yorkshire had made him her executor and one of her residuary legatees, and soon he found himself the fortunate possessor of the very sum which was to set him straight.

In his first term of residence at Norwich he had, in the absence of the Dean, to act as

"the official representative of the dignity of the Chapter—called upon to practise a series of formal hospitalities in a queer, old-fashioned, in-and-out, ugly, old house. Several times I was afraid of being on my beam ends; but by some special providence I was saved from shipwreck, and am at last safe in port. Everybody was kind and hospitable; indeed, I have been almost killed with kindness; and all the good old Tory inhabitants of the rookery seemed mightily anxious to see how such a monster as a Whig Prebendary would behave at meals; and you may depend upon it they have all been much built up with the sight. I did, however, contrive to bring together more heretics and schismatics within my walls than ever had been seen before in a Prebendal house since the foundation of the Cathedral. Independents and High Churchmen were seen licking out of the same flesh-pots, and Quakers crossed my threshold without fear and trembling. By the way, some of the Quakers are my delight. J. J. Gurney is an excellent and learned man—brother of Mrs. Fry and Mrs. F. Buxton—reads Hebrew, and spouts the Greek Fathers by the hour together. I don't believe there is a better man living. Friend Amelia (Mrs. Opie) you know well. I like her much; but I never dared to rumple her cap in the way you mention."

The new life had its drawbacks. Of his first forty-nine years thirty had been spent in Trinity College, where his time latterly had been pretty much at his own command, and his special studies and work could be pursued with little interruption. But at Norwich he had to lead a more public life, and could scarcely call a moment his own. The long Cathedral services, too, were a sad infliction on the vigorous, impatient dalesman.

"These long services," he writes, "cut my time to shreds and destroy the spirit of labour. We have the shadow of Catholicism without a grain of its substance, for not one of the Chapter thinks himself better for these heartless formalities, or nearer heaven. A cold empty Cathedral and a set of unwilling hirelings singing prayers for an hour together. The bell tells me I must be off. . . . . I am just returned after a full hour and a half of shivering. And what the congregation? One single old woman in addition to the officials."

He had, however, several compensations, and after a year or two these epistolary grumblings, with their exaggerated troubles, died away, and the old-fashioned house in the Close became a second and livelier home to him, especially after it began to resound with the pattering feet of his nephew's

children. Indeed, he was never happier than when in the society of ladies and children; and this trait in his character is illustrated by an amusing incident in his first visit to Norwich:

"He called on Dean Pellew in time for an early breakfast, and on being shown into the drawing-room found there his daughter Minna, aged three, playing at bricks. Sedgwick at once went down on his knees, and assisted her to build a Tower of Babel, in which occupation the Dean, to his great amusement, found his new Canon busily engaged. Sedgwick never forgot either the child or the incident, but maintained a close friendship with her until his death, writing to her frequently, and generally sending her a present on her birthday."

In 1837 the old Bishop of Norwich (Bathurst) died, and was succeeded by the Rev. Edward Stanley, with whom and his family Sedgwick was soon on terms of intimate friendship. The new bishop was a great improvement on the old one, who, though a worthy and amiable man, was rather a politician and a man of letters than a spiritual shepherd and overseer. He was a devoted whist-player, and a good story is told of Sedgwick's first dinner with his diocesan, then ninety years of age:

"The whist-table was set out as usual in the drawing-room, and Sedgwick was asked to take a hand. He regretted his inability to do so, protesting his complete ignorance of the game. The bishop said nothing, but afterwards lamented his melancholy position in the following pathetic words: 'I have consistently supported the Whigs all my life—I believe I am called the only Liberal bishop—and now in my old age they have sent me a Canon who does not know spades from clubs.'"

In April of the next year we find Sedgwick visiting Lord Braybrooke at Audley End, to witness the opening of a large barrow at Bardon in Essex, which proved to contain some Roman remains—jugs, bottles, pateras, and a lamp. In June he was presented, with other Fellows of the Royal Society, to the young Queen, and, a few days later, witnessed with delight the "dazzling" ceremonial of her coronation.

From 1840 onward might, as his biographer remarks, be called the *domestic* period of Sedgwick's life, just as the years between 1818 and 1840 might be styled the *geological* period, were such "sharply defined subdivisions" of a man's career desirable. From the latter year he devoted a large portion of his

time to his two nieces, doing his best to form their characters and direct their studies by regular correspondence, and by personal superintendence when they were under his roof at Norwich.

Our limits will not allow us to do more than merely mention the great mass of interesting matter contained in the latter part of the *Life and Letters*. His lively account of the Queen's visit to Cambridge with her husband in 1843, and of his own visits to Windsor and Osborne in subsequent years; his demolition of Robert Chambers's *Vestiges of Creation* in a somewhat ponderous article in the *Edinburgh Review;* his strongly expressed but perfectly natural disgust at Newman's apostasy from the Church of England, and at the un-Protestant Oxford movement which led up to it; his acceptance of the secretaryship to Prince Albert on his election to the Chancellorship of Cambridge, and the intimate relations with the Royal family which followed on this appointment; his enthusiastic admiration of "the Swedish nightingale," Jenny Lind; his services on the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state, discipline, studies, and revenues of Cambridge University and Colleges; his painful dispute with his old friend Murchison over their views on the boundaries and nomenclature of certain geological systems, and the priority of their respective work—these are but a few of the many interesting points which are here detailed. From his charming letters to ladies and "lions"—Livingstone, Herschel, Owen, Darwin, Hugh Miller, Dean Stanley, &c.—we must not now quote, but refer the reader to the volumes themselves, which are rich in varied and valuable matter.

It has not come within the scope of this article to set forth the extent and value of Sedgwick's labours in his special department of science. These are clearly stated in a closing chapter by Professor Hughes, from which we quote a few words of Sir Edward Sabine's speech in awarding to the aged Professor the gold medal of the Royal Society:

"Up to a recent period, comprising an interval of upwards of forty years, he has devoted himself to geological researches with an ability, a persistent zeal, and untiring perseverance which place him amongst the foremost of those eminent men by whose genius, sagacity, and labours the science of

geology has attained its present high position. To duly appreciate his earlier work as a geological observer and reasoner, we must recall to recollection the comparative ignorance which prevailed forty or fifty years ago, to the dispersion of which his labours have largely contributed."

His old age, spite of the void left by the want of wife and children and the tender ties of such sweet relationships, was not devoid of happiness. Nieces and grand-nieces and a host of appreciative friends did their best to cheer his years of decay. In his eighty-seventh year, when suffering from the infirmities of extreme old age, he writes:

"I keep up my spirits pretty well by thinking of the past and by cherishing hopes for the future, and by reading the letters of my nieces and grand-nieces, who write with good ronnd hands to suit me. I am not unhappy. I have learnt to feel a pleasure in sitting still in my armchair. But I am in the decade of labour and sorrow, and I must regard this trial as for my good, if I use it as an aged Christian ought to do."

"May God's bright light shine on your heart this year," he wrote to Miss Malcolm on the 1st of January 1873. A few days afterwards Charles Kingsley, a man of kindred spirit, brought him a pleasing message of inquiry from the Prince of Wales; and early on the morning of the 27th he passed peacefully away from the scene of his scientific labours. Of his mental and moral worth, these volumes are a just and noble record.

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Samuel, with an Introduction on Hebrew Palaeography and the Ancient Versions, and facsimiles of Inscriptions. By the Rev. S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christchurch, Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1890.

CANON DRIVER says in his Preface that, though the Books of Samuel contain classical examples of a chaste and beautiful Hebrew prose style, they have suffered unusually from transcriptional corruption, so that questions as to the text are continually presenting themselves for discussion. This feature of the books makes them somewhat unsuitable for a beginner, but the more advanced student will scarcely find a better field in which to gain a knowledge of the most characteristic Hebrew idioms, and be introduced to the grounds and principles of the textual criticism of the Old Testament. Canon Driver not only seeks to explain what can be explained in the text, but to point out and illustrate the idioms. This is the task to which the body of the work is devoted. The *Introduction* deals with some questions of great interest. In his discussion of "The Early History of the Hebrew Alphabet" he shows that the older character of which the Talmud and the Fathers speak was that which, with slight modifications, is found on the Inscription of Mesha, known as the "Moabite Stone," "upon early Aramaic and Hebrew gems, upon Phœnician inscriptions, and upon the one Hebrew inscription which we at present possess—viz., that found in the tunnel of the Pool of Siloam. It was the common Semitic character, used alike, in ancient times, by the Moabites, Hebrews, Aramæans, and Phœnicians, and transmitted by the Phœnicians to the Greeks." Examples of seals and inscriptions are given to show the style of writing. The beautiful facsimile of the inscription on the wall of the Pool of Siloam will show what a debt we owe to the scholars who have deciphered this faint, delicate writing. The "Carpentras Stele" is also reproduced—a monument carved in limestone, which is now deposited at Carpentras, in France. Its history is unknown, but it is a tribute to Taba, the worshipper of Osiris; "Aught of evil she did not, and calumny against any man she never uttered," with an invitation to worship, "Be thou a worshipper [Sc. before Osiris], my

darling; and among the pious [mayest thou be at peace]." A collotype from an Egyptian papyrus shows the transition to the square character considerably advanced. The last illustration, a specimen of a complete Phœnician inscription, shows how the autographs of the Old Testament must have looked. The second section, on "Early Hebrew Orthography," points out that words were separated by a point in the inscription of Mesha and at Siloam. Whether some such mark was used in the original MSS. of the Old Testament cannot be determined. The fact that the Massoretes, instead of altering in the text what they view as a wrong division of words, leave the text as it is, and only direct the reader to substitute the correct division, indicates that the division of words was then generally established, and the five final letters in use. But the third section on "The Chief Ancient Versions of the Old Testament" will be studied with still greater interest. The oldest known MS. is that of the Later Prophets preserved at St. Petersburg. Its date is 916 A.D., but few MSS. are earlier than the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Since the rise of the Massoretic school, in the seventh and eighth centuries, the Jews have preserved the text with scrupulous care, but there had previously been a period of no small laxity. The wonder is that the text is so free from error as it is. These considerations will show the value of the Versions. Canon Driver gives some account of the chief features of the Septuagint, the Targums, the Syriac, and the Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. Origen's attempt to secure the true text of the Septuagint led him to prepare his famous Hexapla. It preserved much precious textual material, but it did not accomplish what he desired. Jerome collated Origen's MS. for his own work. He was himself "especially prone to be guided by Symmachus. Where the Vulgate exhibits a rendering which deviates alike from the Hebrew text and from the LXX., the clue to its origin will generally be found in one of the other Greek translations, especially in that of Symmachus." The most valuable section of the *Introduction* for the Hebrew scholar is that entitled, "Characteristics of the Chief Ancient Versions of Samuel," where there is a mass of suggestive matter, such as only even a great scholar could furnish after laborious investigation of the Versions. The inscription of Mesha is translated and explained in an Appendix. We now reach the text. Here the scholarship of the book is still more evident. Hannah's "double portion" is reduced to "one portion," "howbeit," the writer adds, "he loved Hannah; but Jehovah had shut up her womb." That is, she only needed one portion, as she had no children. Canon Driver argues that the tenth verse of Hannah's song cannot have been sung by her, because, even if the allusion is to the *ideal* king, such an ideal presupposes the actual, "and the thoughts of the prophets of Israel can only have risen to the conception of an ideal king after they had witnessed the establishment of the monarchy in their midst. Far more probably, however, the reference is to the actual king. And indeed in style and tone the song throughout bears the marks of a later age than that of Hannah."

This seems to us very halting criticism. To take no higher ground of objection, it ignores the probability of a growing national sentiment in favour of a king which only took final shape in the days of Saul. The reader will have to use his own discretion at points where Canon Driver is not a safe guide, but no one can study these scholarly notes without gaining much light on many obscure passages. We are sorry that the expression *the Bow* in 2 Samuel i. 18 does not seem capable of any satisfactory explanation. Wellhausen thinks the word an intruder, and has an ingenious theory to account for its presence in the text.

1. *The Kingdom of God; or, Christ's Teaching according to the Synoptical Gospels.* By A. B. BRUCE, D.D. Third Edition.
2. *The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement.* By ALFRED CAVE, B.A., D.D. New Edition. Revised throughout and partly re-written.
3. *The Servant of the Lord in Isaiah XL.-LXVI.* Reclaimed to Isaiah as the Author from Argument, Structure, and Date. By JOHN FORBES, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1890.

1. Last January in noticing Professor Bruce's book we were compelled to express our strong disapproval of the manner in which he handled the Gospel history. That judgment the present edition does nothing to modify. A few unimportant changes were made in the body of the work in the second edition. The last chapter was also recast to make room for some portions of an inaugural address delivered at Glasgow College. In the Preface to the Third Edition Dr. Bruce sets himself to "remove misapprehensions" as to his statements in reference to the Synoptist Gospels. His views implied no doubt in his mind as to the inspiration of the evangelists; but whilst he maintains their inspiration, Dr. Bruce holds that they reported the teaching of Christ with "various degrees of exactness," and "modified the form of our Lord's words, for good and worthy reasons, such as a regard to the spiritual needs of their first readers." We deeply regret the self-sufficient tone and unsettling tendency of the book, though we are glad to have Professor Bruce's disclaimer of some interpretations of his words, which were by no means unnatural or unwarranted.

2. Dr. Cave's *Sacrifice and Atonement* met, on its first publication, with "a catholic reception of a very appreciative kind," which showed that it supplied a real need in theological literature. He has taken advantage of the call for a new edition to perfect his work. Comparatively little change has been needed in the Old Testament section, but more than half of that which deals with the New Testament has been re-written, and much new matter

added. This masterly statement of the Biblical doctrine will be of the highest service to every theological reader. Dr. Cave shows much acumen in his criticism of theories of the Atonement, but the great value of his book is the patient investigation and luminous exposition of sacrifice and atonement in both the Old and the New Testament. It is a standard theological work which all preachers should read.

3. In his preface Dr. Forbes, the Emeritus Professor of Oriental languages at Aberdeen, who has reached the ripe age of eighty-seven, expresses his thankfulness that he has been spared to complete his commentary on the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, and to reclaim for him their authorship. He justly refers to Canon Driver's *Isaiah : his Life and Times*, as one of the fairest and most successful representatives of the "Great Unnamed" theory. Dr. Forbes admits that in the body of this commentary he has not fully recognised the force of some arguments for that theory. The five points which make him unable to accept Canon Driver's position are forcibly stated in the preface, and worked out in the book itself. The venerable author deserves the thanks of all Biblical students for this luminous and forcible defence of Isaiah's authorship of the whole prophecy. His arguments are to our mind unanswerable. The Appendix on Isaiah ix. is fresh and suggestive. The book will, we trust, have a wide circulation.

The Expositor. Vol. I. Fourth Series. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

This volume, of the newest series of the *Expositor*, contains an important series of articles from the pen of Professor Beet, on the New Testament teaching as to the future punishment of sin and the gift of eternal life; Dr. Cox also reappears, as many will be glad to see, in the journal which he founded, one of his two papers being on the subject of "St. James and his Epistle"; there are three papers on the "Internal Evidence for St. John's Gospel," written by the lamented Bishop Lightfoot; Dr. Plummer writes his "Recollections of Dr. Döllinger." These are some of the many contributions which make up the varied contents of the volume. We cannot say that all the contributions are valuable, but the volume as a whole is one of great value.

The Minor Prophets. By the Rev. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Archdeacon of Westminster. London: Nisbet & Co.

Archdeacon Farrar is always learned, eloquent, and attractive; always earnest, sympathetic, and devout. At the same time, his intellectual training and sympathies lead him to incline towards the modern school of what can only be described as rationalistic criticism. This volume is an illustration of all the characteristics of which we have spoken. It needs, therefore, to be read with caution. His views as to Joel, for example, are almost as questionable as his interpretation of the Apocalypse. Nevertheless, Dr. Farrar's personal Christian faith is so sincere and deep, that his mode of presenting even questionable views is generally such as not to offend the sympathies of the Christian reader.

The Gospel According to St. Luke. By the Rev. HENRY BURTON, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

This volume of the Expositor's Bible is written by an expositor who is also a poet and an eloquent preacher. He is a Wesleyan minister, and we are not sure but that his preaching eloquence is occasionally a snare to him. The other Wesleyan expositor in this series, Professor Findlay, of Headingley College, is not only a preacher, he is also a professor of exegesis; he is accordingly, as his volume on *Galatians* shows, above all, and always a close expositor. In this volume we find not a little of characteristically pulpit eloquence. We seem to be able to say which chapter of exposition is a close study of the text, written as such, and with no more illustration or enlargement than is proper for the work in hand, and which is substantially a reproduction of a pulpit effusion with its warmth, its colour, its rhetoric, its occasionally somewhat digressive illustration. To some readers this variety will perhaps be a special attraction in the volume. Mr. Burton has a just expository instinct, and exercises an independent judgment. Sometimes in a paragraph he admirably condenses and exhibits the points of a narrative or parable. Generally, also, he steers clear of *ad captandum* expositions. He is not a superficial nor an unsound interpreter. We must ask him, however, to reconsider part of what he has written on p. 136 as to the Fatherhood of God. Surely there are not a few passages in the Old Testament, alike in the Prophets and the Psalms, where the Divine Fatherhood is taught. Had Mr. Burton forgotten the 103rd Psalm?

A Piece of a Honeycomb. Meditations for Every Day in the Year. London: C. H. Kelly. 1890.

Miss McKenny's contributions to the *Christian Journal*, under the title of "Morning Manna," had a spirituality of tone and a felicity of style which made readers welcome each fresh instalment of those meditations. They have now been collected and largely added to. Their vigour both of thought and expression may be seen from the following extract. It is from the Meditation on Balaam, for January 31: "In the words he spoke, the messengers must have caught the tone of uncertainty. When they returned to Balak, the king at once read between the lines. The tone in which a man says 'No' reveals in a moment his moral build. He tried to adjust his conscience to his desire, and endeavoured to make, if possible, God or his conscience say that wrong was right." The reflections on "He restoreth my soul," under date June 1, show a power of illustration which adds much to the interest of these daily portions. But we must hasten on to another page. The command to Hagar, "Return to thy mistress" forms the motto for many helpful words (October 7). "When life deals hardly with us, and the weight of existence presses heavily on wearied

brain and fevered nerve, we feel it easier to run away from it all than to fight it out to the end. It is a cowardly thought, and unworthy of our better selves. . . . . The common walks of life are the paths which lead to His kingdom. He will reveal Himself to us in no other way. We shall miss that holy vision, if we foolishly run away. It is by the ministry of these trying daily circumstances that our gold is to be refined. If we take ourselves out of the furnace, how can we expect to come forth purified and made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light." Miss McKenny's Meditations are always thoughtful and helpful, and are models of terse yet chaste expression. The book is very handsomely got up, and is printed in clear type, with wide margins.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

Alexander Heriot Mackonochie. A Memoir. By E. A. T. Edited by EDWARD FRANCIS RUSSELL, M.A., St. Alban's, Holborn. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1890.

THOSE who differ most from Mr. Mackonochie will not be the least eager to read his memoir. It has fallen into competent hands, for Mrs. Charles Towle, whose initials are on the title-page, is the gifted daughter of Sir Henry Taylor, and her biography of Father Lowder takes rank among the classics of Ritualism. Mr. Mackonochie was born in the little town of Fareham, on August 11, 1825, where his father, Colonel in the East India Company's Service, had settled on his return from India. The father died when Alexander was two years old, but the mother gave herself to the training of her two little boys, with a whole-hearted devotion and good sense which went far to supply the father's place as well as her own. She was of Scotch extraction, as the whole tone of the family life bore witness. It was "sober, disciplined, and restrained; even affection kept within the bounds of a systematic self-control." The early letters are singularly destitute of feeling, and contain few touches of pleasantry or jest. "Alec's" desire to be a clergyman early won for him among his schoolfellows the nickname of "the boy-bishop," but there was naturally little manifestation of religious feeling. One passage from his mother's correspondence forms a significant contrast to the history of later days. Her younger son was on the eve of entering Wadham College. It was February, 1843. Sir Henry Thompson had called on the family and expressed his opinion that "this wild doctrine [Puseyism] is on the decline, which I was very glad to hear him say. Ultra views both in religion and

politics lead to evil. The High Church party, as far as I have learnt their views, have not learnt humility. As far as I can see, the moderate Low Churchman who lets his moderation be known unto all men is the closest follower of Christ." At college Mackonochie lived a retired life, taking no prominent part in sports, though for some time he was stroke of the Wadham boat. He was much attracted by Charles Marriott, whose spiritual guidance he periodically sought, even after he left the University. But there is little to indicate that he would become so prominent a member of the High Church party. His first curacy was at Westbury, in Wiltshire. The stiffness due to his home training was very noticeable at first, but it was not long before he won the affection of his own special part of the parish. Like many young clergymen, he found sermonising a hard task. "He wrote his sermons and preached from his paper. He wrote with slowness and considerable difficulty. I have known him write most of Saturday, and, unable to make enough to fill his paper, work on into the night, till he went to bed on Sunday morning rather than Saturday night in despair, and have to fill a few more pages on Sunday morning before service." Such is the testimony of one of his fellow curates, who adds that from the first Mackonochie had to preach two sermons a week. His powers of work, however, were wonderful. At one time he had to conduct four daily services in different parts of the parish in addition to his other work. He found great poverty in the district, which he often relieved at the cost of much personal sacrifice. On one occasion he declined a pressing invitation to Oxford, which conduct puzzled his friends, until they found that he had not a coat fit to go in. "I could not help it," he said; "the fever was so bad at Ditton." The drudgery of parochial work, which he happily styled "spade industry," was never neglected, and he won some happy results by his loving fidelity. He and his fellow-curates subscribed for a pair of candlesticks for the communion-table. They invited their Vicar to tea and presented them to him. When he had admired them, they broke to him the fact that they were intended for the church, and were much chagrined when he repeated over and over again after his profuse admiration, "but you know I *cannot* put them upon the altar." They found their way to the top shelf of the vicarage pantry, but years afterwards they reached the place for which the curates had intended them. After three years of hard work at Westbury, Mackonochie went to Wantage, then celebrated for its vigorous parochial work. Here he was daily in the schools, "in the absence or illness of the mistress, keeping school himself and giving his whole power to the most trivial detail." As a preacher, he was remarkably ready and often very effective. "Preach," said the old sexton, when asked about the curate's sermons in those days, "he were a fine preacher. He'd rumple himself up to give it 'em straight and plain till he were red in the face. He were the shepherd of the flock and no mistake." Canon Liddon was for some time his fellow-curate, and the friendship then begun never knew any interruption. Mackonochie always formed one of the Canon's guests at Amen Corner on Christmas Day. He was gradually

becoming an advanced Churchman. The Rev. E. Hobhouse was his confessor, in whose judgment he had the greatest confidence. After six years of laborious happiness at Wantage, Mackonochie turned his face towards London. The mission work carried on by Father Lowder at St. George's offered him a congenial sphere. His day began about seven o'clock. It was crowded with the unnumbered claims made upon him by a poor populous district. It was often past ten at night before he could leave the church. The riots in the parish church made a heavy demand on his time and patience. In 1861 he had a severe attack of rheumatic fever which left him subject to relapses, but at last his great physical strength helped him to pull through. It was in 1862 that he accepted the offer of the Vicarage of St. Alban's, Holborn, made to him by the Hon. J. G. Hubbard, who had built and endowed the church. The poor patron found out his mistake in offering the living to Mr. Mackonochie when it was too late to remedy it. But no one can fail to pay a tribute to the self-sacrificing work among the poor of which the new church became the centre. Curates, district-visitors, and sisters all shared his spirit. "Music, form, and colour were unknown languages to" the man who stood in the forefront of the Ritualism of his day. The first five years were a time of uninterrupted progress. Those who read this biography will not wonder that all evangelical Churchmen were strangely disturbed by the state of things at St. Albans. "From the first," we are told, "he sought to make his people regard penance as an ordinary means of grace, to which they had an undoubted right." People flocked to St. Alban's from country parishes and other parts of London to confession. "He was never in a hurry, always willing to listen; and then prompt, decided, gently immovable. He was ready to teach and to explain, but not to argue." "Use the light and do the duty" is the epitome of his counsels given by one who consulted him in the midst of grave doubts. His preaching showed no rhetorical power, no felicities of language, but the tribute "I never forgot it," which was paid so frequently to his sermons, showed that it was preaching which did not fail to tell on the congregation. Dr. Littledale has given an account of the famous trial of Martin *v.* Mackonochie in the ninth chapter of this book. It was no wonder that public feeling was roused by the doings at St. Alban's of which Lord Shaftesbury said, "in outward form and ritual it is the worship of Jupiter or Juno." But we must leave the long array of trials to be studied by those who read this biography for themselves. Archbishop Tait persuaded Mr. Mackonochie to resign the living of St. Alban's in 1882. He was transferred to St. Peter's, London Docks, but next year sentence of deprivation was pronounced, and he found it wise to resign this living also. Henceforth he became a sort of "free lance at St. Alban's." He had rooms in the clergy house, and did much work in and out of the parish. As his strength failed, his brother's house at Wantage became his chief home. He forgot names and words. Sometimes he could not express himself clearly. He would forget familiar roads, and once wandered about nearly the whole night between Didcot and Wantage. In December 1887 he was staying with his

friend, the Bishop of Argyll. He went out for a walk with the dogs, lost his way, and was found dead in the snow two days afterwards. His biography is written with feeling and good taste. We find ourselves dissenting at every turn, but no one can read the story of this self-sacrificing life without seeing that he had the true passion for souls, and was ready to do anything and everything that he might "gain some." Those who are most jealous of such tendencies as we find at work here, may well be content to sit at his feet to learn this holy passion for souls.

1. *Rulers of India: The Marquess of Dalhousie.* By Sir WILLIAM W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
2. *Akbar.* By Colonel G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1890.

This volume on Dalhousie is the first of a series, edited by Sir William Hunter, under the title *Rulers of India.* They seek to "present a series of historical retrospects rather than of personal biographies. Each little book takes some conspicuous epoch in the making of India, and, under the name of its principal personage, sets forth the problems which he had to encounter, the work which he achieved, and the influence which he left behind." The volumes will, therefore, form a little library on our Indian empire. Only an authority on the subject could have written such a sketch as this of Dalhousie—"the second builder of the temple of British rule in India." The great pro-consul extended our frontiers by the annexation of the Punjab, Oudh, Lower Burma, and other States, so that the India he left to Lord Canning was from one-half to one-third larger than that handed over to him by Lord Hardinge. But this was only a small part of the service he rendered. He was also the founder of that vast railway and telegraphic system which has bound India together, and opened it to commerce and civilisation, whilst his halfpenny post "created letter-writing on a great scale among the natives of India." The biographical chapter thoroughly awakens the interest of the reader. Lord Dalhousie's boyhood, his happy marriage to Lady Susan Hay, his brief but significant share in English politics, are given in vigorous outline. But the interest quickens when the "little man" becomes Governor-General of India. He had a perfect passion for work. Whether in camp or at Government House, he rose at six, "and began the morning, as he ended the evening, by quietly reading a chapter in the Bible. From six to eight he devoted himself to his office-boxes." "At half-past nine he sat down to his desk, which he never quitted, even while he ate his lunch, before half-past five." He mastered every detail of administration, and had his own way even when dealing with such grand lieutenants as John and Henry Lawrence. Perhaps he was rather too masterful, and too much inclined to do work which Sir Henry Eliot, his Foreign Secretary, might have dealt with. But the times needed a strong man, who could carry out his own schemes with untiring energy. The record of his administration gives a bird's-eye view of eight crucial years. Sir William Hunter shows conclusively

that his annexations were justified by the facts of the case. The system which had prevailed of guaranteeing their kingdoms to the native princes made them independent of their subjects. Responsibility was gone. The natural result was that their millions of subjects were oppressed and downtrodden by these tyrannical and sensual rulers. Lord Dalhousie was, therefore, acting in the truest interests of the masses of India when, on the failure of lawful heirs, he annexed provinces over which the East India Company had, in such an event, undoubted rights. The book is one which every thoughtful Englishman should read. The facts are allowed to speak for themselves; but they form a complete answer to charges made that Dalhousie was culpably responsible for the Mutiny. "To fear God, and to have no other fear, is a maxim of religion, but the truth of it and the wisdom of it are proved day by day in politics." This was his ruling principle as Viceroy.

Colonel Malleson's *Akbar* is a graphic account of the founding of the Mughal dynasty. The earlier chapters, which describe the reign of Bábar, the grandfather of Akbar, are rather too full of unfamiliar names to be easy reading. Bábar's fame has been somewhat eclipsed by that of his grandson; but he was a noble man, whose joyous, confiding nature won him friends everywhere. He loved war and glory, yet he was also "fond of gardening, of architecture, of music, and he was no mean poet." Generosity and humanity were his leading characteristics. He died in his forty-ninth year, after a splendid series of victories. Neither he nor his son did anything, however, to root their dynasty in Hindustan. This honour was reserved for Akbar, who came to the throne in his fourteenth year. His policy was at first directed by his Aṭálik, or tutor, Bairám Khán. The story of their relations reads almost like a page of contemporary German history. Bairám was a strong-willed man, who could not understand that the boy-prince was his master. He was of a cruel nature, and one or two instances of this somewhat estrange his generous-minded Sovereign. At last Akbar dismissed his pilot. His reign, which was contemporaneous with that of Queen Elizabeth, loses nothing in comparison even with that glorious epoch of English history. Colonel Malleson's spirited account of his victories, and the policy which welded nearly the whole of India into one nation, is fascinating reading. Akbar was a man of rare courage, immense strength, great decision of character, and promptness in action. He also practised the art of moderation, and generally managed to conciliate those whom he conquered. Toleration in all matters of religion and equal-handed justice were the secret of his success in binding together the heterogeneous multitude over which he ruled. Some of the most interesting pages of this book describe his relations to the learned men of his time, and the benign influence of the two Shaikhs—Faizi and Abulfazl. Akbar took an important step towards the abolition of Satí by "an order that, in the case of a widow showing the smallest disinclination to immolate herself, the sacrifice was not to be permitted." He also abolished the custom of selling the wives, children, and dependants of a conquered foe into slavery. The great monarch had little comfort in his family. Two of them fell victims to

intemperance: his successor, Salim, was cruel, bigoted, and disloyal to his father. He even planned the murder of Abulfazl, whose influence over Akbar he bitterly resented. Happily the father never knew the part his son had played in that tragedy. Colonel Malleson's book is a fine tribute to the memory of one of the great names in Indian history. One or two sentences need revision. "The besitation lost him," on p. 62, and the "dwelt in his mind" on p. 65, are awkward expressions.

Lord Clive. By Colonel Sir CHARLES WILSON. Macmillan & Co. 1890.

It is impossible to read a brief and compendious account of Clive's career without being reminded of Macaulay's brilliant essay. This is an inconvenience which any writer must submit to, and it tends perhaps to lower the reader's estimate of the merits of the volume before us, which belongs to the series of *English Men of Action.* Certainly Sir Charles Wilson's compendium of the great soldier statesman's history makes no pretension to anything like brilliance. It is not a critical essay or estimate, but a carefully abridged history, plain, faithful, evidently conscientious, and well written. His estimate of Clive's claims to be regarded as a great General appears to our unprofessional judgment to be somewhat pedantic. He was not a professionally trained commander, but he was a military genius, without having graduated in the rules and lore of the military schools, and his genius was triumphant where mere professional knowledge, even accompanied by good ability, might and very likely would have failed. The highest military education could hardly have enabled any man to accomplish greater or more brilliant achievements (with such limited means and resources) than Clive accomplished. The character and career of the founder of our Indian Empire are, however, well summed up by Sir Charles Wilson. His errors and faults, and one fault he was guilty of that cannot be extenuated, are not disguised: his greatness and his many fine points of character are justly exhibited. There can be no doubt that insanity, from time to time, darkened and disturbed his intellect and temper, as it at last cut short in his very prime the career of this great man.

The History and Topography of the Parish of Hendon, Middlesex. By EDWARD T. EVANS. Hendon: Courier Company, Limited. 1890.

This is certainly one of the best arranged, most complete, and most sensible local histories we have met with. Mr. Evans eschews all those attempts at fine writing which irritate one in such books. His object is to give the fullest information in the most concise and clear style. He writes carefully and well, like one who is master of his subject. The history has grown out of a series of papers in the early numbers of a well-known local paper, the *Courier*, so

that it is sometimes not quite up to date, but this defect has been remedied by good introductory notes. Chapter ii., on "Natural Features and Characteristics and Natural History," gives much valuable information as to the geological features of the district. It will be somewhat amusing to those who know the modest Brent to find that the deposits of river gravel on the sides of its valley indicate that this was once a mighty river of very great width. The natural sub-soil of the district is the London clay with a slight capping of sand at the elevated parts. The highest point in the village is the foot of the Church tower, which is 287 feet above high water mark. Some interesting particulars are given as to the timber and the wild flowers. No ferns grow wild near Hendon, but the primrose, sweet violet, ox-eye daisy, marsh-marigold, purple loosestrife, dog-rose, white field-rose, cowslip, foxglove, and a multitude of other wild flowers may be found. The common barn-owl and the kingfisher, the snipe, the heron, and the fieldfare are among the rarer birds of the district. By the way, there is room for a few words on the snakes found in the region. The chapters on property in Hendon may be rather heavy for ordinary readers, but will be appreciated by all who wish to study the antiquities of the parish. The grants prior to Edward the Confessor are regarded with suspicion, but from that reign onward we have authentic information. The manor belonged to the Abbey of Westminster. Full particulars of the chief landholders of the parish are given in two valuable chapters. The account of the benefice, with its rectors and vicars, will be much enjoyed. Henry Bate, some time editor of the *Morning Post*, was curate there under Mr. Townley; David Garrick, who purchased the advowson and the manor, presented his nephew to the living in 1776. The long list of clergymen is closed by an account of the eminent services rendered to Biblical scholarship by the present vicar—Dr. Scrivener. It would not be easy to point out any flaw in the two chapters crowded with facts about the parish church and the graveyard where Mark Lemon's ancestors, Coventry Patmore's "Angel in the House," Sir Coutts Lindsay, and other well-known people are buried. Perhaps the two chapters on "Persons and Places" will be the most interesting to general readers. We may invite special attention to the capital account of Hendon Place—now called Tenterden Hall—the Old Manor House, at which Wolsey stayed for the first night on his journey to York. Mr. Evans adds, "not, as Brewer states, in disgrace, but to resume his archiepiscopal dignity." Brewer was right, for the great Cardinal was going into banishment, nor had Wolsey ever been enthroned, so that "resume" is an unfortunate word. There is a good description of Lord Tenterden, and of the cluster of notabilities who have lived at Mill Hill, including Lord William Russell, Mr. Serjeant Cox, Wilberforce, Sir Stamford Raffles, and others. The somewhat bald note on the Quakers might well be supplemented from George Fox's journals. The great leader paid several visits to Hendon. Altogether this is an excellent piece of work, which ought to have a warm welcome from all residents at Hendon.

Scottish History from Contemporary Writers: The Days of James IV., 1488–1513. Edited by G. GREGORY SMITH, M.A. London: David Nutt. 1890.

This volume relates to a very interesting period of Scottish history, and one in regard to which contemporary records are not wanting. James was a vigorous and politic king, notwithstanding the calamity of Flodden. His reign also included the "golden days of Scottish literature and chivalry and art." Mr. Gregory Smith has arranged and edited a series of extracts from the Royal letters, from Polydore Vergil and Hall, Major, Boece, the State Papers, and other contemporary authorities, in illustration of the principal events of James's reign. The relations between Scotland and England, which were harmonised by James's marriage with Margaret Tudor, only to be disturbed some years later by the rash counsels which led to the national rout, and the king's death at Flodden, form, of course, a principal subject among the contents of the volume.

Scotland from the Earliest Times to the present Century. By JAMES MACKINTOSH, LL.D. London: T. F. Unwin. 1890.

Dr. Mackintosh has prepared a clear and readable *résumé* of Scottish history, from the arrival of the Celts to the present day. The early period about which there are few facts is condensed into a brief chapter, followed by an interesting sketch of the "Introduction of Christianity." The struggle for independence under Wallace and Bruce is described with much spirit. Then Mary's tragic reign, the union of the Crowns of England and Scotland, the Covenanting conflict, the stormy days of persecution under the later Stuarts, and the risings of 1715 and 1745, are treated with care and skill. The advantages of the Union are well brought out in chapter xviii. There is a capital account of the Disruption, and a chapter of detached notes on the "Modern Literature of Scotland." The volume has many illustrations of coins, houses, castles, famous places and persons. Some of them are specially well executed. There is also a good Map and Index. We are glad to find the "Story of the Nations" Series has gained so firm a hold on readers in England and America. It would not be easy to find any books which condense so much reliable information into such narrow compass, and yet make their subjects thoroughly attractive to ordinary readers.

Robert Browning: Personalia. By EDMUND GOSSE. London: T. F. Unwin. 1890.

This dainty booklet is the republication of an article on Browning's early life, contributed to the *Century Magazine* for December 1881, with some *Personal Impressions* added. The biographical sketch closes with the poet's

marriage in 1846. It was written under the eye of Browning from material supplied by himself, and is therefore authoritative. It shows how long it took the poet to win his place in our literature, and gives some pleasing glimpses into his life. J. S. Mill wished to review *Pauline*, his first volume of poetry, but found that *Tait's Magazine*, the only periodical in which he could do so, had in its previous number dismissed the poem "with one line of contemptuous neglect." The sketch is followed by a vigorous description of Browning as a conversationalist. The thick parchment boards, the exquisite portrait, and wide margins make this a gem which will be eagerly sought after.

1. *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.* By the Rev. L. TYERMAN. Three vols. Sixth Edition. 1890.

2. *The Life of the Rev. George Whitfield, B.A., of Pembroke College, Oxford.* By the Rev. L. TYERMAN. Second Edition. 1890.

The writer of these volumes is no longer among us; but his books appear likely long to survive. The *Life of Wesley* is by no means faultless, nor is it an ideal biography in its conception or plan. Nevertheless, the vast research, the seldom failing accuracy, the sustained spirit and energy with which this annalistic biography of Wesley is written, place it far above all other Lives of the Founder of Methodism, and make the work indispensable to the student of modern English history. In this respect it has happily set aside the monopoly formerly enjoyed by Southey's *Life*, which latter work, nevertheless, is not likely to be neglected by the man of liberal taste and culture, and possesses merits that are all its own.

Tyerman's *Life of Whitfield* is not quite so exhaustive or complete a record of the great revivalist's history as the earlier work is of Wesley's. But it is much superior, in this respect, to any other, even to Mr. Gledstone's. In its style and tone it is an improvement, in certain respects, on the *Life of Wesley*. The author has written throughout in a sympathetic and mellowed spirit. The two works are fit companions for any Christian library. We hail these handsome and cheapened editions of these standard works.

John Wesley. By the Rev. RICHARD GREEN. Third Edition. London: C. H. Kelly. 1890.

This is a neat edition of Mr. Green's useful little Life of John Wesley. It will furnish a good introduction for young people to more complete biographies, and especially to the journals and works of Wesley. It is of necessity an imperfect record, for no one could compress into so small a compass the apostolic labours of the founder of Methodism, but it is a thoughtful and helpful little book, which we heartily commend to all Sunday-schools.

BELLES LETTRES.

The Squatter's Dream: a Story of Australian Life. By ROLF BOLDREWOOD. New Edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

WE are not surprised that this story, which gives the best description of squatter life that we have met with, now appears in a new edition. The first page introduces us to Jack Redgrave's cattle station, where he had settled when little more than a lad. He now possessed "a couple of thousand good cattle, a well-bred, rather fortunate stud, and a roomy, cool cottage, with a broad verandah, all covered with creepers." Here he lived a happy life, filling up the leisure moments left from the care of his stock with work in his garden or long mornings spent over his books. Sometimes he would spend a week or two at the country town, a hundred miles away, where he was a general favourite. Unfortunately Jack grew tired of this life, and set his heart on making a great fortune by sheep-farming. His new station at Gondaree gave plenty of scope for his exuberant physical energy, but days of reverse and loss for sheep-farmers were at hand. Jack and his clever manager went in for expensive improvements, and the run had to be mortgaged to his bankers. All might have gone well, but the Warroo river, swollen by heavy rains, swept away two or three thousand of his sheep, prices fell ruinously, the bank foreclosed the mortgage, and poor Jack was stripped of all he had. His misfortunes were made more bitter by the fact that he had won the heart of Maud Stangrove—the sister of a neighbouring squatter—and now saw all his schemes of success and happiness wrecked. The description of the flood is one of the best things in the story. Another exciting incident is the raid on Stangrove's home by the bushrangers, who wished to secure his new rifles. The master of the house was away, but Maud Stangrove showed herself a woman of pluck and resource. When Jack's property was lost he had to begin life afresh. He refused an offer made by Stangrove to set him up on a small station, and determined to carve out his own fortunes afresh. He found a partner in his adventure, and, after many hardships, they discovered some capital ground for a new station. Arrangements were made for securing a grant of these blocks from the Colonial Lands Department, but Jack's usual ill-luck followed him. An adventurer wormed out of him the secret of his discovery, and forestalled his application to the Lands Department. It was in vain to protest against the man's villainy. The first tender had to be accepted. Jack found employment on a sheep-run. One day he read in the newspaper that the man who had cheated him out of his station had been killed by the blacks on his way to take possession. Jack now renewed his application with success. Three years of hard work put him in a position to

repurchase his first cattle-station. He married Maud, and became the prosperous squire of Marshmead. The story is told with spirit, and throws much light on Australian life.

WESLEYAN CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS.

Eighty-seven: a Chautauqua Story. By PANSY.

Grand Gilmore. By REESE ROCKWELL.

Elizabeth Gaunt: a Tale of Monmouth's Rebellion. By FANNY S. HOLLINGS.

Down and Up, and other Stories. By OLIVER PACIS.

Sara's Choice; or, No Vain Sacrifice. By A. F. PERRAM.

Miss Kennedy and her Brother. By FRIBA.

Under the Palms and among the Pimento Groves. By the Rev. HENRY BUNTING.

The Springfield Reciter. Temperance Recitations for Young Speakers. By MARGARET HAYCRAFT.

London: C. H. Kelly. 1890.

Eighty-seven is the story of a workhouse boy, who becomes, after many struggles, a clever and prosperous physician. There is a bracing tone about the book which seems to stir one up to make better use of life's opportunities. Winter Kelland runs away from the home where he had been placed by the guardians, and seems to be degenerating into a tramp when he finds a true friend in old Miss Putnam, and begins to climb the ladder of success. Reading circles and Chautauqua lectures form a prominent feature in the book. We are sorry that the Americanisms have not been removed. They are apt to mislead a young reader.

Grand Gilmore is a temperance tale which we can heartily recommend as a Band of Hope prize. How Hugh Gilmore becomes a drunkard, and how his noble boy, Grand, tries to watch over and reclaim the erring father will be seen in these pages. There are many young people in the book who furnish capital studies in character.

In *Elizabeth Gaunt* Miss Hollings has found a congenial subject, which she handles in a sympathetic and attractive way. The historic scenes and lessons of the time are somewhat slightly touched on, so that the book does not convey much information, but it is well written, and makes the noble character of Elizabeth Gaunt—the martyr to mercy—very attractive. *Down and Up* is a little volume of impressive temperance tales—all the more impressive because they are true to one's daily experience that it is a hard task to reclaim a drunkard. The stories are told with much force and skill.

Sara's Choice is about a brave girl who dares to have a conscience. She sacrifices a good deal to keep it pure, but though she loses her first lover she wins another, and sees her mother and brother won for Christ by her steadfastness. Such a book will help young people to make a firm stand for principle whatever it may cost.

Miss Kennedy and her Brother is a story with some vivacious young folks who are certainly very unconventional. The talk is too often spiced with slang, and it is somewhat a wonder that it has not been pruned with more care. Miss Kennedy is a high-minded, Christian girl, her brother is an unlovable character, but improves much as the tale progresses. *Under the Palms* is a well-written record of missionary work among the blacks in Jamaica, with powerful descriptions of the curse of slavery. It is a bright, taking book, and should be useful as a prize for missionary collectors. Some of the negroes are heroic in their fidelity amid sharp persecutions.

Mrs. Haycraft's Recitations are simple and pointed, well within the compass of a child's memory, and likely to teach some good lessons. The "Vision of the Three Cats" is certainly novel and lively. There is one prose dialogue, all the other pieces are poetry—not high class, but homely and effective.

Boyhood, Adolescence, and Youth. By LEON TOLSTOI. Translated by CONSTANTINE POPOFF. London: Eliot Stock. 1890.

This is a somewhat microscopic study of home life and a University course in Russia. The story is interrupted for a moment or two by short digressions on the nature of love and some metaphysical subtleties, but the narrative flows on evenly enough. It is a story which will attract young people, and teach them much about boys and girls in Russia. The German tutor is one of the best characters in the book, and the sketches of University examinations are very realistic. Some glimpses are also caught of the religious life of the Greek Church. The whole story will break fresh ground for most English readers. It is somewhat too minute, and even becomes a shade wearisome at points, but it is a faithful representation of boy life in Russia, and is free from the grossness of some of Tolstoi's work. The shyness of the hero in his first ball, and on his visit to the girl who had made such a deep impression on his heart years before, is described as only a master of the craft could describe it. The translation reads fluently.

With all my Worldly Goods I thee Endow. A Novel. By G. WASHINGTON MOON, Hon. F.R.S.L. London: Routledge & Sons. 1889.

This daintily dressed novel, with its white and gold cover, represents a new departure for the author of *The Dean's English* and *Ecclesiastical English*. It is a protest against what Mr. Moon calls the unreality of the words

from the Marriage Service which he has chosen as a title for his story. A young barrister wins for himself fame and fortune by securing to a deserted wife the half of her husband's fortune on the strength of that clause in the marriage contract. The book, which is crowded with original poetry, has three love stories, an adventure in the desert, an exciting rescue of a young lady from a convent, and other stirring passages; but the style is often artificial, the barrister's speeches are affected and stilted, and there are passages which ought to have been omitted from a book intended for general circulation. The childish, but reiterated, assault on the doctrine of the Trinity is another grievous blot. We cannot recommend such a book to any one.

Lamb's Adventures of Ulysses. With an Introduction by ANDREW LANG. London: Edward Arnold. 1890.

One of the most tempting books for young readers that we have seen. It is daintily bound, and printed in clear type with good margins. We are glad that Mr. Arnold has not forgotten the young people in launching his business. There is a fine field for his "English Literature" Series, which includes specially abbreviated editions of *David Copperfield*, *Old Curiosity Shop*, *Dombey and Son*, *Shirley*, and *Ivanhoe*. As to the present volume there is no need to praise Lamb's style—that is classical. The book will open a new world to its readers, and will make them eager to know more of Troy and its heroes. Mr. Lang's chatty introduction is just the thing for young folk. Its account of a Greek house, of the gods and goddesses, and of Helen's adventures, will add much to the profit and pleasure with which the adventures will be read.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Principles of Economics. By ALFRED MARSHALL. Volume I. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

PROFESSOR MARSHALL says in his preface that the great activity with which economical studies are being pursued both in England and on the Continent of Europe and in America has brought out more clearly the fact that the progress of the science is, and must be, one of slow and continuous growth. The best work of the present generation has sometimes appeared antagonistic to the views of the earlier masters, but it has generally been found that whilst they supplemented or extended, developed or even corrected the earlier theories, they very seldom subverted them. Professor Marshall has undertaken the much needed but onerous task of presenting "a modern version of old doctrines with the aid of the new work, and with reference to the new problems

of our own age." He takes the true view that the laws of economics are summaries of tendencies, not ethical injunctions. They are only to be reached by a careful study of economic facts which may indicate what are likely to be the effect of given causes. The attempts to form an abstract science with regard to the actions of an "economic man" have never been successful, and Professor Marshall takes normal action to mean that which may be expected, under certain conditions, from the members of an industrial group without excluding any set of motives merely because they are altruistic. The prominence given to this and other applications of the Principle of Continuity is perhaps the special feature of the work. Some sagacious sentences deal with the fact that there is no sharp line of demarcation between normal and abnormal conduct. One shades off into the other according to this principle of continuity. It seems to rule everywhere. It is, as the preface points out, a great source of mischief to attempt to draw broad artificial lines of division where Nature has made none. "There is not in real life a clear line of division between things that are and are not Capital, or that are or are not Necessaries, or again between labour that is and is not Productive." A somewhat free use is made of diagrams in the course of the investigations pursued in this book, but we are glad to find that Professor Marshall abstains from using mathematical symbols. Our experience fully bears out his statement as to the helpfulness of diagrams, as used, for instance, by Jevons and Archbishop Thomson, whilst "when a great many symbols have to be used, they become very laborious to any one but the writer himself." The present volume is divided into five books, which are headed "Preliminary Survey"; "Some Fundamental Notions"; "Demand or Consumption"; "Production or Supply"; "The Theory of the Equilibrium of Demand and Supply"; "Cost of Production further considered"; "Value, or Distribution and Exchange." The opening paragraphs of the first book open up one of the great problems of civilisation —"The world has outgrown the belief that slavery is necessary: will it not outgrow the belief that poverty is necessary?" It is only too true that "poverty is a great and almost unmixed evil" to many both in town and country. "Even when they are well, their weariness often amounts to pain, while their pleasures are few; and when sickness comes, the suffering caused by poverty increases tenfold." Professor Marshall treats this question with much discretion. The steady progress of the working classes towards comfort, the growing earnestness of the age, make one hopeful of a happy solution of this problem. The remark that economic studies have their chief and their highest interests from the fact that on them must largely depend the answer to this question, shows the spirit in which this volume is written. The two chapters on "The Growth of Free Industry and Enterprise" form an intensely interesting sketch of economic thought in the ancient and modern world. The influence of the Reformation is well brought out. The rise of the factory system, which caused manufacturing labour to be sold wholesale instead of retail, with the evils it brought, and the heavy pressure of war and taxes on England, is fully discussed in these chapters. The history of "The Growth of

Economic Science" is a lucid epitome of the subject which will greatly interest all students with its account of the mercantile system, the Physiocrats, Adam Smith and his successors. Professor Marshall rightly maintains that in the economist's *Methods of Study* induction and deduction mutually depend on each other; that *Economic Motives* are not exclusively selfish, but are generally measurable; and that economic laws are not precepts, but imply certain conditions. This section of the work is singularly clear, and makes the approach to the more abstruse questions that follow more inviting than in any other work on Political Economy with which we are acquainted. In the second book, on "Some Fundamental Notions," the great subjects of wealth and capital come under discussion. We entirely accept the conclusion as to personal wealth and personal capital, that wealth and capital should be taken when alone to include only external goods, but that no objection should be raised to an occasional broad use of the terms when they are explicitly stated to include personal wealth and personal capital. The two books on "Demand and Supply" deal with some of the most debatable questions in political economy. The law of diminishing return is restated with the qualifications suggested by experience. It will be seen by a perusal of the somewhat involved paragraph on p. 203, that it is not the simple formula which it is sometimes represented to be. Ricardo's statement of the law was inexactly worded, though he probably took for granted that others would supply the conditions which were present to his own mind. Carey has shown that "he and his followers underrated the advantages which a dense population offer to agriculture." But perhaps the most interesting chapter is that on "The Supply of Labour—The Growth of Numbers." The diminution of fecundity by excessive mental strain and by luxury, the question of early marriages, and indeed all the topics of this and the following chapter, are of great importance. "Industrial Training" is discussed with all the new light of modern ideas on technical education, art training, and general education. Nor is the "Growth of Wealth" a less fruitful subject. "Division of Labour," which Adam Smith made one of the most popular sections in his *Wealth of Nations*, is illustrated from the latest developments of trade; and "Localised Industries" is a fresh and suggestive chapter. Every question of the old political economy is discussed in the light of recent experience, and adjusted to the modern conditions. We must pass over the fifth book, on the "Mutual Relations of Demand and Supply," which opens with a good chapter on "Markets," and the luminous account of "Cost of Production" in book six. The last book, on "Value, or Distribution and Exchange," discusses some of the subjects of most urgent interest, such as real wages and nominal wages, payment by time and by piece-work, demand and supply in relation to capital and labour, and advantages and disadvantages of public companies, and of large and small businesses. Rent and land tenure are also discussed, with special reference to Ricardo's views. Here the student would do well to consult Sidgwick's "Principles of Political Economy," which has a valuable analysis of the various theories as to rent. The two books, in fact, often throw light on each other. The work is a most valuable contribution

to the study of political economy. It is extremely moderate and judicious, happily devoid of that pugnacity which has so often crept into economic discussion. It will go far to show that economic science is after all more at one with itself than ordinary readers have been led to suppose of late years. Its luminous style and copious illustrations from the state of trade to-day should make it widely popular. It has a good index, which indicates clearly where the explanation of each technical term is to be found. We shall look forward with much interest for the completion of this masterly work.

Handbook of Athletic Sports. Edited by ERNEST BELL, M.A., of Trin. Coll. Camb. Volume I. Cricket—Lawn Tennis — Tennis — Rackets — Fives — Golf — Hockey. London: George Bell & Son. 1890.

This is the first volume of a little library styled *Handbooks of Athletic Sports*, which will form a companion set to Bohn's *Handbook of Games*. The separate sections are appearing concurrently as an "All England" Series. That will be a great convenience for those who want only the information about their own special sport. Mr. Bell says in his brief preface that "there is probably no better safeguard for boys and young men against indulgence in vicious amusement than a healthy interest in out-door games." These handbooks will certainly assist young people to take a more intelligent interest in the games they play, and to cultivate them more scientifically. Each sport is dealt with by an acknowledged expert. The Hon. and Rev. E. Lyttelton discusses Cricket in a suggestive way. His first chapter, on "Cricket Management in Schools," deals with the important question of a "coach" for the cricket-ground. In "fielding" especially careful training will do much, and when one or two boys have learned to field well others will naturally imitate them. Mr. Lyttelton soon warms to his subject in his reference to that "middle-aged decorum" so often noticed among boy cricketers which is enough to "make old cricketers weep." Each branch of the subject is treated in the same fresh and helpful way. None but a past master of the craft could have written a treatise on cricket so thoroughly instructive on every point of the game. Some good illustrations greatly assist the reader to understand the various attitudes of catch, short-slip, and batsman. Mr. Wilberforce discourses on Lawn Tennis. He gives a brief sketch of the history and development of this modern game, as well as careful instruction on each detail. The lady champion for 1889 adds some counsels for her own sex. Golf is a less known sport, but Mr. Linskill makes us wish to know more of it. Tennis, Rackets, Fives, and Hockey are all dealt with in the same thorough and attractive fashion. Such a series will find a hearty welcome in our public schools, and indeed from all young people.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (August 1).—M. Moireau deals with "The last Crisis of the Credit Foncier." He says that it has passed through this two months' trial undamaged, and even fortified in public esteem. The great body of the public whose savings are put in landed or communal bonds was scarcely moved by the rumours. Most of the bondholders ignored them. It was a Bourse struggle produced by a mixture of motives, some honest and some hardly to be described as such, but intended to produce a panic for the benefit of speculators. The failure at Panama had caused much suffering and disquiet, so that when the Government was called upon in the Chamber of Deputies to do its duty it determined to order an inquiry into the administration of the Credit Foncier. Three inspectors of finance conducted the inquiry. It lasted several weeks; covered all questions of administration. Nothing was discovered which would justify the rumours, though the report was severe in some of its strictures on the management. The Governor, however, made a masterly reply to these strictures, and had the unanimous support of his administrative council. The Minister of Finance was so embarrassed between these two documents that he published them both at length, in defiance of all traditions of his department. M. Moireau asks what are the lessons to be learnt from this crisis. He gives a formidable array of figures to show the extent of the operations carried on. The administration of the Credit Foncier has reaped large profit by loaning out the funds of the social capital, and the reserves. The propriety of such a use of the capital is said by the Minister of Finance and the inspectors to be a question of the interpretation of the statutes; but the writer of this article argues with great force, that it is much more a question of good sense, and that increased safety would abundantly recompense the shareholders for some slight diminution of profits. M. Moireau thinks the charge of exceeding its functions which the Minister of Finance makes against the Credit Foncier comes with a very bad grace from him. Every time this has happened, or almost every time, it has been at the express request of the Government. "To-day it urges the Credit Foncier to confine itself to its proper functions, 'All's well that ends well.'" —(August 15). M. Julien Decrais' article on Liverpool endeavours to show the advantages private initiative has in the difficult question of the relation between capital and labour which occupies so large a place in contemporary life. He is the more anxious to do this because it is the fashion to demand the intervention of the State—an intervention which is for the most part inefficacious. He says, people are aware of the powerful organisation of the English municipalities. The numerous syndicates at work in Lancashire are governed purely and simply by the common law. The Acts of Parliament are principally applicable to associations which have a commercial object. In Lancashire there are at least five hundred associations, some for the defence of mercantile interests, some for protection of local commerce. The writer proceeds to examine several of these in detail. The society for dealers in grain, with its business side and its funds for decayed members and a "maritime corporation," are briefly described. The second part of the article refers to the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in Liverpool last February, and the great strike of twenty thousand workmen at the docks. The writer is evidently impressed by the calm, lofty views which prevail even in such industrial crises. On both sides there is in some sort a scientific debate, a complicated problem of which the solution is sought with praiseworthy patience and tenacity. Violence, said a worker at the docks to the writer of this article, would make us lose the fruit of years of effort: we are not rich enough to have recourse to it.

LA NOUVELLE REVUE (July 1).—Comte Colonna Ceccaldi sends "A letter of the 15th of July, 1789," to this Review, which he has recently found among some family papers. It gives an account by an eye-witness of the taking of

the Bastille, and the events of the three following days. It bears no signature, ut is evidently a sort of daily record of events sent by some man of the middle-classes, who was in sympathy with the principles of the Revolution, to his comrades. He says that the bourgeoise militia grew impatient that they had no arms, and set off to seek them. It turned out that all the magazines had been transported secretly to the Hotel des Invalides, near to the Military School, and to the Champ-de-Mars. A company of young men, among whom were mixed some of the French guards, set off at once to demand them. The Governor asked for an hour's interval before he gave up the arms, but they refused to wait ten minutes. One of them jumped on to the fortifications, and soon stood in the court of the Invalides. The governor ordered the gates to be opened, and every musket was seized by the eager crowd. There were 150,000 to 200,000 guns, so that every street was thronged with armed men. All the shops were closed, all the windows filled with women and children. Women also flocked into the streets. There was a terrible clamour everywhere. The bells of the city were sounding a tocsin which did not cease for many hours. The bell which had rung out for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and which had only been used since then at the birth of a Dauphin, made itself specially conspicuous with its sinister and dolorous tones. "In a word, it seemed as though Paris was besieged by an army of three hundred thousand men, and that people were prepared at any moment for the assault." A great number of noblemen who had put their most precious household goods in their carriages, and intended to leave Paris, were stopped at the barriers, and conducted just as they were to the Hotel de Ville, where they were made to alight. Many couriers were arrested, who bore important despatches; one was going to the Queen at Versailles, another coming from her. The narrative seems to bring the reader very close to the lurid scenes of the Revolution. "The Organic Revolution of Paris," by M. Hector Depasse, is a brief account of that change, gradually taking place in society, which seems to be an essential condition of its very existence. This is seen from a chapter of the report on primary instruction in Paris from 1867 to 1877 by M. Gréard. It seems that the children of the schools, as part of their examination for certificates, have been asked to relate in writing the principal events of their life. They had to state the trade of their parents, and that for which they were intended themselves, with the reasons for the choice made. M. Depasse has gone through these three columns with great care, and seemed to have before him a picture of life in Paris such as one could scarcely find elsewhere. Only forty per cent. of the boys and twenty-eight per cent. of the girls desire to follow the trade of their fathers, the remainder, instructed by the hardships and disappointments of their parents, want to make a new start. Only two or three out of four or five thousand could be said to have had their heads turned by ambition, if one is to judge from the modest hopes expressed in these columns. Many small details are given, but the article is as a whole disappointing.—(August 1). Prince de Valori's "Venice in 1890," is enthusiastic in its praise of that city as "the marvel of marvels, the miracle in a country of miracles, the most beautiful place on the earth." The passage on Byron is striking: "Byron is the bard of Venice and of Greece. People have wished to make him out an atheist, but Byron is a believer. He is not the Catholic believer, but a Deist who at times has the faith of St. Augustine, the piety of Gerson, the eloquence of Bossuet, the poetical fascination of Racine."

Revue Chrétienne (July 1).—This is a specially good number. We have not seen a better account of "The Theological Crisis in the Free Church of Scotland" than that given here by H. M. After a reference to the case of Professor Robertson Smith and the orthodox theologians of Germany, the writer proceeds to quote various passages from Dr. Dodd's writings and sermons, which have laid him open to severe criticism, and gives a detailed account of the discussion and its results. In the Scientific Notes which are devoted to Edison and his phonograph, a story is told about his wedding-day. After the marriage ceremony, the newly married couple took possession of their home. Edison begged permission to go and look at an important experiment

which had absorbed his attention for some days. "I will only be a few minutes absent," he said. Hours passed, and still he did not return. Happily one of his friends called, saw the light in his workshop and reminded him of the existence of his wife, whom he had entirely forgotten. Professor Sabatier's paper on "The Question of Professors," read before the Official Synod of the Third Circonscription, last June, is, perhaps, the most important in this number. After referring to the confusion into which the French churches are thrown by the disappearance of their National Faculties, he proceeds to examine the two conflicts which have recently raged between the State and the churches. First is the question of probation of two years in an institution for superior instruction, now required by French law for professors. Those who claim that theological professors should be exempt, would let down the University standard and ignore the fact that the Minister only gained a vote for these Faculties on condition that they should be placed under legal regulation. M. Sabatier points out that it is of no use to fight against this regulation, but if a young licentiate seems likely some day to make a good professor, provision may be made for his attending the Obligatory Course for two years, and when he has gone through the necessary preparation, he could take a parish, where he would gain experience of pastoral work. Vacancies in the ranks of the professors could be filled up from such men, and the State would make no objection. As to the other point—the nomination of professors—he shows that the Government does not refuse to consult the Reformed Churches as it does the Lutheran Church, in case of any appointment. A board of fifteen or twenty members, to meet in Paris, would be acceptable to the Government, who would consult it about any changes in the professoriate. There are difficulties in the mode of carrying out such a plan, but Professor Sabatier urges that the Church should accept it, and indicates a way in which it might be carried into effect.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (July).—"Sacred Trees and Plants," by Dr. Junker, of Lanzegg, is full of interest. He speaks of the white lily, which is generally used as the symbol of the Virgin Mary. Its fatherland is not fixed. It occurs nowhere in Palestine in a wild state. Many think that it has been introduced from South America, which, however, is certainly incorrect, for the true white lily is represented by many paintings of the Italian and Dutch schools, before the discovery of the New World. It is pointed out to-day, in Palestine and Egypt, as a foreign plant, yet it appears to have been celebrated there very early. The Jews regarded it as a talisman against sorcery and evil spirits, for which reason Judith, according to the tradition, wove lilies in her hair before she ventured into the tent of Holofernes (Judith x. 3-4). The word "lilies" does not occur in Rabbi Gutmann's translation of the Book of Judith, but Dr. Junker quotes other versions in which it is found. He thinks the lily was brought to Europe in the time of the Romans. It can scarcely be any other flower to which the Venerable Bede refers as the most fitting symbol of the Virgin. Its pure white represents her undefiled body, and its golden filaments her soul irradiated by divine light.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (July 15).—Signor Nocito gives an extended account of the International Prison Congress, held last June, in St. Petersburg, under the presidency of Prince Alexander Petrovitch, of Oldenbourg. The Russian Court wished to give the greatest possible importance to this Congress, and both the Emperor, the Empress, the Grand Dukes and Duchesses, the Ministers, and all the diplomatic body were present. Russia is proud of the honour she has in preserving the remains of John Howard, at Kherson. She wished to celebrate the centenary of his death at the time when the Congress met, and the monument, placed at the end of its hall of assembly, was decorated with flowers. It was at once a tribute to his memory, and a source of instruction for those who saw it. The director-general of the prisons in Russia wished to publish something about Howard and his work on the occasion of the Congress. The article refers to meetings in which our great English philanthropist's work received abundant recognition, and gives other particulars of the discussions. The first Congress was held in London in 1872, the second in Stockholm in 1878, the third in Rome in 1885, the fourth in St. Petersburgh. Some details are given as to the work done in each Congress.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (July).—Mr. Gerry, President of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, writes a paper on "Children of the Stage." He says that the Americans love novelty, especially in their amusements. To meet this craving there has been a growing tendency among theatrical agents and brokers to train and exhibit young children, whom they generally hire from their parents. For a while the novelty draws. When it wears off, the troupe is broken up, frequently by the person in charge disbanding the children in some distant city. But wherever this disbanding occurs, the children have no future. Their voices prematurely strained and used, their physical systems broken down by the constant exposure to the draughts of the theatre, and the loss of sleep incidental to late nocturnal performances, render them utterly unfit for employment in any legitimate operatic business. The "low variety dives, dime museums, and drinking saloons," are the only places where they can get work. He divides the American theatres into three classes —the reputable, the semi-reputable, vulgarly, but appropriately, termed "leg-drama," the scanty costumes in which barely evade the prohibition of the Penal Code, on the subject of decency; and disreputable, where both dialogue and performances fester with indelicacy, and the audience composed of the lowest and most degraded class of society, engage in smoking and drinking as an adjunct of their enjoyment of the exhibition. An instance is given of seven little children in Brooklyn, who did not reach their homes till half an hour after midnight, and fell asleep in the cars utterly worn out by the strain which came on them night after night. Mr. Gerry says the attitude of the American press towards this effort for the good of the stage children is quite opposed to its usual vigour in the cause of humanity. It describes the action of the Societies charged with enforcing the protecting laws, "as fanatical, arbitrary, and unjust." He ascribes this to the large revenue which the papers draw from theatrical advertisements, amounting in some papers from £4000 to £12,000 a year. Mr. Andrew Carnegie sums up the Tariff Discussion, which has been going on in these columns. He argues that as Great Britain was too small to feed its own population, all that Mr. Gladstone has said about the folly and immorality of protection in England is true and well-deserved. But he holds that America is a world of its own, and quotes Mill's famous passage about protection as a means of encouraging some industry in a new country. He refers to the various Premiers who, "all backed by public opinion, have been led to the conclusion that it is essential for their Governments to levy protective duties in order to establish manufactures." "So far from progressing, the cause of free trade has receded, and is now confined to the little island of Britain itself and New South Wales, with its pastoral land and one million inhabitants." He says all parties in America are agreed in favour of protection. "Mr. Gladstone will find ten Britons favouring protection in Britain to one American in the United States favouring free trade." He does not forget to mention that our Parliament compelled the Postmaster-General to give up his arrangement with the North-German Lloyd for the conveyance of the mails. Some particulars are given as to the growth of manufactures in the United States. The article is what one might expect from an American millionaire. It shows that government by millionaires (as the *Spectator* so acutely pointed out) is the leading feature of the United States. Justin M'Carthy pays a well-deserved tribute to the Prince of Wales as unofficial Minister of Ceremonial. "No one could be fitter for the work, or could perform it with better grace and greater good-will." As a speaker, "he never uses the wrong word, and he never says a word too much." He says: "American visitors sometimes make the mistake of supposing, that when they have got into Marlborough House, they have got into the very best of English society. They have done nothing of the kind. . . . The truth is that the Prince is a good deal of a social leveller." He "is a great stickler for Court etiquette," and "very particular about good manners in princes and princesses, and I have heard that there is a near connection of his by marriage who is often lectured severely on the impropriety of losing his temper when giving directions to servants." Mr. M'Carthy closes with the confession, "I am not myself a great enthusiast about royalty or royal personages, but I must

say that, so long as we are to have an heir to the throne, I do not think we could find any one better able to conduct the business of the position than the Prince of Wales has shown himself of late years." We are glad to find Captain Parsell, commander of the *Majestic*, thinks that Captain Kennedy has exaggerated the amount of gambling on the Atlantic liners. He holds that a commander has power to stop unusual gambling, and ought to exercise it. Playing cards for small stakes and other forms of small betting "is tolerated, because no law can prevent gambling in this mild form."

METHODIST REVIEW (July–August).—This is one of the most valuable numbers of the *Methodist Review* we have seen. Professor Green, of Princeton, deals with "The Titles of the Psalms," as corroborated by the internal evidence afforded by the Psalms themselves. Psalm xc. naturally takes the first place. After pointing out the words and expressions which support its claim to be written by Moses, he expresses his opinion that the objections urged against this view are of the most trivial description. It is an article which ministers will find helpful in their study and exposition of the Psalter. The titles have distinct value, for, as Professor Green says: "If David wrote any of the psalms attributed to him, however few, the entire hypothesis of the history of Israel's religion framed by the Kuenen and Wellhausen school of critics, vanishes into smoke." For they all breathe an elevated and spiritual religion, which, according to the scheme propounded by these critics, could not possibly have existed in David's days. Dr. Cramer gives a good sketch of the late Professor Christlieb, of Bonn University, who died in August 1889. He was a handsome man, with a commanding figure, and endeared himself in all circles by the suavity of his manners. He was a humble, prayerful man, who "had no weakness for external honours or 'decorations' from royalty." He enjoyed such robust health that during the forty-two terms of lecturing at the University he never had to postpone his work. An early residence in London taught him three things: not to look (as German Lutheran pastors are wont to do) on other denominations as sects, but as branches of the true Church of Christ; to employ laymen in Christian work, and to co-operate with other communions in evangelising the masses. He became an active member of the Evangelical Alliance, and took a profound interest in mission work both at home and abroad. He assumed a very unfriendly attitude towards the Methodist Episcopal Church in Germany. He even had (we are quoting Dr. Cramer) the ungrateful audacity to say: "According to my opinion, *the only practical question* to-day for the Church (the German State Church) is: How can we render superfluous the work of evangelisation by Methodism in Germany?" He even called in question the right of Methodists to sit in the West German Evangelical Alliance, because of their "enlisting" members of the Lutheran Church. No one who knows the torpor of German Protestantism will be surprised that Methodism aroused so much jealousy.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE (July, August, September).—Many English readers will be glad to look at Mr. Muir's "Treasures of the Yosemite," in the August number. The famous valley is in the heart of the Sierra Nevada, about two hundred and fifty miles from San Francisco. The great central plain of California—level as a lake—is thirty to forty miles wide, and four hundred long. On the east of it lies the Sierra 500 miles long, 70 wide, 7000 to 15,000 feet high. The Yosemite is the most famous of its cañon valleys, on the upper waters of the Merced, 4000 feet above sea-level. It is seven miles long, half a mile to a mile wide, and nearly a mile deep. Its walls are made of mountainous rocks, which seem to form an immense hall or temple lighted from above. "But no temple made with hands can compare with Yosemite. Every rock in its walls seems to glow with life. Some lean back in majestic repose; others, absolutely sheer or nearly so for thousands of feet, advance beyond their companions in thoughtful attitudes, giving welcome to storms and calms alike, seemingly conscious, yet heedless of everything going on about them. Awful in stern, immovable majesty, how softly these mountain rocks are adorned, and how fine and reassuring the company they keep—their feet set in groves and gay emerald meadows, their brows in the thin blue sky." The wealth of flowers, the silver firs and other colossal trees, make it a botanist's

paradise. "Lunar rainbows or spray bows abound; their colours as distinct as those of the sun, and as obviously banded, though less vivid." This article, written by one who has known the valley intimately for ten years, is well illustrated by maps and woodcuts. "The Perils and Romance of Whaling" is a good paper about a trade which has seen its best days. Mr. Jefferson tells a story of Artemus Ward in his "Autobiography." Just before Ward's death his friend Robertson poured out some nauseous medicine, and begged him to take it: "Do now, for my sake; you know I would do anything for you." "Would you?" said Ward, feebly grasping his friend's hand. "I would indeed." "Then you take it," was the droll response. The "Anglomaniacs," which introduces the reader to a scheming American millionaire mother and her charming daughter; and "Friend Olivia," with its picture of Quakerism in the time of Cromwell and George Fox, well maintain their interest.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (July, August, September).—Mr. Child's "Impressions of Berlin," in *Harper* for July, conveys a clear idea of the German capital. He says it is "absolutely wanting in charm, whether of situation, of general aspect, or of historical souvenirs. It is a modern city, but its modern aspect has no marked character, and next to no originality." From the time of Frederick the Great down to the Franco-German war its architecture was marked by servile imitation. The public buildings were slavish models of Greek art. Unter den Linden is 160 feet wide, 1500 yards long, and has four rows of chestnut and lime trees planted along it. A good account is given of the most important buildings and chief public resorts of the city. Octavia Hensel's sketch of the great Antwerp printers, the Plantin-Moretus family, should not be overlooked by those who take interest in old books. The famous publishing house, with all its art treasures and old furniture, became the property of the people of Antwerp in 1876 for the price of 1,200,000 francs. The proof-readers' room is that used from Plantin's time. Some fine specimens of blue and white Delft porcelain, a polyglot Bible, printed on vellum in 1572, and other treasures may be seen in this museum.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE (July, August, September).—"The Last Slave Ship," in the July *Scribner*, is a narrative of a voyage on a slaver from New Orleans to the Congo, and back to the West Indies in 1859. Dr. Howe, the writer of this article, had just gone through the medical school, and accepted the post of doctor on board. When the freedmen had been taken to Liberia the master abandoned all disguise and sailed away to the Congo for twelve hundred slaves. It is probably the last record by an eye-witness of the slave traffic as carried on in an American ship: and a pitiful record it is. The poor victims were brought in canoes, which held from four to six negroes, through the breakers to the sloops, which, when filled, sailed for the ship. Each was given a biscuit and sent below. We may quote the description of their baptism and dispersion in the West Indies: "We were seated on the verandah of the residence, smoking, when there arrived a Catholic priest and an assistant, who passed on to the enclosure. Shortly after came a waggon filled with clothing, and being curious to witness anything else connected with the negroes I followed. Inside the enclosure the negroes were drawn up in rows. Their brands were examined, and they were separated into lots representing each mark. The priest, assisted by his young man, passed along in front, the young man registering the name the priest had given each, as they were baptised. As the priest finished one lot they were at once furnished, the women with a sort of loose gown of coarse cotton-cloth, and the men with a long shirt, and then sent off in different directions. Dinner being called we returned to the residence. After dinner I returned to the enclosure, but there was not a negro there, and visiting the fields with the proprietor I did not see one that I thought had made the voyage with us. Don S. B—— said that there were but twenty-five of the new arrivals on his plantation, the others having been delivered to the planters who had already contracted for them, paying 350 dols. for each."—The August Magazine is a holiday number largely composed of stories, but Mr. Marston's account of "How Stanley wrote his Book," will be eagerly read. The writer of this article was invited by telegraph to join Stanley at Cairo, and take an artist with him. He found the African explorer so

honoured and sought after, that it was enough to turn his head, if as he said "he had not had much more serious matters to think about." In the Hotel Villa Victoria *Darkest Africa* was written. "It was in that part of the hotel farthest removed from the street that Mr. Stanley took up his abode. Here he had a fine suite of rooms on the ground floor, very handsomely furnished in the Oriental style. A large, lofty reception-room and an equally large and handsome dining-room. In these he received some of the most important or most persistent of his many callers; but as a rule he shut himself up in his bedroom, and there he wrote from early morning till late at night, and woebetide any one who ventured unasked into this sanctum. He very rarely went out, even for a stroll round the garden. His whole heart and soul were centred on his work. He had set himself a certain task, and he had determined to complete it to the exclusion of every other object in life. He said of himself, 'I have so many pages to write. I know that if I do not complete this work by a certain time, when other and imperative duties are imposed upon me, I shall never complete it at all. When my work is accomplished, then I will talk with you, laugh with you, and play with you, or ride with you to your heart's content; but let me alone now, for Heaven's sake.'" The book was written under severe tension. Even Mr. Marston, who as his publisher had to pay him frequent visits, says "he sometimes glared upon me like a tiger ready to spring." His courier and black boy were sorely afraid of their impatient master. One day Sali hit on the ingenious device of fixing a telegram on a long bamboo, and thus poked it through the door which he had set barely ajar. Then he bolted. Mr. Marston evidently thinks it was a great feat to get Stanley out once for half an hour's walk by the Nile. As a rule, he stuck to his work with the same concentration of purpose as he had shown in his travels through Africa. Mr. Marston himself was scarcely less busy than Stanley. He had to see to the development of the photographs, and for safety made a copy of the explorer's manuscript, some of which Mr. Marston himself wrote out by hand. Mr. Bell, the artist who went out to Cairo to arrange for the sketches, greatly tried Stanley by his excessive verbosity, and his quizzical ways. The explorer was too much burdened to relish this byplay. He was, of course, beset by all kinds of enthusiasts. One Austrian gentleman begged leave to bring forty of his countrymen to shake hands; an astute American wrote, offering a fancy price for the cap he wore on his march through Africa.

ST. NICHOLAS (July, August, September).—Mr. E. J. Glave contributes his fifth and last paper, entitled "Six Years in the Wilds of Central Africa," to *St. Nicholas* for July. He describes the fever of excitement at his quiet little Equatorial Station, when Stanley arrived there early in 1887, on his way to relieve Emin Bey at Wadelai. The station "had never seen so busy a day. Crowds of Zanzibaris, Soudanese, and other natives hurried about all day; and old Tippu Tib, the well-known Arab chief, who was being taken up to his head-quarters at Stanley Falls, pitched his tent in my yard. He and his followers occupied it during their stay. Tippu was certainly a fine-looking old fellow, and a very intelligent man. He looks like a pure negro and shows no sign of the Arab blood which is supposed to be in his veins. He wore a long white linen shirt, and around his waist a silk sash, in which was stuck his dagger. On his feet were a pair of white sandals." Mr. Glave found on his first visit up the Malinga River a few native huts built on piles, with floors just above the water's edge. "Placed on sticks in front of them, were several whitening skulls." The natives had probably been surprised at night by the slavers. Some exciting descriptions of the perils of hunting the wild beasts of the district are given. One of Glave's friends, named Thompson, went out at night after a buffalo. The animal made a mad rush at the hunter, who had presence of mind enough to throw himself down. The buffalo's hoof caught him on the head and took out a piece the size of a crown piece; one of its hind legs also bruised his back. He was thankful to escape with his life. Many other stirring incidents of African life are given in this instructive paper. The description of the voracious orca or grampus, in "Wolves of the Sea"; and the paper on "Olof Krarer," "probably the only educated Eskimo lady in the world," are among the most striking in this number of *St. Nicholas*.