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THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1871.

ART. I.—*The "Charles Dickens" Edition of the Works of Dickens.* Eighteen Vols. London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly.

Prelude.—There is no lack of evidence that the prospects of the fiction market are not as promising for those engaged in the production and sale as they were ten years ago; and as a text to the subject about to be discussed, this state of things is not without its profounder significance. That the fiction market is dull may appear a rather doubtful statement taken absolutely; but relatively to the outrageous success of bad practitioners in this line of literature for the last few years, there can be no doubt that the present outlook for such practitioners is a poor one. It has been more than once stated—and there is truth in the statement—that the demand for sixth, seventh, and eighth-rate novels has passed its climax, and is on the decline: first rate, and even superior works in this kind, must always, especially in these days, hold their own; but it is a grand hope on which we lean when we state our belief that, side by side with the growth of poetry, which has burst out and is budding in volumes of great respectability and saleableness, our age has also at length produced a revulsion to culminate in the fall of rank fiction—a revulsion which will finally lop off and sweep into merited oblivion those numerous shoots of the tree of legitimate fiction which have found so many admirers to the detriment of the tree itself. Now, then, is the time for the critical arboriculturist to come to the lopping of branches—to give his voice as to what should be saved, what should be entirely abolished, and what should be trimmed and kept in part on the trunk; and it would be hard

to find a more important branch, considered in regard to influence, than the works of the late Charles Dickens.

No man was ever so popular as Dickens without incurring jealousies and animosities ; no man's popularity during life was ever so paramount in the midst of a baneful movement, unless that man in some measure truckled to the tastes of those whose pockets sustained such movement ; and the fact that Dickens in the latter portion of his career has gone more or less into the sensation novel movement has afforded, to those whose jealousy or aversion put them in the position of wholesale detractors, a handle whereby to grasp the whole series of his labours, and drag them forth with the suggestion that they too may be cast into the pit prepared by a long repletion for the countless rank productions which have deformed the literature of the last twenty or thirty years. The genuine success of Dickens, however, is an unquestionable fact, demanding to be faced, not in the spirit of noisy detraction or of stupid wonder and assent, but in an attitude of inquiry and calm appreciation. It is needful, first, to understand the fact well, and then to inquire what is its significance and what its probable issue. We have before us an author who has unquestionably obtained the general ear of the middle classes wherever English is spoken, and it is desirable, in accepting this position, to see clearly *how* he has attained to such an influential status, what are the nature and quality of the influence exerted, and what the probable future position of the author in our literature.

Causes of Popularity.—When Charles Dickens started in his career, the British public was very far lower in the appreciation of art, whether literary or plastic, or other, than it is now,—and even now there is only too much room for advance in this respect,—but Dickens set forth in a generation which possessed this indistinctive feature—that each man and woman of it had a sense of his or her neighbour's physical peculiarities and foibles of character sufficiently keen to make caricature of some kind or another welcome. It is quite remarkable how few literatures are free from what may be more or less accurately described as caricature ; how few epochs have been free from the uncharitable characteristic of loving to make one's neighbours a laughing-stock, and that not in the refined and refining manner wherein high comedy deals with the humorous side of things, but in the low and lowering manner of distorted presentment. The distinction between high comedy and caricature is most important, and may be briefly summed up thus:—high comedy tends to

inspire a certain love for the characters who yield the amusement, while caricature tends to inspire for such characters at most a pity "a little more than kin" to contempt. Now when Dickens was a *débutant*, the English popular mind, for many centuries sufficiently brutal in the matter of its amusements, had scarcely got to despise that vile school of caricaturists of whom Rowlandson was, perhaps, the most clever and least revolting; it was still possible for a clever draughtsman like Seymour to attain to great success in that line of caricature which we may call the wantonly cruel style; and so little refinement had as yet sprung up, that even the humane Tom Hood, the delicate-souled lyric poet, whose best works seemed to burst straight from the heart of philanthropy, and strike right at the root of some social sin or absurdity—even he, as a professional literary man, found it advisable to disfigure his serial labours with much pen and pencil work characterised by a low paltering with human suffering, such as makes now a very ugly blot on the collected works of one who was unmistakably a great man. Tracing the line of popular caricature work up the present century, we can mark with satisfaction the gradual steady lessening of the brutal element. But at the point where Dickens struck into the line with his fresh vigour and originality that element was still heavy; nor can we see that, in that particular, he was very much in advance of his time, although in brilliancy and raciness no rival came near him, and there was just that *shade* of elevation above the level of caricature in vogue to give a piquancy to innovation without leading taste perceptibly higher; and since then, we are inclined to suspect, the modification for the better in the general tone of Dickens's caricature work has been demanded by the rising public taste, not accomplished with the purpose of elevating that taste. Now the amount of powerful caricature displayed in *Pickwick* is so great as to be almost the warp and woof of the book (if a work so disjointed may be said to have any warp and woof); and this alone would have insured a temporary success; but besides this, the author betrayed then, had shown before in the sketches of life and character known as *Sketches by Boz*, and maintained up to the day of his death, remarkable faculties of acute observation and impressive representation. This *acute* observation is very different from, and in its nature may be opposed to, the noble quality of *profound* observation found only in philosophic or highly artistic minds; and impressiveness in representation is by no means to be confounded with greatness, nobility, or faithfulness.

Dickens's representations were not often either very great, truly noble, or thoroughly faithful. But he saw things with an eye receptive of the whole surface, whether the object were a character or a landscape, and he painted these same things with a hand reproductive of a whole surface in perfect distinctness, often rising to an impetuous vividness peculiarly his own; but his representations leave generally the impression, not so much of men and women whose life is a deep and a serious thing, but of persons who have assembled on a stage to amuse other persons, or to appeal to the senses of the same. In *Pickwick*, readers critical and uncritical discerned further a power of inventing grotesque situation, and indeed situation of all sorts, at that time unprecedented and still unparalleled in our literature, and which Dickens himself sustained in a manner scarcely short of marvellous through the long series of his labours. There was something, too, quite original in the manner of embodying humorous thoughts and caricature-pictures adopted in *Pickwick*; and although the originality of manner was not high, it was at the precise level of the public requirement, as the scurrility of such prints as the *Tomahawk* has once and again been so dexterously balanced as to achieve a mercantile success.

If Dickens had been unknown till 1870, and had published this year such a book as *Pickwick*, it is far from unlikely that success would have been merely moderate; but having published it, so to speak, in the nick of time, he made at once a name which became forthwith an available trade mark; and with the real qualities already referred to, and a tact to feel the pulse of the public from time to time, altering the dose administered in accordance with the demand, the popular author of thirty years ago was able to keep his popularity unrivalled as long as he lived, and retain unimpaired the value of his trade mark. This he did, not by producing books no better than the first, but, generally speaking, by making really the best use of his birthright gifts, and producing works up to the level of his possibilities—a far higher level, be it noticed, than the actualities of *Pickwick*. He ever went on observing with the original acute surface observation, widening his area, and taking in all that came within the scope of his vision; and he ever continued to depict vividly and to invent circumstance with uttermost facility, without at any time sinking very low and without soaring to such heights as the loftiest minds attain. He possessed, too, the inevitable vein of pathos which always accompanies humour,

and varies in quality with the variations of humorous quality, being coarse and obvious where humour is coarse and obvious, and refined and subtle in cases where refinement and subtlety characterise the author's humour or wit; and here, again, a certain measure of popularity was insured. Heinrich Heine, one of the most refined and subtle wits who have ever delighted intellectual man, wrote also poems of the affections as pathetically tender as any that have been put on record since the world began, and perhaps surpassed all writers in the prodigious glow of his patriotic and philosophical pathos: his works are at present among the most popular of Germany, though he never wrote a line wherein the most intellectual can accuse him of dropping under the level of genius, even when he stooped far below the level of morality and rectitude, as was too often the case. The writings of Charles Dickens, on the other hand, have no subtlety; their humour is obvious and broad—their wit independent of cultivation in the reader; and correspondingly the pathetic conceptions are presented in types characterised by no refinement that goes to the heart of the cultivated man by force of deep sympathy, shown or evoked, but marked by that surface melancholy that is calculated to touch the rougher heart: and these conceptions force themselves into view with the histrionic impressiveness already dwelt upon. The ready sympathies daily enlisted in favour of England's myriad beggars living on imposture—sympathies evoked by an exterior of misery, in minds unaccustomed to analyse appearances—are enlisted also by the pathetic situations of Dickens; and the man who unthinkingly gives a penny to a person of manufactured squalidness is just the man who would feel the somewhat meretricious appeals made in the death-bed scenes of the child-wife in *David Copperfield*, the poor crossing-sweeper in *Bleak House*, and even the drunken actor of the story told by the "Dismal Man" in *Pickwick*. It is a mere truism to say that this class of easy unintelligent open-heartedness is very widely spread among those who speak the English language, as indeed among modern humanity generally; consequently it is almost superfluous to remark that Dickens's special mode of appeal in matters pathetic is just as precisely calculated to secure the sympathy of the average middle-class man or woman of to-day, with half-developed artistic sympathies, as his particular style of humour and wit are. The most popular orators are seldom the deepest in argument or the most refined in expression; and provided a man have attained to a certain degree of impressiveness,

whether in the rostrum or as a writer of fiction, he is pretty sure to become more or less popular,—average audiences, equally with average readers, not concerning themselves to study whether the vividness of the impressions wrought upon them be supported by truth, or compassed under the assistance of high art or low.

It sometimes happens, though rarely, that deep truth in fiction is set forth not only with largeness of heart, but also with sufficient fervour and obviousness of appeal to force a way into the hearts of the comparatively imperious to high impressions. Such is pre-eminently the case in *Adam Bede*, a work by no means the highest, in point of art and thought, of works by the same hand. *The Mill on the Floss* goes deeper into human passion and the tragedy of unachieved lives,—flies higher in intellectuality as well as in perfection of workmanship. *Romola* is almost epic in the grandeur of its outlined plan, almost lyric in the beauty of its detailed diction. *Silas Marner* has the statuesque solidity and clearness of cut usually associated with marble work, and yet never fails of the minute delineation and rich colour of Dutch painting: not one of these great works is in any way cold or deficient in feeling, but they are not founded on the same obvious passions and situations as afford a basis to *Adam Bede*; and while that work is inferior to each and all in the qualities we have noted in respect of each (except the Dutch painting quality), still its true fervour, supported by its easiness to appreciate, renders it the most popular of the great fictions of our age, perhaps excepting *Jane Eyre*. Now the works of Dickens show a fervour which, though not the fervour of George Eliot, is commensurate with it in effectiveness; and they have an obviousness which, though not the obviousness of *Adam Bede*, is even more widely serviceable, while less deeply serviceable, than that. George Eliot goes straight to the innermost depths of the heart when her appeal attains: Dickens goes just as straight to the outermost surface of the heart, and his appeal always attains, and always must attain, till men and women are what modern advancement is striving to make them. If it were our task to analyse the whole of the works of Dickens from an artistic point of view, we should endeavour to show these distinctions with more minuteness. But the present object is the understanding of his popularity: it is desired to exhibit, as a natural consequence rather than as a matter for surprise, the fact that he succeeded in establishing a name that so many years retained the force of a host, with

power to secure a ready welcome to him whenever and wherever he appeared, in person or in print,—with power even to sell copiously things unworthy of his talent. The facts and reasons of the situation seem, then, to shape themselves thus:—Starting with a lucky hit, which placed him in a position of temporary influence, Charles Dickens put in force an almost unparalleled energy in applying with tact the literary qualities we have glanced at. First of all, the British public must have amusement pure and simple, of an easy and straightforward class; and that he could provide in bulk. Next, the proverbial taste of the Englishman for what is melancholy and sombre must be met; and that was a task which he could accomplish with the requisite spice of vulgarity. Thirdly, there was a popular move in favour of instructive books; so conspicuous morals must at all hazards be brought into his fictions. Fourthly, the passion for reform was still strong upon the middle-class mind; and well for the author who could show the middle-class mind real or imaginary fields for reform! Fifthly (and this point is perhaps the most important item in the qualification for popular authorship), it is so nice to see the foibles of one's fellows placed in an amusing light, and to have the laugh in one's sleeve at all one's neighbours, so to speak, and yet never to be able to recognise in any figure of the amusing picture *one's own portrait*: and in this Dickens is the most successful writer the world has ever seen.

This last point seems to us to be so preponderant among the causes of Dickens's popularity, that we must dwell on it a moment before passing to consider the nature and quality of the influence he was enabled to exert through the medium of that so great popularity. It is, perhaps, uncharitable to the world at large to say so; but there is no doubt that man's mind is, and ever has been, as far as we can trace it, so constructed as to find a vast satisfaction in the half-compassionate, half-contemptuous contemplation of persons rendered by situation either ludicrous or objects of pity. The psychology of this phenomenon has been over and over again discussed, nor is there any need to discuss it here; but we may take it for granted that the explanation lies in the individual man's indomitable vanity and self-love—the pleasure he has in feeling that he is superior to other people. No works more than Dickens's pander to this self-love and vanity. Looked at superficially, his characters are all possible characters in the main; but they are dissevered from the rank of characters that reflect oneself to oneself by the

fact that every one of them is marked by peculiarities more pronounced than the faults or eccentricities a person sees or deplures in himself. We are lenient to our own faults and idiosyncrasies, and by habit scarcely know them very often ; but we are severe on the faults of others, and acute to see their idiosyncrasies ; and Dickens is severe on the faults and idiosyncrasies of all his characters,—sufficiently so to bring them, in the mind of each individual, up to the level of *other people's* peculiarities. His works want that deep truth and earnestness that carries a fictitious life-lesson home to the man or woman to whom it is most appropriate, and thus they steer clear of a great quicksand of offence. In Thackeray and Carlyle there is the same element of popularity, though with widely different concomitants, and, in each case, without any spice of vulgarity. The sarcastic cynicism of Thackeray falls usually on that very vague entity human nature ; and each particular man is able to enjoy the laugh at man in general, while his complacency rests undisturbed by any home-thrust at himself. Carlyle's cynical sarcasm follows something of the same direction—he sneers at generalities, or at individual persons too remote to affect the comfort of the general reader. Through these means, we believe, *Vanity Fair* sought out a lower circle, and thus a wider one, than it would have reached by means of its great genuine powers of prose-craft and character-lore ; and through these means the so-called *History of the French Revolution*, while resting for ever abominable to all sensitive minds on account of its frequent dealing with a great movement as if it were a joke, commended itself to intelligences not greatly careful of its sterling merits, simply because its sarcasm could scarcely touch anyone this side of the Channel. The sterling qualities of Thackeray and Carlyle, we conceive, are many degrees higher than those of Dickens, while the satire, or sarcasm, or what you please to call it, is in either case many degrees more refined than his : correspondingly, with all the extended popularity of both, neither has yet come near him in respect of the multitude of readers appealed to.

We are aware that we are laying ourselves open to a torrent of censure, and provoking the ready question, “How is it that, if things are as you represent, Dickens has managed to make people all over the English-speaking world,—ay, and elsewhere,—think him the greatest fictionist of this or any other age ? Is he not the greatest fictionist the human race has yet produced, and is not this fact the undescribed *something* about him that has seized the whole world ?” But we are prepared

for the torrents of censure, while to the question our reply is—that, though Dickens's works are still by far the most popular of the age, we have never met a single man of high cultivation who regarded Dickens in the light of an artist at all, or looked upon his books as greatly worth the attention of persons capable of appreciating better things: the undescribed *something* we have above attempted to analyse into its component parts; but however important any of those parts may be as elements in the question, we hold that the culminating and indispensable part is the enabling of everyone to have, when so disposed, a “jolly good laugh at people and things in general,” as the treat may with apposite inelegance be termed. This Dickens certainly does do, and to imitate him as nearly as possible in this is what we should recommend to all authors who aspire to the gratuitous circulation of their portraits on cigar-boxes and mustard-tins, or to what is still more desirable from a pecuniary standpoint—the dramatising of their productions under the auspices of Mr. Dion Boucicault.

Nature and Quality of Influence.—Thus far Charles Dickens has been referred to merely as an author who succeeded in gaining the general ear, and carefully kept up to the end the popularity once attained. We have been looking at certain literary qualities merely in the light of their mercantile value; but it would be at once an impertinence and an injustice to put forward any view of the author in question circumscribing his functions to the purveying of public diversion at so much per page. It would have been possible for a writer of his peculiar cast of ability to go on indefinitely ringing the changes on the droll and the pathetic, without ever rising to a more influential position than that implied in tickling men to laughter, or wheedling women to tears. With his infinite facility of situation this could have been done without overstepping the boundaries of gossip circumstance to become in any proper sense influential. The jaded pathos of little Nell's premature death could have been resuscitated by so potent a magician in any number of new forms; the abnormal little Dombey, in whom one looks long and wearily for each single fibre of wholesome child-nature, might have been called up in fifty new attires to do service on the hearts that are so open to meretricious appeals; the hollow graveyard voice of the dismal man, the oppressive and ever-conspicuous teeth of the cat-like Carker, the filthy leer and writhe and sprawl of Uriah Heep—all these matters needed only to be redigested into literary pulp and brought forth again in fresh

manifestations of vulgar sadness, or of drollery, grotesquerie, or weirdness, to meet the demands of Dickens's public ; and it would have been but a small element in the causes of his popularity that he would have foregone in relying upon these facilities independently of all ideas of instruction. But not only are his works notoriously influential ; they are also well known to have been intentionally so. Dickens did not take material just as it came to hand and reduce it to humorous or pathetic sketches as the case might be ; but laboured in wide fields, and gained knowledge of life as varied perhaps as is possessed by any man of his time. With evident purpose he explored the suburbs and provinces of life stretching on all sides around the obvious metropolis of ordinary middle-class existence. With his surface-sweeping glance he took in every detail of various modes of existence but little known to the general public ; and with his powers of rapid and vivid portraiture, he suddenly made the world at large once and again well acquainted with something that was going on in it below the surface of its everyday knowledge. He has thus, with clear intent, opened up various channels of sympathy closed before ; and he usually placed his subjects in a light strong enough to call general attention to them, if not pure enough to make every feature stand out in clear and ungarished nakedness of truth. But he has not shown himself a deep thinker, and has never established a claim to largeness of judgment or incisiveness of observation : so that he has always been in great peril of becoming one-sided, and has at times succumbed to that danger. He has shown up many abuses ; but he has done so in colours often vivid enough to reflect unmerited ridicule or odium on a whole class. He has opened many sympathies towards the lower *strata* of society, and has thus done good work towards the subjugation of the wretched spirit of *caste* ; but he has done nothing to open the sympathies of the lower *strata* towards the higher in a corresponding degree, apparently from lack of sympathy on his own part with spiritual powers, and what is improperly called the "aristocracy of intellect." It has been observed that this cleverest literary caricaturist of modern times, or indeed of any times, never succeeded in painting a gentleman ; and, although the observation would at first sight seem to smack of triviality, and that very spirit of *caste* in warring against which he won well-merited praise, it is not really so, for the term "gentleman" is used, not in its sense of a mere well-dressed person of polished manners, but in the older sense,

as implying fineness of disposition and superior elegance of soul. There are persons who bear

"without abuse

The grand old name of gentleman,
Defiled by every charlatan,
And soiled with all ignoble use,"—

and plenty of such persons, too; but these Dickens never apparently met with, or, if he did, he has not painted them in sufficient truth and attractiveness to produce the converse sympathies to those which his books constantly arouse. Genial, good, charitable people he has depicted over and over again; but people whose geniality, goodness, charity, have passed through the refiner's fire of noble manners and lofty thought and deep calm beauty of sentiment would seem to have been beyond the reach of his vivid and versatile pencil.

It would be a misplaced minuteness of detail to review the various fields over which, in the character of knight-errant, Charles Dickens has coursed with lance in rest; and it is not now, nor ever will be, possible to say what particular individuals of a horde of barbarous abuses, fallen or falling, may be claimed as the spoil of his single spear. His hottest partisans claim for him the corpses of the horrible cheap schools of Yorkshire, the maimed carcass of a nefariously corrupt parish workhouse system well-nigh pushed out of being to make way for a better, the reduction to palpable carrion of the once consolidated malpractices of many hospital and private nurses, the suppression of sundry villanies in the Court of Chancery, and so on to the end of a long catalogue of fallen or disabled rascalities.

Now there can be no doubt that the issue of *Nicholas Nickleby* ranged among the influences which secured the uprooting of those horrid schools instituted for the brutal treatment of boys' bodies and dwarfing of their minds at a low figure; but it is hardly fair even to say, as it is often said, that these institutions owed their death-blow to the hand that drew the well-intentioned but ludicrously overdrawn portraits of Mr., Mrs., and Miss Whackford Squeers. Indeed, the amount of insight shown in taking up this position is about equivalent to that evinced in attributing the fall of slavery in the United States to the coarse but well-meaning mind which produced *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (and of late years something more horrible—the atrocious Byron scandal). No doubt Mrs. Beecher Stowe's book, thrown into the abolitionist scale, bore its part in the influences which were working towards the great

climax of American liberty; but the event was not even purely national, much less individual: the antecedent centuries were for it, and, no matter who was against it, it was bound to come; and even so has it been with the lesser details of reform which it has been the privilege of Charles Dickens to write in favour of, in his own peculiarly popular method of appeal—the caricature method, we must call it, for caricature seems to us to be a word most characteristic of the bulk of his modifications of fact, which but seldom come under the head of idealisations. He takes a place very different, and probably much more powerful, than that taken by the ablest pamphleteer or press-man in the growth of these detailed reforms for which he seems to have had so honest a love; but the place must always remain impossible to fix. We faithfully believe that the reforms would each and all have come duly about without him; but with equal faith do we believe that they have been hastened by him, without any counterbalancing result of evil from the caricaturing of the various subjects, and undue odium thrown on classes in some instances. It may be argued that the fact of a man or set of men, of this or that profession, being painted in a ludicrous fashion and placed in altogether a mean light, is not to be taken as any slight to a class; but even charitably assuming it not to be so intended, this kind of misrepresentation became a dangerous practice when coupled with the well-known fact that Dickens's attacks on abuses were made through the setting up of types. It may be that in numberless cases a figure was put in for mere funniness of effect; but so much funniness is in the texture of all the author's work that an undiscerning reader, such as are doubtless the bulk of readers, cannot be expected to discriminate between the types set up for amusement and those set up for the sake of drawing attention to some state of things in the outer world. We need but to instance one or two cases in point. Let any person of frankness and intelligence examine the scene in the drawing-room of Mr. Dombey with the family doctor and consulting physician. The whole thing is thoroughly unlife-like: any one who has had to do with doctors such as would be called in by a man of Mr. Dombey's wealth and position knows them not to be the mean-souled mountebanks there portrayed; knows that their language, their deportment, their subject-matter of conversation, are one and all absurdly distorted. No doubt there are mean mountebanks to be found among the members of this profession as in others, but they lurk in the by-places of the class, and do not represent it.

The caricature in such an instance as this is thoroughly misplaced, but we conceive that although numerous silly people might deem their oracle to be bestowing deserved castigation on a gang of impostors, still the general status of medical practitioners could not be materially injured by such a trivial and transparent piece of buffoonery.

Again, in *Bleak House*, there is a noteworthy instance of an analogous kind—the caricaturing of certain nonconformist clergy, under the disgusting figure of the Rev. Mr. Chadband, whose conversation and behaviour are outrageous beyond all bounds of any art, except that which we presume Dickens's admirers call his “art.” This is a far worse case than the other, for while Dr. Parker Pepps is a mere occasional figure playing no considerable part in the book, the Rev. Mr. Chadband embodies an elaborate calumny, asserted and reasserted throughout the volume. Without any wish to repudiate on account of the clerical faculty, more than of any other class, the weaknesses inseparable from flesh and blood, we protest that Dickens committed a flagrant and unpardonable offence in putting forth such a creation as the one in question, under the well-known *hazard* of its being taken as an attack on a set of men, even if such were not the *intention*. Let any man search the dismal outskirts of Christianity for the foundation of this personage, and where will he find it? Go whither he will among those who are or seem to be set apart to the ministry, whether in the Established Church or in the many Dissenting communities, he will find perhaps some proportion of weak preachers and persons who are mere men of no special qualification for the work they have assumed. But the low sensuality dressed in a sanctimonious garb, the absurd unmeaning rigmarole of comparisons and illustrations that have nothing to do with each other or with any thread of discourse, the fetid vulgarity oozing, so to speak, from every pore of the man's dirty skin,—where did Dickens get these things, or the gaping idiocy of adult persons ready to accept the satyr as a very embodiment of greatness and nobility? Dickens professed to draw characters “precisely from the life,” and, by implication, to have an acquaintance with a multiplicity of originals of whom the detestable Pecksniff is an accurate portrait.* If he fancied he had seen many Pecksniffs, it is quite possible he may have fancied he had seen at all events one Chadband; but, admitting for the sake of argument that he had met with some person who appeared

* See preface to *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

to him to justify him in describing that portrait as "touched precisely from the life," that fact afforded no shadow of justification for the putting of such a portrait forward under the hazard alluded to. Had there been any countervailing tribute to the many men who nobly spend their lives in ministering to the spiritual wants of their fellow-men, Chadband would have been more tolerable; but even then there must have been a copious lack of kindness in the conception; and we would here take leave to raise one nonconformist voice amid the general cry about Dickens's freedom from ill-nature: we always regarded the portrait of Mr. Serjeant Buzzfuzz as quite ill-tempered enough, when considered as an attack on the Bar; but that of Dr. Parker Pepps seems to us far more ill-tempered, and that of the Rev. Mr. Chadband far more so again. Nor do these examples of Dickens's portrait-painting form by any means a solitary triptych.

In the creation of Sarah Gamp and Betsy Prig, Dickens was on firmer ground, and ground, too, better fitted for the bringing of seed to fruit. We are not disposed to admit the position assumed by the author in his preface, when he says:—

"Mrs. Sarah Gamp was, four-and-twenty years ago, a fair representation of the hired attendant on the poor in sickness. The hospitals of London were, in many respects, noble institutions; in others, very defective. I think it not the least among the instances of their mismanagement, that Mrs. Betsy Prig was a fair specimen of a hospital nurse; and that the hospitals, with their means and funds, should have left it to private humanity and enterprise to enter on an attempt to improve that class of persons—since, greatly improved through the agency of good women."

But we do believe that his two caricatures came a great deal nearer than usual to accurate representation of the classes of people aimed at. It is neither doubted nor dubitable that, twenty-four years ago, reform among hospital nurses and hired attendants for the sick was urgently required, and that very wide reform has since been accomplished. Here was a case in which a voice like Dickens's could be made heard with effect, for *Martin Chuzzlewit* was doubtless read by numbers of persons who had it in their power to do much practically towards the amelioration of the evils attacked; and it is probable that the direct influence for good exercised by *Martin Chuzzlewit* has thus been as extended and as palpable as that of any work of the same parentage. This is a very different case from the last two cited: the influence here

set towards the careful selection and efficient *surveillance* of a class of persons who are or should be essentially subordinate; and in throwing in the weight of a little ridicule, there was no danger of setting class against class, or of wounding the feelings of the class attacked. But in regard to the other two cases, it is hardly needful to point out that such dangers existed in a considerable degree—the set of men incriminated being important members of society, to be found scattered freely throughout the whole vast middle classes who furnish for the works of Dickens so numberless a circle of readers, and many of whom appear to repose in those works a certain blind faith. The result of evil here and in many other instances, though not capital, is lamentable enough in its degree, and will be scored up on the debit side of the author's account with a posterity more discerning than his contemporaries are, and unblinded by his brilliant existence among them.

In regard to the pointed moral lessons taught, or meant to be taught, in these works, it would be negligent to keep silence here, although, as in the case of the crusade against social abuses, an exhaustive appraisal in detail would, we conceive, be misplaced. The lessons are piquant and palpable enough, and good enough; and whatever influence they may have had must, generally speaking, have been in the right direction. Still, the visitations of sins on the offender's head, the accomplishment of reformations, &c. &c., hero met with, are too mechanically arranged, too melodramatic, to take a deep hold upon the heart and mind. There is no delicacy of retention in the working up of materials; and visitations and restitutions are wrought out in a wholesale and lavish manner, suggestive of anything rather than real life. The modifications of probable circumstances resorted to for the bringing about of needful or preconceived results take, as a general rule, the prevailing tone of the works—caricature; and even were there ten times more probability than there usually is, and even if artistic subtlety were displayed in the administration of circumstance, we are persuaded that the average Dickens-reader would too frequently feel himself in an atmosphere of chaff in the details, to go quite clearly past the suspicion that the author might be chaffing after all in his "moral." No thinking person can doubt for a moment the seriousness of Dickens's moral intent; but when even the terrible sanctuary of a death-bed is not permitted to escape the invasion of elaborately jocose details, it is impossible to preserve the equilibrium of serious feelings

absolutely essential for the deep reception of any significance an author may wish to convey. An invasion of this kind is only too painfully prominent in the opening of *Dombey and Son*; and such disturbances of serious sombre places by the jingle of bells on the jester's head-gear are too common in Dickens's works to need citation.

The study of Dickens as a teacher might lead to some good results in the hands of a competent critic; but books so notoriously written "with a purpose" ought hardly to require their meanings and teachings to be extricated from any absorbent texture such as Dickens's whole works present through the overmastering desire to be funny. Not only his life lessons are shown through an almost unvarying photosphere of humour, but even his very religion has to be made out painfully through the same photosphere. Geniality, *bon-homie*, the whole catalogue of the live-and-let-live virtues, if virtues they are to be called, appear properly enough through such a photosphere; and it is quite evident that those qualities in Dickens's creed of life—at all events, as expressed in his writings—absorbed into their proper substance all religious emotion of whatever kind that may have been in the man. He inculcates nothing that can be called elevating or ennobling in any high sense. He seems to see no necessity for religion properly so called. Discarding almost entirely all ideas of fervent faith and ardent worship, such as we know the soul needs, he confers on good-fellowship and joviality, on whatever one does to benefit one's neighbour's bodily state and make him for the moment more happy, an ideal and paramount importance such as would seem well-nigh to point to some monstrous worship of the senses and appetites. Eating and drinking are unmistakable articles of whatever faith Charles Dickens may have meant to preach: whatever creed is deducible from his writings is essentially a *corporealising*, not a spiritualising creed; and the whole range of his labours proclaim as clearly as we can read this proclamation through the humorous photosphere already referred to: "Put not your faith in teachers and preachers; take, however ignorant and incompetent you may be, your own particular views concerning God, and Christ, and immortality, and prayer; and do not let those views be strong enough to abstract from the due and weighty service of the fleshly man; be a good fellow to others, and an excellent fellow to yourself; and take every possible opportunity of wholesomely expanding the lungs by laughter." In a state of being wherein a firm religious faith is so absolute an essential for every young man

and maiden, old man and wife and mother, as it is and must always be with the frail inhabitants of this world—in a state wherein the appetites of the natural man lead us into temptations so many and so hard to resist, and so horribly important in their results—such teaching as this would indeed demand condemnation in a loud and earnest voice, were it so put forward as to enlist sympathy readily, and gain converts by any forcible pleading. But, refracted as this doctrinal element of Dickens's works is through a dense medium of wit and jocularly, it is not really dangerous in any considerable degree, and is likely to fall flat enough on the spirits of readers who have laughed their laugh, or wept their tears, according as occasion may have demanded. Still, there the doctrinal element certainly is, and it is our duty to point it out as an item on the debit side of the renowned humourist's account with his species.

Probably, the one great and beneficent part that cannot be taken away from him, as a labourer in the cause of advancement, is the unanswerable demonstration that, in the innumerable unknown lives of those who are irreverently termed "the masses," there is as much matter for deep interest as in selecter lives; for his works tend to excite or to strengthen a sympathy for those who are, conventionally speaking, beneath us—a sympathy which should exist in every human heart, but which is unhappily excluded from the uncultivated precincts of a great many hearts magnified by courtesy with the splendid epithet "human."

Probable Future Position.—Appraised for a monumental place in our fictitious literature, a man must stand or fall as his works are works of art or not. If *not*, he may still have a good claim to a place of greater or less respectability below the monumental standard; for, unless a man has been utterly powerless, or has shamelessly squandered what power he has had, his life's work cannot but result in an indestructible effect, more or less articulate, on the minds of future men. No good once done in any department of life is ever lost; but for a good done to speak through the ages to the hearts and intellects of men, with an articulate voice, it must be wrought not only on a great scale but also in a great manner. In art, perennial articulateness of voice is secured, either by cardinal importance of subject and treatment of any degree of competence, or by genuine power and beauty of method applied to subjects of any degree of importance; and the artist who attains in either fashion may be monumental. Those who reach in art the monumental standard are necessarily few,

being generally, in some kind or other, creators—either of subject or of manner; and every age will have its “local magnates,” whose voices echo vaguely on over the “mountains of memory,” without taking words and asserting to future ears, “I am the voice of this or that great man.” The names of these “local magnates” are duly preserved, it is true, in the pages of cyclopædias and biographies, while their voices are floating through the world, almost unattached to their names, and unrecognised by the general mind. But the monumental class sound out their voices to all time; and the voices are known and named, for they come through the mouths of shapely figures, set up in solid material that yields not to the rough winds of detraction, and rests unfriable by the quiet deep stream of change—the stream of old things passing away, and all things becoming new. Not only the man in art who has shaped an age, who has set up a standard of work for other coming men to follow greatly, but lesser men, to whom it has been given to find noble thoughts and feelings growing out of their souls in forms of solid and vivid beauty upborne by truth—these, and all the men who have made of reality an ideal beauty, take monumental rank. Not only in the Greek drama *Æschylus*, but *Sophocles* also and *Euripides*, *Aristophanes* and more are monumental. Not only in the Elizabethan drama *Shakespeare*, but *Marlowe*, *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*, *Ben Jonson* and more are monumental. Not only in modern music *Beethoven*, but *Mozart*, and younger *Mendelssohn*, and older *Handel* and *Haydn*, and many more. And so in English fiction of modern times; not only the parents *Richardson* and *Fielding*, the admirable craftswoman *Jane Austen*, the deep-souled vigorous *Charlotte Brontë*, and the crowning triumph of all, *George Eliot*; but others also are of the monumental, always articulate order—the order which have not only wrought so as to become an identifiable part of the world’s general life or speech, but also have given us works which stand up in their own strength, and assert themselves for ever before the critical few who strive to appraise to a hair values moral and artistic.

The present question is—Will the works of *Charles Dickens* so stand up and assert themselves for ever? And the most apposite counter-question is—Do they so assert themselves now? If so, is the assertion to be allowed, or can it be shown false even over the next to deafening din of a popularity notoriously wide, and admitted to be very natural?

It seems to us that the works which assert themselves with permanence, in whatever line of art, are without exception

works wherein desultoriness is a quality never detected, wherein the mind discerns clearly a thread running through the entire fabric connecting one part with another, and whereon the artist's whole soul has evidently been concentrated with ardour, even though there be not, as there is not in the results of great art-labour, any lack of ease or any sign of struggle. The concentration of artistic force on a given work is implied by the concentration of ordinary brain-force demanded for the appreciation of such work; and when a book carries the reader closely along with its current, it is no doubt through an attraction parallel with, though differing widely in nature from, the attraction which drew the artist's creative force along the line pursued. If we found a book just pleasant reading from page to page, amusing here, affecting there, fresh and breezy in one part, vigorous and dramatic in another, we should not on any of these grounds conclude that it was a great work of art; but if, added to the desirable versatility of gift necessary to produce such a book, we found in the work a close connexity of parts which rendered it impossible to take up the first link in the chain without desiring to proceed to the next, or, having so proceeded, to pass from end to end, we should know that the author had at least constructive ability; and if his theme were high and his treatment broad, his intelligence of human nature deep and his decorations in keeping with each other and with his outlines, one would probably pronounce his work monumental.

It will be at once seen that such a work could not be produced by mere imaginative facility, or by unassisted intellectual grasp—the power, that is to say, of setting up in the mind certain characters and circumstances, and moving them about through various developments during an artificial lifetime. Artist-made men and women never become greatly real unless the artist can retreat out of himself sufficiently to leave aside small mannerisms of touch and personalities of language and incident, such as protrude the artist constantly between the reader and the characters: it is at that point that veritable life supervenes and becomes manifest in real human flesh and blood; and to attain to that point demands a liberal and ardent exercise of the emotional nature:—a great artist *feels* his characters as intimate convictions; and the feeling of a character or set of characters, perhaps first sketched by the imagination, would make it absolutely impossible for an artist to remove his gaze far enough from his created beings in their larger life to protrude before us all sorts of unimportant details connected more strictly with his

personality as parts of his own mental equipment or manner of speech. A great artist's manner is *binding*, but not *distracting*; and we feel the artist-hand rather in subsequent piecemeal examination of the work than in the first perusal of the whole.

The work of Charles Dickens which his staunchest friends rate highest, and which he himself confessed to preferring beyond all others, is *David Copperfield*; and we presume that, if that is not monumental, none is. We may, therefore, take *David Copperfield* as an ultimate test on this point; and we must roundly confess that, searched for artistic qualities such as we have attempted to describe, that book falls in our estimation unmistakably short, and that it, like all other works by the same hand, reiterates too constantly the personality of the author to come up to any such standard of greatness as we would fix. In no qualities is a man more individual than in the style of his jocularities and the quality of his emotional expression; and in *David Copperfield* there is not, more than elsewhere in Dickens's works, any refinement or largeness or depth in these qualities: it is invariably and unmistakably *Dickens's* wit and *Dickens's* pathos. There is more attempt here than elsewhere to construct a shapely book; but here, as elsewhere, there is no large outline to draw our attention off the details, and, try as hard as we will, we never lose sight of the author. Whatever the circumstances through which his puppets move,—however droll the comedy, or however harrowing the tragedy,—the showman never goes, but is before us always, faithful to his post, with the intrusive pointing-pole and over-mastering voice, that one would fain lose, if but for a moment now and then, to try and realise the actuality of some actor, that one would be glad to feel towards as towards a brother or sister. Who but Dickens could ever have set up before us so simple and silly a doll as Dora—who but he have conceived and executed those anthropoid figures of harsh metallic impossible quality whereof the disgusting Murdstone is a typical sample? Who but he could ever have portrayed the utter and elaborate falsity of Micawber, combined, as it is, with a tawdry, sentimental good-heartedness? Who but he could have inflicted on a patient world the fulsome long-drawn pathos of Mr. Peggotty's search for the lost "Em'ly," and who but he have wearied those seriously disposed towards the book with the endless trivial jocularities of Master Copperfield's earlier days and Mr. Copperfield's later days? Beyond all, who but he could have flung in the world's face, as characterising ever so

mean a member of the human family, the cold ophidian clamminess of that loathsome prodigy called Uriah Heep? Crowds of wholesome womanly Agneses could make no adequate atonement for these sins, even assisted by the whole stock of good qualities—and no small stock either, of the collected characters of the book. Desultory, sketchy, journalistic, in the effect of its style—though bearing marks of the author's well-known practice of elaboration—flowing from page to gossip page without stress or fervour of real depth, and without any token of lofty thought or high imagination—the only salient reality that secured by the never-ending work of description—the sky-high piling of detail on trivial detail, it is impossible to concede to *David Copperfield* the standing of a work of high art; nor do we think that such a standing has been, or will be, seriously claimed for it. It has not, to our thinking, any of the higher qualities of art: its texture and style are loose with the looseness of mere panorama-painting; and its humanity, though often simple and wholesome, is at innumerable points altogether distorted and unwholesome. And yet we are told that this is Dickens's masterpiece; and we admit the position.

There is one quality in Dickens's works, in *David Copperfield* neither more nor less apparent than elsewhere, whereon some have based, thoughtlessly enough, claims for the author to be ranked as a great artist; and this one quality as much as any other, will, in our opinion, operate finally against his holding any such rank: we refer to the puerile anthropomorphism of his furniture and other inanimate objects. We have seen his complete want of real science advanced as one of the greatest recommendations his works possess, and we have seen great stress laid on the fact that his touch on things inanimate galvanises them to immediate life. We can recognise no merit in such effete fetishism; nor can we think that it will have any merit in the eyes of a posterity not likely to be less educated or more unscientific than its ancestors of this generation—a posterity who will probably rather regard as subserving no purpose, artistic or utilitarian, these various small matters that tickle and deceive the present hosts of Dickens-readers.

These same hosts afford a spectacle which inspires more brotherly compassion than respect for the average middle-class intellect. To see a man or woman in rapture over laughter over the genial drolleries of Sam Weller, or in tears over the pathetic decease of little Nell, is not altogether unedifying; and had Dickens done nothing worse than these

things, there could have been no standing room for such detractors as may prophesy concerning his works that they shall sink with the sinking mass of crude rubbish which has been so widely taken as pabulum for the minds of English men and women. That Dickens's works should long have been preferred above those of all other writers of fiction as widely intelligible, is not to be regretted on the whole; for few, if any, of the widely intelligible are as little calculated as he is to do harm, while, for the few who are calculated to do the highest good, but who are at the same time something above the mind-mark of an average Dickens audience, we can but look forward to the widening of the general mind, slowly yet steadily going on, by means of a growing education of the intelligence and an increasing culture of the heart. Dickens has already, like Shakespeare and others, passed into the fabric of the English language; and wherever it is spoken he must continue for centuries to exist even after his name shall be forgotten. To us, now, he seems to have done work too good on the whole, and too wide, for quick oblivion, even on the part of generations unsympathising with his manner and with the details of his craft: but there will not probably be a long series of future generations to whom more than a sound of foregone wit and geniality, an echo of minute social work once accomplished, a dim sense of fatherhood to many proverbial personalities and phrases, will be conveyed in the now universally significant name of Charles Dickens.

ART. II.—*Religious Life in Germany during the Wars of Independence.* In a Series of Historical and Biographical Sketches. By WILLIAM BAUR, Minister of the Anschar Chapel, Hamburg. In Two Vols. Strahan and Co.

WILLIAM BAUR's work on the heroes of the Wars of Independence was well-worth translating into English, and Mrs. Sturge has done it very well. She has caught and carried over the free, enthusiastic, and, at the same time, dignified tone, which marks the original and makes it so effective. She has shown wisdom, too, in here and there deleting passages which would necessarily have sounded somewhat sentimental and high-flown to practical English ears.

Baur himself is a typical man in this respect that, while he can sympathetically approach very diverse individualities which, in combination, went to give a decided direction to German tendencies, he yet firmly maintains his own point of view, and is not shaken out of the dogmas with which he started and on which he confesses that he personally founds. We see in his reading of a great historic period the true check to the utterly false and fulsome hero-worship which, imported from Germany in the first instance, flourishes proudly on English soil, like some vigorous exotic, when skilfully transplanted. Baur starts with the idea that when God raises men up for a great purpose He takes care so to weight them with faults and failings that they, as well as others, may be constantly led to look upon each other in the light of providential helps. In this way, there is no heroism of mere gift, but only heroism of consecration. Every faculty, in its relation to providential intention, is thus in the last result alike valuable. Hence, the oft-recurring deliverance in this work—a deliverance which almosts compacts itself into a dogma—that in the providential purpose no man is of the least value *in and for himself, but only as an instrument*. The clearness and height of a man's heroism is thus attested. Does he recognise any standard beyond himself or his own pleasure—any law of right, goodness and truth, which touches closely upon him in patriotism and even in the commonest duties of citizenship? Does he, in fact, see in the great crises of human history a distinct call of Providence to anew set

personal claims and desires aside in order to realise a duty to humanity and to God. Hero-worship, through this recognition of Divine purpose, with Baur and such men, becomes moral. It does not separate or withdraw one man from the mass; and, in order to magnify his proportions, absorb his faults into a pseudo-humanity; but it rather makes a man's faults the ground of heroism, inasmuch as these very faults and weaknesses re-attach him to humanity, and compel him to recognise his constant dependence upon God's providence. Now, it is the gradual uprising and triumph of this conviction, at a most tragic period of German history, which Baur so strikingly and beautifully traces—spreading, as it does, from the lofty peaks of poetic inspiration and genius, until it warms and invigorates the lowest nook and nestling valley-home, transforming a whole people suddenly into heroes.

Baur does not defend his heroes, nor does he apologise for them. All alike witness to the great idea of God's guidance in national as in individual destinies; and illustrate the dependence of true political freedom on regeneration of the heart and conscience. In this respect the book, by skilful treatment of historical materials, opposes at once the merely humanitarian idea of benevolence and reformation, and the Napoleonic idea of fate or destiny. Nothing, indeed, is more remarkable than the conviction, which seemed at length to burn itself in upon the greater German minds in the beginning of the century, that no deliverance was possible save through earnest realisation of the presence of the Spirit of God. Even Fichte and Schleiermacher uttered the cry. It was the same with Arndt, who said solemnly that material force would prove of no avail whatever against the charmed lives of Napoleon's levies, unless sanctified hearts were first brought into the ranks. Even the rough Blücher, in the fits of humility which always seized him after a more than ordinarily daring exploit, repudiated praise for himself, spoke of his *children*, his soldiers, and of their wondrous daring, of Gneisenau's discretion, and the great mercy of God. Wherever the heart seemed to turn with unutterable yearning towards the holy Father in order to find consolation and strengthening, there Baur would find a co-worker in the Wars of Independence, because the root of patriotism was most effectively revived by the rising waters of religious belief. Thus it is that we find Julia de Krüdener, the diplomatic Magdalene, here alongside of Fichte and Perthes and Nettelbeck and Scharnhorst.

That idea of fate or destiny, on which the Napoleonic power rested, was only calculated to sow the seeds of political

vice and of social disorder. It re-erected into the ideal good the pleasure of the individual, and emancipated the conscience from all restraints, save only the restraints of *force*. It scouted at belief in the unseen, and reduced religious faith to a sentiment, whose best use it was to be chained to the wheels of a greedy political expediency.

Napoleonism became possible only by the previous unsetting of the Revolution; and therefore Napoleon is rightly named its heir. This man supplied something positive in place of the vague sentiments which had alternately swayed the heady people now to this side, now to that; and he made the French a nation of fatalists. And not only the French; through a long course of years Germany, too, had been subdued under the fascinating intellectual influences radiated from France. She had tasted of the poison, and staggered like a drunken man. Separation, isolation, and opposition were the results. No man trusted his fellow, and states set themselves against each other. In these circumstances, Napoleon followed up the invasion of French ideas by his unscrupulous legions. In defiance of pledges, he marched into Germany, throttled three-fourths of it, and at last laid his foot on the neck of proud Prussia. Then the nation writhed under its humiliation, and its greater men—its truer heroes—began to call the people to repentance,—called them to behold the marvellous manner in which God was turning their own pride and vanity into scourges for them. "French ideas, French sensualism in life, and French sensationalism in philosophy, we must disown once for all and return upon the simplicity and trustfulness which were our chief characteristics of old time." Napoleon, by carrying his arms into Germany, awakened it from the torpor it was falling into, as well as France, in the arms of a common sensualism; and thus, as Baur, quoting Perthes, says, Napoleon was an "instrument in the hand of God; and when he had done his work, like other worn-out tools, he was thrown into a corner."

This French influence, however, was most detrimental to German life. In setting up a worship of humanity, it canonised the individual, but in the very process it robbed him of his most attractive and beautiful features. When the revolutionists, in their wild fever of blood, compared the brutal Marat to Our Saviour, they only uttered a prophecy. It was a symbol of that putting of humanity into the place of God, which has ever since been the awful doom of French thought and French life generally. From Rousseau to Renan, the root of the apostasy lies here—the determined rejection of

mystery, while yet humanity is made more contradictory and inexplicable and mysterious than are all the puzzles of revelation. A very distinguished Roman Catholic woman, when she heard of the more recent developments of French philosophy, how by it humanity was being made its own god—cried out with warmth, "What a dirty god he must be, to be sure." France, by her rebellion against mystery, by her determination to have nothing to do with the unseen and spiritual, and by her all too commanding and wayward fancy, has constructed a religion without a God; a philosophy without conscience; and has formed a State without recognition of any enduring because spiritual sanctions. It is vastly to Baur's credit that, while he sympathises with the pantheism of his own country, as an ingenuous and inquiring mind is bound to sympathise with any earnest effort after truth, he yet never fails to detect the point where the German mind has infallibly corrected itself in returning from speculation to face the hard facts of life, because of its reverence and its spirituality. In the crises of which he writes he sees at work mighty forces, which combined to draw German thought back to a religious root. Baur is Evangelical; and yet he sees and frankly confesses that Schleiermacherism has done something for Germany, in combination with other influences. But he holds as clearly that Germany must now return to greater definiteness of religious view, while preserving all of permanent value in former developments—that she must unite a liberal fulness of thought and sympathy with a firm foothold in the simple doctrines of Evangelical Christianity—as a guard, on the one hand, against the vagaries of the individual intellect, and as a witness, on the other, in support of the futility of speculation, of itself, to help the religious life, or to aid true national development.

But Baur, recognising, as he does, the good which has been wrought to Germany by theologians like Schleiermacher, might have cast eye somewhat more generously upon the philosophers. Philosophy has played no insignificant part in the second Reformation of Germany. The first decisive campaign against sensationalism and French influence was distinctly fought on this ground; and the enemy was signally worsted, and driven off the field. German philosophers, since the time of Kant, have all been fond of applying their more abstract ideas to politics, and finding there very often a balance, a corrective, and a test. The watchwords won and raised up in the Wars of Independence have in truth been so prevailing, that no late thinker has been able to escape from

their influence; so that the spirit of true citizenship has done much to control and modify philosophy in all its practical developments, while philosophy, again, has certainly done much to formulate, popularise and vivify the convictions then impressed on the national conscience by the fire and zeal of philosophic minds. Let us glance at this part of the subject for a little, and try to supply some *lacune* in an otherwise able, interesting, and complete book.

Just previous to Kant we witness the reign of a bastard sensationalism wedded to a hard and unyielding dogmatism. Wolf had done his part, together with some others, and Germany was very much in the position of a tract of country when a sudden frost supervenes on a thaw. On every side there is sudden and fantastic fixture; things are far worse than they were before the thaw set in. Wolf even went the length of declaring that you might have a pure moral system independently of a pure theology. This at one wrench separated the world of beliefs, frozen hard at the touch of dogmatism, from the real world of practice. Coincidentally with the influence of Wolf, there came that inrush of French influence which finally proved so disastrous to Germany. The two theories wrought together, and so far as Wolf's philosophy had real power, it was because it so far fell in with a tendency. "We wish," writes some one about the end of the eighteenth century, "to protect our towns and territories from the attacks of the French, but we and our minds have been taken captive by them: witness our manners, language, and dress. Yet, so to speak, we have become French inside and out, and yet we regard the French as our enemies. No one of any sense can dispute that when people's minds are taken captive, and they are so addicted to foreign ways, very few will stand up zealously in defence of faith and country. Many have no other desire than to be subject to foreign domination."

A tendency to find all codes equally true, and to seek points of sympathy with each—to encourage a cosmopolitan tone and spirit, and to deprecate earnestness in any cause whatsoever: this was the condition in which Germany found itself as the latter half of the eighteenth century was passing away. Patriotism, as we have said, shrank into the narrowest sentimentalism, and the various little courts, vying with each other, sought separation rather than union, save so far as they were governed by the very narrowest ideas of self-interest. Even Prussia long held herself aloof from the league of states that were bound together to oppose the Revolution,

and Napoleon, as its heir ; and she sorely suffered by it. It became more and more necessary, as her best thinkers soon discovered, that her moral and political tone must be raised and purified, and brought into harmony with her real religious aspirations. So the thaw set in stronger than ever, and threatened to let the dogmas free. Schleiermacher came with his intuitions, and quickened the religious pulse, which had been low ; but had it not been for his influence on the side of politics, his preaching might, with justice, have been declared more of a temporary medicine or restorative than a settled and supporting diet. But he felt keenly the need of awakening the political spirit, and versed in Greek lore as he was, he found one avenue by which he could appeal to it, and this he most effectually used. His preaching, freed from dogmatic fixture, was the fitter for this end. However loose his doctrine, he spoke like a patriot ; the very want of dogmatic hold helped him to command the people's sympathies. He was a struggler, too, like them, and he keenly communicated to them the sense of this ; just as Mr. Maurice may catch the sympathies of the working men as much by the marks of labour and defeat and sorrow upon him, as by what of clear knowledge he can contrive to convey to them. Schleiermacher wrought bravely to imbue the patriotic conscience with a sense of high sanctions, and to this extent he deserves the place which Baur assigns to him.

But others were even more powerful than Schleiermacher on his own ground. There is Frederick Perthes, for instance, a man of noble character and splendid intellect. Never despising trade, even when he took up the sword as a patriot, he saw in bookselling *his* proper means to make literature, science, and philosophy firm starting-points from which to work for national unity and religious regeneration..

"Has not Germany, for many years, been the general Academy of Sciences for all Europe?" asks Perthes. "All that was discovered or expounded, felt or thought, in or out of Germany, was at once generalised by the Germans, and elaborated into a form which might further the progress of humanity. But in so far as we Germans had any vitality, we had it, not for ourselves alone, but for Europe. Alas! we have never known how to use our treasures ; we have always devoted ourselves to knowledge for its own sake. We have never founded those national institutions which would have a tendency to keep alive the feeling of national honour, and which might preserve us from the aggression of foreign enemies. That which we think, and have thought, can only be real and influential when we shall have learned to act as well as to think."

Perthes, the bookseller, did as much as anyone, by precept and by example, to teach the Germans that their thought could only become fruitful by being wedded with true action.

But all this was to some extent rendered possible by what philosophy had itself already achieved. The better time for Germany was prophesied in its thought. Kant had recovered all the ground that had seemed to have been lost by the stern limits put upon the pure reason, so as to make an end of unedifying dogmatism, by the "genuine Prussian violence," as Schmidt calls it, of his practical reason. In dealing, as he did, with the various forms of questioning as to how God can be justified with respect to the happiness of His creatures by maintaining that the world does not exist that mortal creatures may be happy, but only that duty may be done, he laid deep down in philosophic thought the foundation of the new reform, after which Germany was already sighing, weary of the trammels which French thought had twined round some of her greatest men—even round the neck of Frederick the Great himself. Let us quote Schmidt's own words:—

"The man who, at the age of twenty-two, declared that he had the power as well as the purpose to cast down the previously existing philosophy, and laboured for this end without surcease till he attained the age of fifty-seven, and then suddenly fought his chief battles, which put an end to the old literary *régime*, as did the battles of the Seven Years' War, had in him something of violence, though it might lie hidden under modesty. *The Transcendental Idealism cut through the Wolfian Philosophy, as Prussia broke down the German Empire. It did not make an end of it by one stroke, but drove a wedge into it, the working inward of which forms, even at this day, the most essential feature of our intellectual life. . . . The influence of the doctrine [of duty, not happiness] to which Kant gave so sharp a formula, was felt in the times of need as an animating power. The race of East Prussia, which in the war of freedom pressed around the Government with offerings of self-sacrificing devotion, was formed by Kant, and inspired by his teaching and example.*"

Baur scarcely recognises, as he ought, this element of philosophic *force*, which from the time of Kant has been working, with such wonderful results, right through upon practical life, and in this way bringing the heretofore dissociated segments of the national life into quiet and prevailing harmony; and with results such as are now astonishing and paralysing France in the stern grip of its enemy. True, Baur does quote the great York, who acknowledged the effect which Kant's philosophy, in laying down so clearly the requirement of duty, had upon himself; and he also incidentally

refers to the influence which the Kantian philosophy had on several of the great fighters in the Wars of Independence. But to all intents and purposes Kant does not have the recognition he ought to have, as being perhaps the most potent force in awakening Germany, and reuniting it against Napoleon, and—may we add?—restoring to it a true basis of undogmatic religion, out of which a freer fabric of dogma might again arise, while yet maintaining the necessity for some association of the religious and the political life of peoples. However far the later thinkers of Germany may have travelled from Kant in developing portions of his system, they return to kindly unity with him on these more practical points. Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and the rest, all prove well that Kant is justified of his children. Take these three instances from extreme points of the speculative circle—Fichte, Hegel, and the late Richard Rothe, well known as the friend and companion of Schenkel in the formation and development of the *Protestanten-Verein*. Look at Hegel first.

Hegel's philosophy, in its higher form, is so abstract that few Englishmen would care to study it. But happily Hegel was not a *mere* abstract thinker, and he has taken care to illustrate his system by reference to history and politics. All his more popular works, indeed, have distinct political bearings; he was never tired of elaborating his idea of the State. He was fond of speaking of the *political* work of art, a phrase which to many may sound a paradox, but which yet has a very specific meaning in reference to all his writings. To show how he never ceases to hold the hand of the master Kant, his great point as a politician is that a statesman should above all endeavour to bring the national conscience, in its several manifestations, political, moral, and religious, into entire harmony. There can be no true society till this is approximated. Revolution in one form or other is latent otherwise; and the nation, unrestful and subject to excitements from without, will be almost at the mercy of foreign influences. And was not this the very position of his own country in the end of last century? French ideas revolutionised Germany, and then the French, in the heat of their Revolution, desired to carry it into Germany; and therefore Hegel, with fine insight, writes:—

“It is a false principle that the shackles of right and freedom should be stripped off without the previous deliverance of the conscience—that a revolution is possible without reformation. *Until religion is reconciled with political freedom periodic revolutions are inevitable.* The problem which France has been striving to solve is

the accomplishment of a political revolution without a reformation of the Church, while the proper course is precisely the reverse. The position of matters is happier in Germany, where there is no such gulf of separation between the secular and the religious consciences, and where there is a real co-operation of *the people* in the work of the State." *

And, as might be expected in such a system as this of Hegel, the whole political influence finds its source in the sentiment of *communes*, which has its foundation in the spirit of the family. Therefore he writes :—

"The Spirit of the Family—the Penates—form one substantial being, as much as the Spirit of a People in the State; and morality in both cases consists in a feeling, a consciousness and a will, not limited to individual personality and interest, but embracing the common interests of the members generally. But this unity is, in the case of the family, essentially one of feeling, not advancing beyond the limits of the merely natural. The piety of the family relation should be respected in the highest degree by the State; by its means the State obtains as its members individuals who are already moral (for as mere persons they are not), and who in uniting to form a State bring with them the sound basis of a political edifice—the capacity of feeling one with a Whole."

And here let us say, Hegel merely develops and exhibits, from his own point of view, the great doctrine of Fichte. Fichte, rejecting totally the *juridical* notion of the State, laid it down that the true State must be based on a recognition, either by instinct or by reason, of the true life, in which the personal life of man is dedicated to that of his race, so that the one is lost and forgotten in the other. "To forget oneself in others: not in others, however, regarded in a *personal* character where there is still nothing but individuality, but in others regarded as the race, is the duty of man;" and to lead its citizens either by partial servitude, if need be, or, better still, by freedom, to the full perception of this, is the business of the true State, which he defines, again, as an *artisticed*, rather than an artificial family. It is an "artistic institution," he holds, which, if it entertains purposes for any beyond its own citizens, can only profitably do so in the light of the whole human race. "It therefore becomes necessary, *first*, that *all individuals*, without exception, should be taken into equal consideration by the State; and *second*, that every Individual, with *all his individual powers*, without

* This same passage is quoted in a very interesting article on "Hegel as a Politician" in the *Fortnightly Review*.

exception or reserve, should be taken into *equal consideration*." Can we doubt that these ideas, preached by men like Fichte, did much to overflow the lines of class distinction, and draw kings and people close to each other in the Wars of Independence; and can we not see how the idea of Fatherland to the German even now stands somehow identified in idea with the good of the human race? It was in the Wars of Independence that the identification of the Fatherland with the idea of humanity took most definite form. Fichte, in his "*Reden an die Deutschen*" (Addresses to the German People), says:—

"Even the stranger in foreign lands pleads with you, in so far as he really understands himself and knows his true interest aright. Yes, there are in every nation minds who can never believe that the great promises to the human race of a Kingdom of Law, of Reason, and of Truth, are but vain and idle delusions, and who consequently cherish the conviction that the present iron time is but a point in the progress onward towards a better state. These, and with them the whole later races of humanity, trust in you. A large portion of these trace their lineage to us; others have received from us religion, and others culture. Those plead with us, by the common soil of our Fatherland, the cradle of our infancy, which they have left to us free,—these by the culture which they have accepted from us as the pledge of a higher good, to maintain for their sakes the proud position which has hitherto been ours, to guard with jealous watchfulness against even the possible disappearance from the great confederation of a newly risen humanity, of that member which is far more important to them than all others; that so when they need our counsel, our example, our co-operation in the pursuit and attainment of the true end of this Earthly Life, they shall not look round for us in vain. . . . Providence itself, if we may venture to speak so, and the Divine Plan in the creation of the Human Race,—which, indeed, only exists that it may be understood of men, and by men be fashioned into Reality,—plead with you to save their honour and their existence."

And this is merely a popular application of doctrines which were rigidly deduced and laid down by Fichte, in those lectures in his course on the *Present Age* which dealt with the Absolute Form of the State.

"What," he asks, "does the State hold as real representative of the race? All its citizens, without a single exception. Were there some Individuals, either not taken into account at all in the common purpose, or not taken into account with all their powers, while the rest were included,—then the former would enjoy all the *advantages* of the union without bearing the attendant *burdens*, and thus there would arise serious inequality. Only where all are, without exception,

taken into account, is there equality. Consequently, in this new constitution, the individuality of each absolutely disappears in the community of All; and each one receives back his contribution to the common cause, strengthened by the united powers of all the rest. *The purpose of the isolated individual is his own enjoyment, and he uses his power as the means to the attainment of it; but the purpose of the Race is Culture, and the honourable subsistence which is the condition of culture in the State. Each Individual employs his powers not for his own immediate enjoyment, but for the purposes of the Race, and he receives in return the whole united culture of the Race, and together with it his own honourable subsistence. . . . The State is essentially an unseen idea, just as the Race itself has already been described: it is not single individuals, but their continuous relation to each other. . . . The rulers are not the State, but merely citizens, like the rest; there is absolutely no individual character in the State but that of Citizen.*"

The *Lectures* Fichte delivered in 1804, just before the beginning of the strife with Napoleon, were supplemented by the *Addresses to the German People* some years after; and the two contain the complete application to politics of Fichte's philosophy. There can be no doubt that the elevated notions of citizenship and of the State proclaimed in them have taken deep hold of the German mind and heart; and that even now we can trace their influence in recent manifestations of German patriotism. For one thing, it may safely be asserted that there is no country in the world where service of the nation more completely annihilates distinctions, or where class-feelings are held so lightly as actually to vanish at the touch of patriotism, leaving only citizens. Recently the *Spectator* pointed out that the Prussian soldiery, while the best in Europe, is the most poorly paid and rewarded. In one point of view this fully bears out our position. The Prussian is a *citizen* army, and not a band of hirelings. Much of Prussia's success is undoubtedly due to this. Indeed, might we not say that the difference between German ideas and French feeling and habit here finds sharpest expression? And might it not be added that in the clear form in which Hegel expresses this idea in all his popular works, he, too, may of right find a place among the regenerators of Germany, in as far as he has called his countrymen back on the ground of reason to devout reverence for simple feelings, out of which originally sprang their greatness?

The truth is, that the idea which lies at the root of the politics of German philosophers is distinctly *spiritual*. The State is *unseen*—it is an idea, and only its outmost and least

effective element can take incarnation to restrain individuals by actual force. We have in this the most potent refutation of the French idea, which makes the State a mere engine for ministering well-being to individuals or to classes, and that *arbitrarily*, and therefore by force or injustice; so that even its benevolences are frauds—attempts to make the nation overreach itself by setting one part against another, that the pseudo-State (the body of rulers) may serve its own ends. This, which is but another way of expressing the Fichtian or Hegelian politics, is no speculation: it has been actually, sternly realised in France during the reign of the Third Napoleon, and is proved by the revelations and revolutions of the last few months. Such a State is not, and cannot be, the agent of justice, for it is founded on the idea of repression, and that not repression of special manifestations for the common good, but repression of true citizenship and all national spirit for the ends of individual aggrandisement, which is necessarily but another term for weak and vicious indulgence. Such a State can never be ethical; and it is only not positively immoral where it exhibits and proves the existence of total incapacity for political ideas on the part of its subjects generally; interpreting the blind and undeveloped spirit of a people to itself, that so it may justify its using of that unenfranchised spirit for its own ends. Napoleon III.'s *plébiscite* is his own absolute condemnation.

It is not intended to be inferred here, of course, that such a State has been realised in Germany. Only, in spite of the Toryism of Bismarck and King William, there is really existent in the German people a true political spirit, which compels confidence and which makes impossible such absolute distance between the rulers and ruled. The sense of *commonness*—i.e. apprehension of objects as common to all classes—is recognised, and carried into manifold fruitful relations. Above all, the purity of the family is apprehended in its relation to the State with a more or less clear conception of the principle so admirably laid down both by Fichte and Hegel. The family is the foundation of the State; it is, in short, the State in miniature, the natural State in its first process, and rising into an artificial character, as it comes nearer and nearer to supplying new citizens; and if its relations are not recognised as carrying any sanction with them, one powerful element of true citizenship has gone. Now, the disregard of the claims of the family in France opens up a large subject into which we can scarcely enter now; but the contrast between France and Germany in this regard is notorious.

Now as to Rothe, our other typical speculative thinker. He entirely declined to regard the State as secular. He was not properly Erastian, for he held the State was not yet moral, although it was in part religious, and therefore not fitted to exercise absolute authority. When once it became *moral*, in his idea, there would be no more Church and State; but the Church would be merged in the State, which, lifted up to a higher plane, would be transformed into a set of organs for the Christian Church to work by. In fact, Rothe, with Fichte and Hegel, held the State to be but one great family which could find its true ground of consolidation only in the recognition of commonness, by the reason, as it had at first done by the instinct. In truth, the supervenience of a second instinct of this oneness is, with Rothe, the emergence again of the religious and truly Christian idea under which every form of activity and interest takes its due place, for the sake of the *whole*. There will then be no need for priests or for dogmas, for humanity's common organisation will be but Christian ministers. Such in brief was Rothe's Erastianism. High-flown it may well seem to more practical minds; but still there is a germ of truth in it. It is the doctrine of Hegel carried up again into the speculative sphere by a man who was too shy and retiring to come forth and mix in the loud clamour of politics. It has this in common with the idea of the great thinkers who were also fighters in the Wars of Independence, that it recognises no ground of possible purification for the State save through the turning of the individual heart and conscience towards Christian faith, and the lofty idea of duty and sacrifice which it enshrines, and makes more and more lovely in its associations through the manifold forms of practical activity. Multitudes of other instances and extracts calculated to bear out our idea might be given, had we space. These suffice to show how, since the days of Kant, German philosophy, amid all its destruction of the old dogmas, has never lost sight of a religious element in political life and the need of a recognition of the Divine in the effort after political reconstructions.

It is to be hoped that men like Baur are only tokens and pledges of a tendency which will by-and-by yield to Germany men of genuine culture, who will gladly recognise a Divine presence and purpose in all the stages of its past thought, and who yet will devoutly rest in the simple mysteries of the Christian faith as being the highest realities for the heart, in the place of which speculation by itself can secure nothing satisfying and real. It is because Rothe was of

this type, that we have chosen to name him here as a later representative of German thought, in its relation to politics and social life; for, while he was the friend of Schenkel, and wrought with him for some time in the *Protestanten-Verein*, he soon discovered that his co-workers were going too fast in the direction of annihilating the supernatural, and drawing a cloud down over the glory-crowned hill of miracle. He withdrew from them as far as he could, and in his later works distinctly maintained that while, as a scientific philosopher, he would speculate, as a believer he would always reserve intact the field of the supernatural, as the sphere into which one could return and find rest and spiritual refreshment when the intellect was overcome and beaten back by the blinding brightness of the Truth, which thus conquers by its glory, when the human intellect fancies it has won a final triumph. Rothe doubtless regretted the part he had taken with wild rationalists, like Schenkel, in their extreme charges against so-called orthodoxy; and on his very deathbed he begged that Schenkel and others would not revive angry controversy over his grave. Richard Rothe was a true German, daring in speculation, yet devout in spirit, and his thoughts must influence men's minds after Schenkel's fiery rhetoric is forgotten.

It is also to be hoped that now, when the German arms have been carried into the country of the more than century-old enemy, and with such successful result, the words of philosophers and reformers may not be forgotten at the very moment when it is most needful they should be remembered and acted on. Napoleon the Great deceived and overrode the simpler Germans in 1805—1815; the simpler Germans, having now learned to plot for their safety, make a tragic end of the Napoleonic dynasty in 1870; and what a pity were it, if they forgot the magnanimity which is also the prevailing glory of States—uniting and strengthening them in the consciousness of right, even when a temporary advantage seems to be sacrificed.

ART. III.—*Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia: with some Account of Corea.* By the Rev. ALEXANDER WILLIAMSON, B.A., Agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland. With Illustrations and Two Maps. In Two Volumes. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1870.

THESE volumes belong to a department of literature which has a special claim upon the respect, and even the reverence, of the Christian reader. The works produced by Missionaries who have laboured among the heathen, and containing the records of their observation and of their toil, come to us with an unwritten dedicatory preface of strong commendation, altogether apart from their literary merit. In some cases, indeed, this advantage does not avail to redeem from oblivion volumes that are hopelessly dull or obscure; but such instances are not many; taken as a whole the contributions of Christian Missionaries maintain their high place, not only as narratives of Evangelistic work faithfully done, but as furnishing the very best accounts of the past, present, and future of the countries in which they have laboured. This observation is true of the works of labourers in almost every part of the heathen world; but it is specially true of the vast territories or systems of heathenism that extend along the whole eastern coast of Asia.

Mr. Williamson's volumes are deeply interesting: they are literally full of information, and mostly of a kind of information that is not to be met with in other books. Having but a small space at our disposal, we shall not occupy much of it with further preliminary remark. The author and his coadjutors—for the work is enriched by some valuable monographs from the pens of others—shall speak for themselves. But a few words are necessary—indeed more than a few words—to introduce, not only the writer, but the worthy Society in the cause of which he has laboured.

The "National Bible Society of Scotland," composed of the Edinburgh, the National, the Glasgow, and other Bible Societies, has just issued the ninth Report of its proceedings as a united Society, "being the sixtieth of the Edinburgh, tenth of the National, fifty-seventh of the Glasgow Bible Society, forty-eighth of the Glasgow Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society." This document, which is one of great

importance, shows that the blessing of God has abundantly rested on its foreign labours. Before its formation the whole foreign and colonial circulation of the Scottish Societies fell below 10,000 Bibles and Testaments per annum. During the last year the Society, in addition to its home work, has sent out nearly 84,000 Bibles and Testaments, besides nearly 97,000 portions, over an area extending more or less through Europe, and beyond from Faroë to New Zealand, from China to Calabar. One hundred and twelve colporteurs are employed in this vast field. The Chinese department of the Scotch work has been entrusted for nearly seven years to the author of the volumes before us; and the volumes themselves cannot be more fitly introduced than by the following record in the Report, which has a peculiar interest at the present time :—

“After nearly seven years’ absence, Mr. and Mrs. Williamson, with their daughter, have returned home to enjoy a well-earned furlough. . . . It is exactly six years since Mr. Williamson landed in a somewhat rough fashion; for he was shipwrecked on the promontory of Shantung. Since then he has been instrumental in the circulation, almost exclusively by sale, of 22,175 Bibles and Testaments, and 60,555 smaller portions of Scripture. To distribute these he has visited the leading cities of Shantung, has traversed the remoter provinces of the north-east of China, and penetrated, Bible in hand, into the yet more distant regions of Mongolia and Manchuria. In these eleven chief journeys, thousands, scattered over a territory almost as large as Europe, have for the first time received from his hands some portion of the Word of Life. . . . A shadow has been cast on Mr. Williamson’s home-coming by the death of his brother, the Rev. James Williamson, late Missionary at Tien-tsin, who was murdered on the 25th August, when on a Missionary journey along the Grand Canal.”

This statement will enlist the reader’s sympathies in favour both of the modest writer of these volumes and of the noble cosmopolitan Society in whose service he has spent many self-sacrificing years. The volumes themselves, however, will win their own way in the good opinion of every thoughtful mind. They are, as we have said, crowded with facts, and the adventures recorded in them—if such a word may be employed—are described in a temperate and transparently truthful style. We have read them with much profit; and cannot recall a sentence that owes any of its effect to artifice or exaggeration. It is a Christian record of Christian work.

The introductory observations give a striking view of China. Ample justice is done to the bright side of the picture; and

for every circumstance in favour of the Chinese Mr. Williamson gives the attestation of his own experience.

"The mental capacities of the people are of no inferior order. Their administrative powers are remarkable. Sir Frederick Bruce is reported to have said that 'Chinese statesmen were equal to any he ever met in any capital of Europe.' This may or may not be. Certain it is, they hold their own with our British diplomatists. Chinese merchants cope successfully with our own in all departments of trade; in fact, are gaining ground on them. Their literati are equal to any intellectual task Europeans can set before them; and Chinamen have carried off, in fair and keen competition, high honours in British and American universities. The number of high-class books mastered by not a few is quite surprising. The common people are shrewd, painstaking, and indomitable; and the more I have travelled among them the more have I been impressed with their mental promise, docility, and love of order. The Chinese have a written language co-extensive with their vast dominions; and, although there are many varieties of spoken dialects in the South, yet from the Yang-tai-kiang to the Amoor, and from the Yellow Sea to India, one speech obtains, viz. the Mandarin colloquial, which has also the immense advantage of being a written language. Education prevails extensively, and the minds of the youth are all directed towards moral excellence as the acme of their ambition. Here, then, we have all the elements needful to success and dominion; no end of coal for steam purposes, abundance of iron for machinery, facility for cheap and rapid communication, capacity to govern, brains to plan, hands to work, and a will to put everything in motion, subservient to their own interests. Now, when we consider that the soil is as rich and fertile as ever; that the mineral resources not only of North China but of the West and South—*equally great*—are all *practically untouched*; when we add the varied promise and mineral wealth of Manchuria and Corea, the extent of the population, the ability and enterprise of the people as attested by a consecutive history of four millenniums, and the general character of the race, who does not see that the Chinese nation is destined to rise and dominate the whole of Eastern Asia? The Chinese have always been the imperial race in the far East; and they are as able as ever to exercise dominion, and will assuredly do so. It is true that at present they are in a most deplorable condition."—Vol. I. p. 4.

Then comes the other side, and a very frightful one it is. First we have the fact that most of the offices and magistracies are no longer filled by men who win their way in honourable competition, but by venal wretches who have bought their places—that class of the literati who hate European civilisation because it finds them out, and stir up the common people against the Missionaries as the heralds of a too severe

light. Superstition, meanness, untruthfulness, and the blight of opium, are withering the prosperity of China, and rendering it every year less probable, or rather more impossible, that any reform or elevation should come from within. Nothing can be more certain than that, if China is to occupy the place in the great future of the East for which Providence designed it, and the prospect of which is so plain to the eye of Christian foresight, it must be by the slow but sure ascendancy of European ideas, moulding, controlling, and elevating the elements of native excellence. At present, however, there are many and great obstacles.

Foremost among them is the emperor, the Whang-ti, "the Holy Son of Heaven," whose pretensions are summed up in one phrase—"There cannot be two suns in the heavens, or two emperors in the world;" pretensions strengthened by the prescription of many thousands of years, and "proclaimed in all quarters of the empire by a three-hundred-million-tongued voice." Next to the theocratic claim of the ruler is the total ignorance of the people as to foreign nations. If their ruler can have no fellow on earth, the people think that they have no equals; strangers are "devils," or fools, or inferiors. "Many a time have foreigners been provoked by Chinamen coming up to them, patting them on the shoulders, and caressing them just as we would a huge Newfoundland dog or a semi-tamed lion." Their kingdom they think the central land of the world, heaven upon earth; "and," says the Chief Inspector of the Chinese Customs' Service, Mr. Hart, "*of the ten or twenty men in China who really think Western appliances valuable, not one is prepared to boldly advocate their free introduction.*" The system of ancestral worship comes next, and Mr. Williamson thoroughly exposes the folly of those who write and speak sentimentally on this subject. He shows that "it is a most unequivocal form of idolatry," "they meet, salute, worship, and escort away the spirits of their ancestors in the most profoundly religious way of which their nature is capable; it is the most thoughtful, collected, and reverential act of their lives." He shows how pernicious is the influence of this idea upon Chinese society, as the cause of polygamy, and of the emigration of men without women: the fundamental principle being never to leave a family without guarantee of posterity to provide the sacrifices. Hence the communities of males alone, and the abominations that are assuming such fearful proportions. Related to this is the singular superstition of "*Fung Shui*;" a modern notion, the principle of which is thus stated:—

"All genial life-giving influences come from the South, and all those of an evil deadening influence from the North. They think that their influences proceed in as straight a line as possible; and that if any high building be raised it will divert the current from the places due north of it, and so injure the inhabitants in the direct line immediately beyond. On this account they imagine that cuttings in hills and through graveyards would awaken the whole invisible fraternity, and produce most disastrous consequences. For the same reason they think that high towers, telegraph-poles, railway-cuttings and signals would compel the good spirits to turn aside in all directions, and so throw everything into confusion."—Vol. I. p. 15.

As this is a superstition not sanctioned by the classical writers, and denounced by the Emperor Kang-hi, and inconsistent with the universal Chinese conviction that the Emperor is the lord of all spirits, it may be confronted and overcome in time. But the opium traffic is a more obstinate difficulty. All merchants, native and foreign, see that it is a pernicious species of commerce; and it creates a silent prejudice against every effort put forth for the good of the people: "The more intelligent and virtuous and patriotic a man is, the more indignant is he at the presumption of nations implicated in the opium trade seeking to introduce new forces to elevate his countrymen." We must insert some noble, though at the same time gloomy and painful, words of Mr. Williamson here:—

"Notwithstanding that the Indian revenue is implicated in the question, and several large private commercial firms are involved, we make bold to say, that it is unquestionably the interest of the commercial world as a whole to put an end to this terrible vice in China. *Whatever injures a nation injures commerce in all its departments and aspects.* But this vice is impoverishing and depopulating a country larger and far richer than Europe. The interests of humanity, therefore, call for its abolition. Why, it would take all the mills in Lancashire to supply only one-half of China with cotton cloth for stockings! At the same time it appears clear that the opium traffic is now beyond Government control. It might be stopped in India, but that would make little difference in China. They would only grow more there or elsewhere. The traffic may be fulminated against at Peking, but as long as mandarins are what they are, such edicts will be practically a dead letter. There are literally several millions in China to whom opium is more valuable than life. The only hope is the creation of a public opinion against it among those who abstain from the poison, and among the young, so that the generation of opium-smokers may in due course die out. This reformation has already commenced, and only needs to be fostered and systematised."—Vol. I. p. 17.

The commerce which almost every nation under heaven is carrying on energetically is doubtless exerting a powerful influence; but those who are practically acquainted with the working of trade along the lines where a higher meets with a lower civilisation, will be most cautious, or rather most gloomy, in their estimate of the value of that influence, merely considered in itself. The Foreign Customs' Service, the Consular Service, and the various Legations, are playing their several useful parts in the gradual enlightenment and elevation of the people; though our author is much disposed to be severe—severer than we think right, notwithstanding their taunts and provocations—upon the last-mentioned representatives of the West. Newspapers are, it seems, beginning to be in China, as elsewhere, a powerful influence. But, after all, China must depend, more perhaps than any heathen country, upon the spread and prosperity of Protestant Missions.

Romish Missions have been planted in the country for nearly six hundred years. Ricci in 1581 began a second time what Corvino had begun in 1298; and there are now found numerous communities of that faith, and many priests more or less earnest in their zeal, while conforming to Chinese habits and customs. Mr. Williamson is always large-hearted, and strives to find all the good he can in this system, and in its operations in China. He thinks they teach the great cardinal truths of the common faith,—“not unfrequently have I been rejoiced to find Christ and His atonement set forth as the great basis of a sinner's hope,”—and that they are preparing the way for a purer form of religion. But this he counterbalances by a ruinous impeachment. These priests display no intelligent zeal for the true advancement of the people; have little of the true self-denial of their early forerunners; never preach or publish books; and seem to limit their ambition to teaching children the Catechism and a variety of trades. “From what we have seen, we believe that the man who gives his days and nights to the language; who day by day preaches to the people; who strives to spread light in all directions, and encounters the Herculean task of training up converts to be men of faith and purity and power, exercises far more true self-denial than they do; and there can be no question as to the comparative value of the results.” Such is the answer given to the frequent comparisons drawn between Romish and Protestant Missionaries.

But a better answer is the simple statement of results. The last twenty years have witnessed a wonderful energy and

literary and other preparatory work, which would appear very great indeed were it not for the almost inconceivable vastness of the background of heathenism, which dwarfs all that Christian labour has yet to show. The following is a paragraph we are proud to quote:—

“ And here I need not speak of the translation of the Scriptures and the numerous religious works which they have given to the Chinese, or of the dictionaries and grammars in common use, which, without a single exception, have been the work of the Missionaries—for Thom's *Chinese Reader* and Wade's *Tsu-ur-chi* are mere lesson-books. Nor need I speak of the weekly periodicals published by the Missionaries, nor tell of the extent to which they have aided the Chinese newspapers just referred to; nor need I allude to the information on China which Missionaries have communicated to the public. *The Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*, November 14, 1868, says in reference to them:—‘ To such men are we indebted for more than nine-tenths of our knowledge of China and the Chinese.’ Nor need I say anything regarding their schools. I refer only to works of a strictly scientific character. Dr. Hobson has given them works in Physiology; on the Principles and Practice of Surgery; on the Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica; on the Diseases of Children; on the Elements of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. Mr. Wylie has given them the whole of *Euclid*; De Morgan's *Algebra*, in thirteen books; Loomis' *Analytical Geometry and Differential and Integral Calculus*, in eighteen books; a work on Arithmetic and Logarithms; Herschel's *Astronomy* (large edition), in eighteen books, and also the first part of Newton's *Principia*, which is now in process of completion. Mr. Edkins has translated Whewell's *Mechanics*, and given them many other contributions on science and Western literature. Mr. Muirhead has produced a work on English History, and another on Universal Geography. Dr. Bridgman has published a finely illustrated work on the United States of America. Dr. W. P. Martin has translated Wheaton's *International Law*, and just published an elaborately illustrated work, in three large volumes, on Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. Other Missionaries have given them works on Electro-Telegraphy, Botany, and elementary treatises on almost every subject of Western science. And, what is very important, the greater number of these works have been reprinted *verbatim* by native gentlemen, and some have also been reproduced in Japan by the Japanese; thus vouching not only for the adaptedness of the works, but also for the literary attainments of the authors.”—Vol. I. p. 26.

The numerical results of the labours of the Missionaries may be estimated at considerably more than five thousand five hundred enrolled members of Christian Churches; many of them noble examples of the power of religion. Nor have

the good results of their labours been neutralised by any political complications of which they have been the cause. Those who are always ready to impute to the indiscretion and unguarded zeal of Christian Protestant Missionaries the jealousy and chronic hatred that possess the common Chinese mind should read these volumes. They would assuredly, if candid readers, be persuaded that the work of these men has been good and not evil ever since they first visited China, and that it is still of the first importance to the elevation of the Chinese. For as advancement in that country, as in every other, depends on the diffusion of truth, the Protestant Missionary is doing a work which ought to meet with nothing but encouragement from all orders of critics.

Mr. Williamson startles his readers by a chapter on the "Receptivity of the Chinese," which shows that they are not by any means an anti-progressive people. Almost every statement in it seems intended to dispel some prejudice or unfounded supposition prevalent in the West. Their history shows that they have for many ages been in the habit of adopting every manifest improvement that has been brought before them. Pursuing their almost stationary history back through the ages during which most modern civilisations have grown up out of barbarism, every generation, or at least every century, has witnessed striking adaptation and changes. At the beginning of our era they adopted the decimal system from the Buddhists, and changed their writing from perpendicular to horizontal. Their calendar has been perfected *pari passu* with that of Europe. In the seventeenth century the great Emperor Kang-hi adopted movable types. Cotton, maize, corn, potato, tobacco, and, alas, opium, have all been readily adopted from foreign nations. The entire series of works to which reference has been made have been received and submitted to by the native mind, notwithstanding the revolution they must have introduced, especially the mathematical works, into their habits of thinking and calculation. Some of the most eminent living Chinese have republished or edited the translations of the Missionaries. It is true that the present Ministry are opposed to railways, telegraphs, and foreign mining machinery, yet they are ready enough to adopt what is more obviously to their interest. They have established, as we are likely to find to our cost, arsenals and powder manufactories, and yards for building gun-boats. They are building many lighthouses along the coast. They are drilling their troops after the European fashion, and employing a complete staff of writers in the

translation of military books: "chiefly," and this deserves careful note just now, "text-books for the use of students, and works on engineering in all its branches, metallurgy, the manufacture of arms, ammunition, naval architecture, chemistry, geology, mathematics, navigation, military and naval tactics, translations of the Admiralty's charts and sailing directions for the Chinese seas, &c."

There is a more pleasant aspect of the same fact: the susceptibility of the Chinese to Western influence. The Roman Catholic Missions have given an immense impulse to the spirit of charity among them, as shown in hospitals for sick and aged, foundling hospitals, societies for supplying food in life and coffins in death to the poor; schools, some of them free, are springing up in all directions, in emulation of foreign example. Vaccination has been accepted, and there are four or five establishments in Peking for the supply of the virus. Fire-engines and life-boats are here and there to be found. More than all this, there is a readiness to admit conviction on religious matters. Buddhism, as a foreign importation, is a standing proof of this. The Taeping revolution, which some time ago invested China with so peculiar an interest in the eyes of Western Christians, was fed, if not organised, by our Scriptures; among a people hardened against every foreign spiritual influence it could not have spread. These facts, which we cull from Mr. Williamson's pages, he must be allowed to impress in his own nervous language:—

"This for ever sets aside the idea of the unimpressibility and immobility of the Chinese mind, and shows that many amongst them are ready not only to receive truth, but to fight for it if need be. Stationariness, as a feature of the Chinese character, is not natural to them, but the result of that isolation which has been their lot. To this add bad government, the non-diffusion of knowledge, and, above all, the absence of that stimulus, guidance, and aim, which the Christian religion alone can supply, and the apparent sluggishness of the Chinese mind is explained. The truth is, the Chinese have all the mental, moral, and religious instincts of our common nature, with a great perception of what will conduce to their interest, and no fixed prejudices to prevent their adopting it. Enlightenment is all-powerful among mankind; advantages clearly pointed out, and improvements lucidly set forth, are sure to be adopted. This holds true of China as elsewhere; only openings are wanted to let the light in."—Vol. I. p. 37.

These words will be felt to be exceedingly encouraging. To many they will bring a new view of China. We have

been accustomed to regard this wonderful nation as hermetically sealed against foreign improvements, especially against new spiritual convictions. Perhaps we have heard exaggerated accounts of that contempt for foreigners of which we have spoken before. It may be we have also entertained a false idea of the absolutely atheistical character or tendency of Buddhism. Hence has resulted a feeling of hopelessness which has chilled us when we have turned our minds towards the farther East. It is pleasant to hear that the people who will certainly guide the destinies of that great segment of Asia, who have taken the lead of us in some of the most important discoveries of modern times, are, notwithstanding a stupid contempt for foreign nations as such, eagerly desirous to get the benefit of everything undeniably good that we can send them. Mr. Williamson's book will be of considerable service in dispelling many illusions. And it will have a tendency, no doubt, to stimulate among Christian people an enthusiasm which its writer evidently feels burning in his Scotch nature. "As far as I can judge, China is now on the eve of a new and grander career than she has ever yet known. There may be overturnings, convulsions, much evil and misery; these would be but birth-throes. This is the way of Providence; whose path is frequently through evil to good. The end, however, is not doubtful. This great Empire will yet form part of that glorious Cosmos to which we all look forward."

Passing by, but recommending our readers not to pass by, the instructive sketch of the government and physical geography of China generally, we must make some notes on Northern China, which, according to the author's rather arbitrary definition of it, contains eight provinces, and about two hundred millions of inhabitants. About one-hundredth part of this population is Mohammedan, of Persian or Arabian descent. For nearly a thousand years these have kept themselves distinct as a race from "the sons of Ham," as the Chinese call themselves; while in everything that strikes the eye they are identical with them: a striking fact, and one that scarcely has a parallel on the earth. The province of Shan-tung is exhaustively described. It is hardly possible to imagine a more complete account of the fauna, flora, mineral productions, manufactures, commerce, customs and history of a foreign country than we have here. Passing by all other elements of interest, we fasten upon what most interests us, the religious habits of the people.

The new moon of the new year is their first festival. The

new year falls on the first day of the new moon after the sun enters Aquarius (ranging therefore from January 21 to February 19). At sunset on the eve of that day, sacrifice is offered to the spirits of their ancestors supposed to be arriving. On the 15th is the feast of the lanterns. Lamps are lighted at the graves of their departed simultaneously and suddenly; thousands of tiny lights starting up everywhere, with a strange effect, as it were, "a shadowing forth of the resurrection." The second moon is introduced by the festival of the Spirits of the District, each village having its guardian spirit, and a small temple erected in its honour. The festivals that run through the year we cannot follow, but must be content with alluding to two—one of them very solemn, and the other suggestive of the ludicrous. On the day of the winter solstice, the Emperor proceeds to the temple of heaven and offers up thanksgivings and sacrifices to God. Great criminals are also executed on this day, and it is therefore regarded with peculiar solemnity. During the twelfth moon, there is a day for sacrifices to the "Spirit of the kitchen;" the idea being that the household spirit has an audience of the Supreme God, and gives in his report of good or evil. Much that is ridiculous accompanies this. But there is something strange and affecting in the fact that throughout the year there is a perpetual religious remembrance of the graves and the spirits of their ancestors.

The province of Chik-li is described with such accuracy and fulness as could be expected from none but a man of keen scientific observation: the coal-fields especially are surveyed and shown to be scarcely rivalled on any part of the face of the globe. Peking has been the capital of the Empire for many centuries, and a long chapter is devoted to it at the end of the second volume, from the pen of a very high authority, the Rev. Mr. Edkins. Of this chapter, it is hardly possible to speak in terms of too high praise, whether we regard the deeply interesting object that is described, Peking, with all its wonders, or the philosophical and graceful style in which Mr. Edkins has written his description. An extract on the Lama monastery we must give:—

"The Yung-ho-kung is at the north end of the eastern half of the city. It is a Buddhist temple, containing from 1,300 to 1,500 lamas, mostly Mongols. They are divided into four classes, according to subjects of study. About three hundred receive instruction in metaphysics or the doctrine of 'the empty nature,' in Mongol, 'hogo sen chinari;' that is, the non-existence of matter, beings, and

things,—with such explanations as are requisite to reconcile the observed differences in nature and qualities of things with this otherwise incomprehensible doctrine. Three hundred more study the Tantras in Thibetan translations. They form the second part of the Ganjur collection, and treat of the Buddhist priest's personal action as an ascetic, with devotional rituals, and charms for invoking the aid of the Buddhas and the divinities of Sivaism. To these are added the mystic Yoga, in which the hermit's reveries are reduced to a system, with complicated ramifications. This course of instruction is called 'Undusum soragal,' or 'Dandara.' The third course is attended in this temple by more than 200 pupils. It treats of astronomy and astrology, according to the Hindu system as taught in Thibet. The fourth course is medicine. There are about 150 pupils."—Vol. II. p. 344.

There are usually in this monastery from 1,300 to 1,500 lamas. It is ruled by a Gegen, or living Buddha, who is usually a Thibetan. He resides in the south-west portion of the monastery. This palace or temple was once a prince's residence, inhabited by the son and successor of the celebrated Kang-hi. When he became emperor, he gave his palace to the lamas, and became a favourer of Buddhist doctrine, so far as a Confucianist may.

"The Emperor is visitor of the institution, and nominates a cabinet minister to take charge of communications with the Gegen. The Gegen, when he dies, is buried at Wu-t'ai-shan, in the province of Shan-si. This celebrated spot, one of the oldest Buddhist establishments in China, is distant a fortnight's journey from Peking. At the head of it is a Thibetan Gegen, or 'living Buddha.'

"These buildings are very imposing. A broad paved space leads to the front from the south gate. On each side of this space are the dwellings of the lamas, the greater part of which are arranged in regular rows of streets and lanes. At the hour of prayer, they are seen issuing in crowds from their cells, habited in yellow stoles. Passing a gateway, they cross the court of two bronze lions, the colossal animals which, with fine old trees, ornament the front of the hall of the Devas Rajas. Farther on in the principal court is a large square monument of marble, inscribed with the history of Lamaism. Its rise in Thibet in the Ming dynasty, and subsequent fortunes, are sketched. This narrative is in four languages—Chinese, Manchu, Thibetan, and Mongol—each occupying one face of the stone. Before it is a bronze incense-urn eight feet high. At the south-west corner of the court hangs, on the wall, a picture of the Universe, according to the opinions of the Thibetan lamas. The world is held by the four-clawed feet of a huge sea-monster, Matara, a crocodile or sea-calf with three eyes. The six paths to the Nirvana are here painted; Buddha at the north-west side points to the sun, and thus the sorrow

and joy of life are set before the eye of the lama as he adjusts his robes when about to enter the chanting-hall for service. It is called the 'Wheel of Sansara,' the deceptive ever-changing world of the Buddhists.

"They sit, when performing service, on low cushioned stools or benches facing east and west, in rows. Some among them sing a deep bass note in D, in accompaniment to the Gregorian-like chant of the greater number. This is an accomplishment learned in youth when the voice is breaking. The idols in the lama temples are the same as in Chinese, with a few exceptions. But the lamas are fond of using Thibetan pictures of Buddha, which in some of the halls take entirely the place of images. The personages painted all belong to Northern Buddhism, in which Knan-yin, the 'goddess of mercy,' and Annitabha Buddha, of the western paradise, are favourite objects of adoration.

"At the north end is a lofty building in which is a colossal image of Maitreya, the coming Buddha. It is seventy feet high, and is made of wood. The traveller ascends to the head of the image by several flights of stairs. The coronet he wears is that of a Bodhisattwa, with several angular projections turned up at its circumference. This indicates that he has not yet attained the dignity of Buddha, who wears a skull-cap embossed with inverted shells. A lamp over Maitreya's head is lit when the Emperor visits the temple, and a large praying-wheel on the left hand, reaching upward through the successive storeys of the building, to an equal height with the image, is also set in motion on that occasion. The whole series of buildings, inclusive of the Emperor's private apartments, is called commonly Yung-ho-kung, but this name is properly applied to the central building, in front of which is the tetraglott inscription of the history of Lamaism. Beautiful silk carpets made at Po-ti-cheng, beyond the Ordos country, are laid on the floor of this hall. The pictures from Thibet here worshipped represent the past, present, and future Buddha, San-shi-ju-lai, as in Chinese temples. In front are a double row of the 'eight precious offerings,' consisting of a wheel, a canopy, a fish, a shell, and so on, which, with the Wu-kung, candles, incense, and flowers, constitute the usual gifts at the shrine of Buddha."—Vol. II. p. 346.

After a similar thorough survey of the provinces of Shan-si, Shen-si, Kansu, and Honan, which contains very much that is most interesting to the student of physical geography and geology,—in fact, almost all that could have been expected even from a professed scientific explorer of this tract of Asia,—Mr. Williamson's first volume assumes a new character, and we have to accompany the author in a series of journeys, full of incidents graphically recorded, in such a style as to impress vividly on the mind every incident, and without the slightest trace of exaggeration. But we must not yield to

the temptation to extract some specimens for our readers: we have limited ourselves to the descriptive information, leaving the whole mass of the travels proper untouched, and with it of course the circulation of the Scriptures in North China.

Were we to break this rule it would be a pleasure to quote the descriptions of the temples and tombs of Mencius and Confucius; objects of deep interest to all the Chinese and to all who visit them. Mencius is second only to Confucius in the estimation of the people. He was contemporary with Plato in his later years; and lived to the age of eighty-four, teaching and writing the lessons of wisdom, of public and private morality, and of political and economical science, with great acceptance. His temple is in Tsiu-hien, and one of the grandest of the Confucian temples. On a monster tortoise stands a huge tablet erected by Kang-hi, twenty feet high and six feet wide. Every dynasty has left its marks of honour on the walls. Prominent in the temple proper is the statue of the sage himself, enclosed in a gorgeous shrine; the features are thoughtful, resolute, frank. Before him is a frame on which sacrifices are offered at the proper seasons, and huge pots of incense. It seems singular to hear Mr. Williamson saying that he went from the shrine of this apotheosis to the house of the lineal descendant of Mencius, sent in his card, and was politely received by a man bearing a strong resemblance to the statue. His children and grandchildren were present; so that members of the seventy-first and seventy-second generation from the sage were there. Outside the city, in the burial-ground of the Mencian family, surrounded and ornamented according to Chinese taste with large trees, were multitudes of gravestones and chronicles of all who had ever belonged to the race.

Kio-foo-hien, the city of Confucius, is a much more important place than the city of Mencius; strange to say, it is inhabited chiefly by the descendants of the great philosopher. The temple stands on the place where he lived, and is the finest place of the kind in China. Though inferior to our Western cathedrals in every respect, Mr. Williamson thinks that the combination and effect of the whole is more imposing. Here again every available spot is crowded with tablets in honour of the sage, and every dynasty is represented. The temple proper has a peculiar appearance; the upper verandah rests on gorgeous marble pillars, more than twenty feet high and two in diameter, which at a distance appear as if huge dragons were coiled around them and hanging from the top; these are cut out of the marble, and all are of one piece.

The philosopher is in the attitude of contemplation, gazing upwards; and on a tablet is the simple inscription: "The most Holy prescient Sage Confucius—His spirit's resting-place." Images of his favourite disciples are around; but, as they are supposed to be arranged in the order of his estimation, Mencius ought to have a better place than is assigned to him. Extravagant praises are carved on every side; the sacrificial frames and incense-pots abound; and many interesting relics, including two beautifully carved bronze elephants, evidence at once the catholic reverence for Confucius and the high state of art in ancient times. A large block of marble in a neighbouring temple exhibits his genealogical tree: upside down, however, the root being at the top, and the branches of the family literally descending,—grotesque illustration of Chinese notions. Near at hand is his well, from which our travellers drank; and the school, or the site of the school, in which he taught. Kang-hi, the great Whang-ti, has written in one tablet: "The perspicuous teacher for ten thousand kingdoms." One hundred and twenty slabs, built into the walls, illustrate his life; and are most interesting as the records of the dress and customs of those days. The tomb of Confucius is an impressive spot. By the side of it is the spot where Ize-koong sat for six years over his master's grave and mourned for him. When asked why his master should be ranked as a sage, he replied: "I have all my life had the heaven over my head, but I do not know its height; and the earth under my feet, but I do not know its thickness. In serving Confucius I am like a thirsty man who goes with his pitcher to the river and there drinks his fill, without knowing the river's depth." It is remarkable that the rebels, when they approached the city, declared that they would not hurt the temple, but kill only the unjust mandarin. When told that he was one of the Confucian family, they at once retired; but a multitude of the country people who took refuge there were attacked and murdered.

On a subsequent visit to Kio-foo-hien, Mr. Williamson sent in his card to his grace Duke Koong, the lineal representative of Confucius. Whilst sipping tea all manner of kindly compliments passed; and the Duke displayed what, under all circumstances, was extreme courtesy. He is a young man of twenty, and somewhat deformed; thus in marked contrast to the rest of the Confucian family, who are all large-boned men, inheriting, it would seem, the strength of the first of the race *Heih*, father of the sage and hero of Peih-yang, who, when the portcullis was dropped inclosing his troops in the

hands of the enemy, seized the heavy huge structure and raised it up, and held it by main strength till every man escaped in safety. Not only did the descendant of Confucius—who is next in rank to the Imperial family—give our travellers the first audience foreigners had ever had, but he stationed a guard around their inn and went in his civility much beyond the wishes of his attendants. It is pleasant to find that our enthusiastic devotees returned all this kindness, or at least expressed their sense of it, by making up a large parcel, when they got home, containing a great number of books on scientific subjects, one copy of the Bible in fine type, with other literary matters of interest, and sent them to his grace, the heir of so great a name.

Our travellers cannot understand what was the secret of the immense influence of Confucius: "where his great strength lay." Many more original men and many better writers are to be found among the illustrious of the past of China; but no name is comparable to this one. "In a certain sense *Confucius is China*." The fact is, that he laid the foundation of his own fame in the honour he paid to the fame of others; he collected and organised the records of the Empire, and awakened China to a sense of its great wealth. And his teachings were simple, perspicuous—as the tablet says—and pure. He accomplished a great work while he lived: perhaps no man that ever lived has swayed the thoughts of a greater number of his fellows. Other temples and tablets in honour of other great men were visited, and are described in some of the most interesting pages of travel that we have met with for a long time.

There is a special interest connected with Mr. Williamson's travels in the region of the Mohammedan rebellion,—a rebellion which still rages, if it may not be said to be chronic. Approaching the most renowned city in China—Si-ngan-foo—a city whose history can scarcely be rivalled in the world, his mind was set, first, upon finding the best place to preach the Gospel and diffuse the Scriptures, and, secondly, upon visiting the "Nestorian Tablet." On the way a mosque was visited where a precious stone was exhibited, about one foot square, of a white colour, and having what seemed to be water moving inside. Another mosque, the oldest in China, being more than a thousand years old, had also its curious stone; but this was a stone of ordeal, and had several nails in it. The explanation given was that during the Soong dynasty it was customary for mandarins to come to this stone and have their probity tested. If the magistrate could knock a nail into it,

his hands were clean from bribes; if he could not, he was guilty.

This city was formerly the home of Nestorian Christianity as well as of Mohammedanism. These people have been obliged to resort to subterfuges to save themselves: in some of their mosques were found tablets to Confucius and in honour of the Emperor; raised to evade persecution, and perhaps the only example of Mohammedan fanaticism succumbing thus in fear. In a preaching tour our Gospeller had an amusing instance of self-righteousness to encounter: "One said: 'Oh! we are all good here; you have no need to exhort us to be holy; we have no sin. At San-chow they are bad, but not here.'" In one corner of the city was found the famous Pei-kung, or "Tablet Palace." Here are tablets of the several dynasties from B.C. 100 downwards, forming a unique museum in China, and possible in no other part of the world. The most wonderful were the Thirteen Classics cut in stone. To his great joy, Mr. Williamson found the Nestorian Tablet in the ruins of a Buddhist monastery; he recognised it from a fac-simile bought from book-hawkers at home. His first thought was the preserving care of a wise Providence; for the tablet enumerates the leading doctrines of Christianity, bearing witness to the Faith as against both heathens and Romanists. It is a remarkable monument of very early times. The Syriac is obscured, or hidden, on the sides; but the concluding words of the inscription are as follow: "This tablet was erected A.D. 781, in the second year of Kien-chung, the ninth emperor of the Tang dynasty, on the seventh day of the first moon. Ning-shu, priest, being special lawlord and preacher to those of this illustrious religion throughout the regions of the East." The reader is referred to Mr. Wylie's elaborate and scholarly translation and commentary, first published in the *North China Herald*.

A suggestive glimpse is given into the interior of a Roman Catholic establishment, in the north of this wonderful city. Conversing with the Bishop of Shan-si in Chinese, about the Mohammedan rebellion, Bishop Kan (his Chinese name) said that "there were hosts of chiefs, but apparently no recognised leader, and that there was little chance of their establishing a kingdom." He also said that they "had shown great clemency and had not knowingly hurt a Roman Catholic, but had passed by large places in which Roman Catholics resided; professedly because the inhabitants belonged to the religion of the Lord of heaven. About twenty thousand Christian souls," he said, "were in his diocese." After much refreshing

and highly charitable conversation, they separated with mutual good wishes. The rebels were always at hand, but our travellers did their duty and were unhurt. The following scrap from the *Journal* is a fair specimen of the whole :—

"On the first of November the weather got suddenly very cold, and made us quicken our steps lest we should be too late for the steamers ; nevertheless, we sold books whenever we had an opportunity, and invariably preached at all our halting-places. Reaching Ping-yang-foo, I again visited the famous head of *Foh*. It is raised on a short neck, is twenty-two or twenty-four feet high, and forty-five feet in circumference at the lower part : I could only reach to its nose. Green hair in locks hangs down all around and down the back ; it has hanging ears, six feet in length, and the face is painted a reddish-purple. The figure is of iron inside and painted clay outside.

"*November 4th.*—To-day we met Mongols and lamas returning home, who told us they were part of a large company behind ; accordingly, in the afternoon, we met great numbers, in red and yellow clothes, hurrying onwards. Suddenly the rabble assumed a more regular form, and we found horsemen riding in single file in all the pomp and circumstance of authority. We were told they were escorting a living Buddha. This excited our curiosity ; but we failed to get a good view of him, as he was in a sedan. Our attention was drawn to a fine-looking man in a crimson robe, wearing a fine yellow circular cap, and a handsome yellow mantle over all, who rode on horseback, and sat well ; but he put his hand on his nose as he passed us, lest his olfactory nerves should be shocked, and so we missed a view of his features. They had many carts laden with powder under their charge."—Vol. I. p. 404.

But it must not be attempted to give an account of the journeys of Mr. Williamson. We have not space enough for that at our disposal ; and, moreover, are anxious that a book of such great interest should be in the reader's own hands. It will probably give him a more vivid impression of China than he ever had before, and tend to deepen his Christian interest in the endless multitudes of its heathen population : it will also enable him to enter more feelingly into the reports of the labours and successes and failures of other Missionaries. We shall now for a little longer go back to the descriptive part of the volumes.

Much of the second volume is occupied with the Bible-distribution journeyings in Mongolia, a region rendered attractive by the travels of M. Huc. But the reader will enjoy Mr. Williamson's lively narrative much more if he studies carefully the preliminary account given of Eastern Mongolia in the second volume. It embraces an area of

about 240,000 square miles, in which the extremes of climate prevail. The inhabitants are about ten millions, divided into forty-nine clans, called "banners," each having its separate chieftain, descended from Genghis Khan, enjoying hereditary dignity, but at stated times acknowledging by visits to Peking their allegiance to the Emperor of China. The Mongols are divided into two classes, the nomadic and the agricultural, occupying respectively the western and the northern portion of this part of vast Mongolia. They belong to a race which is extensively diffused, almost beyond any other, from the Danube in Europe to Manchuria or the Yellow Sea; their speech is one with many variations in dialect: and throughout this great portion of the earth scholars understand one written language. The following striking account will set many of our readers thinking:—

"The Mongols have played a most extraordinary part in the history of the world. They have formed, as it were, the *raw material* of our race, whence the blood, sinew, and spirit have been replenished; refreshing human nature just as the cold bracing winds of their northern plateau reinvigorate our frames. Restless, ambitious, and conscious of their own prowess, they have been constantly sending off hordes in all directions; first laying waste the country, and making great havoc of mankind, and then mixing with the plundered races, and introducing elements of new vigour and new history. Witness the ravages the Goths made on Greece in her latter days, during the reign of Claudius the Second; the awful desolations perpetrated by Attila, '*the terror of man and the scourge of God*,' as he delighted to call himself, who carried his armies to the confines of Paris. Witness also the conquests of Genghis Khan (A.D. 1194), who overran the greater part of China, and subdued nearly the whole of North Asia; and the ravages and desolations of his successors, especially Timor, or Tamerlane, as he is often called (A.D. 1295), who nearly rivalled Attila in the extent of his kingdom, and more than surpassed him in his barbarity; who carried his arms into Persia and Delhi, and drove the Indians on to the Ganges, and also destroyed Astrakan and the power of the Ottoman. This man confirmed the conquest of China, commenced by his grandfather Shih-tsu, and established the famous Yuen dynasty, which ruled over China from A.D. 1280 to A.D. 1368. All through the course of their history the Mongols were perpetually making inroads on the rich country of China, and carrying off great quantities of plunder and women, insomuch that the Northern Chinese now so closely resemble Mongols in a physical point of view, that it is extremely difficult often to distinguish the one from the other.

"The Mongols of the present day possess the same peculiarities of character. Free from the restraints of town and the conventionalities

of society, living a roving life, having plenty of good food, fresh air, and perfect liberty to go where they choose on the vast prairies, we might anticipate that they would have well-developed frames, and that the most prominent features in their character would be activity of body, love of liberty, bravery, geniality, impulsiveness, and changeableness; going from the extreme of frolicsomeness to melancholy at one unexpected leap, and, seeing few new faces, glad to welcome friendly strangers. And such expectations are borne out by intercourse with the people. They are, for the most part, strong, able-bodied, well-made men, about the average height, with black hair, faces flatter than Europeans, and their senses keenly developed. They are whiter than the Southern Chinese, and of a much more unsuspicious and friendly character; in fact, they are simply grown-up children. Eating animal food abundantly, consuming milk, butter, and cheese, and by no means sparing in the use of a strong whisky, which they either distil themselves or obtain by barter, they are generally full-blooded, with red faces; many of them like our brewers' draymen at home. Inapt in trade and simple-minded, the Chinese find them an easy prey, and in bartering transactions deceive the Mongols most cruelly. Of late years, however, there appears to be less of this roguery. Through the teaching of experience, a middle-class has sprung up between the tricky Chinamen and the raw Mongols, who live far away, and only occasionally visit the emporiums of trade on the edge of China. These men now understand the lying and fraud of the Celestials, and prove quite a match for them. It cannot be denied, however, that sometimes their middlemen prove as hurtful to the Mongols as the members of the alien race."—Vol. II. p. 11.

Mongolia is to a great extent at present a "sea of grass;" but Mr. Williamson agrees with many other travellers in thinking highly of its capabilities as a crop-producing territory. His information on this subject is important and full; but evidently it is the religious aspect of this country and people which occupies his best attention. The Mongols are of a decidedly religious temperament, as is shown by a thousand indications, such as charms on their doors, small flags flying on their houses or tents, small shrines with incense and idols in every dwelling, and their extraordinary pilgrimages. The Lamaseries, according to their celebrity, attract multitudes of devotees, men and women, some of whom measure the way by prostrations; that is, falling at full length on the ground, and then placing the feet where the head was before, so travelling with infinite fatigue over hundreds of miles. One or two of every family, often three or four, devote themselves to the priesthood or to become lamas. They begin at an early age to study the Pali, and

learn to read the Buddhist prayers in that character. Among the nomadic tribes a priest is allotted to every family; his functions are manifold, embracing almost every office of an intermediary between the poor people and all besides, whether in heaven or earth. The Lamaism which they profess—its focus being Lassa in Thibet—was introduced from India, and grafted on an earlier and purer form of religion. It displays many traces of a very early intercourse with the Roman Catholic missionaries; for the interesting details of which the reader must consult M. Huc.

The Greek Church has lately manifested much interest in the Christianisation of the Mongols. This will be a surprise to many who remember that the Eastern portion of corrupt Christendom has never been eminent for missionary zeal. Still more remarkable is the testimony borne by Mr. Williamson, as based upon or corroborated by Mr. Edkins' report, to the general orthodoxy and Evangelical simplicity of the tenets propagated by them. A recent charge issued by the Bishop of Trans-Baikal is represented as being worthy to be set by the side of many of the charges of the best modern missionary bishops. The worship of the Virgin and the saints is alluded to, but without any emphasis or approval, and Christ is set forth as the great Mediator between God and men. They use also the translation of the Scriptures into Mongolian which was made by Messrs. Swan and Stallybrass, of the London Missionary Society, and also the school-books which they prepared before their expulsion. But there is something so important in the bearings of this subject, that we must state the case in the actual words of Mr. Williamson:—

“Two large cases of these Scriptures have lately been purchased by the Russians from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and forwarded to the Buriats *via* Pekin. Nor is this all: they have been purchasing Scriptures and portions of Scriptures in the Manchu language for the use of Manchu tribes on the Amoor; and have recently completed a translation of the New Testament in Chinese for the use of their converts among that people, and for Evangelical work among the Chinese generally. But perhaps the most interesting fact of all is that which the archimandrite at Pekin told me two years ago, viz. that they had now established Missions all throughout Siberia, and had Missionaries in all the important centres, such as they are, on the north of the Amoor, and on the remotest confines of Asia, both on the north and east. I know from other sources that the settlements on the Amoor, and the Channel of Tartary, have each a priest. To avoid giving false impressions, I may say that these

men are not to be compared in point of intelligence, culture, or character, to Protestant Missionaries; but it is a matter of no small joy to know that the great fundamental truths of our faith are now being disseminated in these inhospitable and remote parts of the world, in many cases by men of piety and devotion. This is the more gratifying, from the fact that the Russian Government still continues intolerant of all but its own Church, and will not permit Missionaries of other communions to proceed to Russian territories. Few places now remain unvisited by the messengers of the Gospel. Here, in the presence of a most formidable and hostile government, where we had little expectation of ever being able to carry the message of salvation, God raises up men and uses the truth, though in a measure darkened by superstition, to convert a people to Himself. We cannot despair of the ultimate triumph of Christianity, when we find that within the limits of the Russian Empire itself, and with the full sanction of the Government, Russians are preaching the Gospel in the remotest and most inaccessible parts of the world."—Vol. II. p. 20.

But, however important in relation to the world at large the Mongolian races may be, with regard to the destinies of China in particular Manchuria is the most significant territorial name. The Mongols were cast out on the great plains of North Asia, and therefore nomadic by necessity; the Manchus were located in a land of mountains and valleys, and sea-coast, where agriculture, and hunting, and fishing, amply repaid their toil. The history of the Manchu race is "full of adventure, enterprise, and war;" but it is a great mistake to call them "Tartars." The late Mr. Meadows, Consul at New-chwang, is the author of a valuable sketch of Manchuria and the Manchus incorporated in this work. The reader will nowhere find a better account of the revolutions in Chinese history with which these tribes have been connected. In the eleventh century before Christ, they bore the name of Suh-chin, and paid stoneheaded arrows to the Chow dynasty as tribute. For a thousand years they are found under continually changing names; always victorious and encroaching on the Chinese Empire, until the Mongols, under Genghis Khan, subjugated them in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century these gave way to the Ming dynasty, founded by a Chinese rebel. But centuries of war ended that line of emperors in 1644, when the present Manchu Whang-tis obtained dominion. For all this we must refer our readers to the book itself: it is impossible to abridge further an account that is condensed to the uttermost.

Southern Manchuria is evidently a very delightful country,

and Mr. Williamson is enthusiastic in its praise. The question, How can the resources of such a country be best developed? draws out all his skill in political economics. Beginning with a railway, our projector sketches a beautiful picture of development. May he live to see the issue. Central Manchuria is described with almost the same enthusiasm. But we are soon arrested by an important topic :

“Opium demands more than a passing notice. A few years ago, it was a stranger to this part of the world, but is now rising into ominous significance. We found the poppy under cultivation in all quarters ; in some places it had grown for several years, in others for only two or three, or was just commencing. Natives told us that it was much more profitable than pulse or any kind of grain ; that 10 mow of land yielded 14,000 to 15,000 cash when sown with millet, and that it brought from 24,000 to 25,000 cash when laid down for the poppy. They knew that its cultivation was illegal, but said the mandarins winked at it, on receiving a sum of money, or a gift in kind. The prices varied from 350 cash to 500 cash per oz. ; but we are told that it could be bought in autumn for 200 to 250 cash per oz., or from 210 to 270 taels per chest, about half the price of Indian opium. It was said to be better, and not adulterated like foreign opium when it reached there. They export opium to Peking and westwards ; and, as might be expected, its effects upon the population are most melancholy. Farmers’ sons, and the majority of young men, are addicted to it ; we found some just beginning to smoke, others habitually smoking, and of these many had smoked to the point of repentance, but found themselves slaves to the habit. We were constantly asked about some means of cure, and in one case a man followed us clinging to the cart, and would not believe that we had no remedy. Sad is the havoc this drug is making in China, and the worst is yet to come. Opium is now produced in Sze-chuen, Shen-si, Shan-si, Mongolia, and Manchuria, and every year more land is laid down for it. The vice is reaching the poorer classes, and even women ; and there can be no question that it is much more insidious and deleterious in its consequences than strong drink.”—Vol. II. p. 65.

Nothing can be more terrible than this last statement : declaring, as it does, so much, and suggesting so much more. The cultivation of the poppy seems to have almost superseded many other formerly profitable employments of labour ; indigo and the tobacco plant being the only exceptions. If opium is a frightful traffic, that of tobacco is very striking. Manchurian tobacco is famous throughout China—the leaves of the plant in some places being twenty-four inches long and eight inches broad. It appears that this narcotic was introduced into Corea from Japan about 270 years ago.

From Corea it passed through the "gates" into Manchuria; and, when the present Manchurian dynasty ascended the throne in 1644, they introduced it into China. At the present time there is hardly a man in the eighteen provinces who does not use it. The weed was doubtless imported originally from Europe: the Portuguese carried it with them into the East Indian Archipelago, and the Dutch into Java; and doubtless one of them took it to Japan. Hence there has been a great exchange between the two most wonderful narcotics known to man; the tea which the East has sent to the Western world has been matched by the tobacco which the Western world has sent to the East. The mineral productions, fauna, and flora, of this district, are described in the most careful style. All the Manchurias represent a space nearly equal to the half of China Proper; and, together with Corea, will, in our travellers' opinion, play a very important part in the future of China. The Russians seem to think the same; their plans are deeply and skilfully laid for ascendancy in this region.

Mr. Williamson gives us an equally interesting account of Corea. Our readers, of course, need not be told that his account is not the result of personal observation. Corea, as the ancient Chau-seen is now called, is, and ever has been, absolutely sealed against the foreigner: thus enjoying a singular pre-eminence, as almost alone in the East standing out against our overtures of friendship. Our author chafes at this resistance, both as a cosmopolitan and a Christian Missionary. He thinks that it is at once the duty and the privilege of such countries as Great Britain and America "to use the power God has given them to open up countries which are stupidly closed against them like Corea."

"War," he says, "is a terrible evil in every respect, but it seems a condition of progress in this fallen world; and, in view of the advantages, moral, intellectual, and spiritual, which would accrue to a people brought into full contact with the blaze of true civilisation, the cost would be immeasurably counterbalanced. But the opening up of this country might be effected without war. Representations of such a character might be made through the Chinese Government as would, perhaps, accomplish the object, or negotiations might be entered into directly with the annual Korean Embassy at Peking; or, if diplomacy failed, a resource still remains which might obviate any great loss of life, if not bloodshed altogether. Let a large force, naval and military, which clearly—in the eyes of the Koreans themselves—would be irresistible, appear at their capital, explain our motives, and demand such concessions as are consistent with natural

justice. Let it be seen that we are in earnest, and let such arrangements be made as would secure peace until the natives had discerned our true motives and the advantages of dealing with us, and then intercourse would go on of its own accord. This, of course, would entail some expense, though not so much as appears at first sight; for it is just about as cheap to keep our ships on duty as laid up in idleness or stationed in unimportant quarters. And then the profit would soon appear in the shape of increased demands for our manufactures. A little additional outlay is a poor excuse for neglecting such an undertaking; and sad will it be for Great Britain, if the day comes when charges of this kind will weigh against deeds of enterprise and philanthropy. If Prussia wishes territory in the East, Corea is infinitely preferable to Formosa."—Vol. II. p. 311.

Of course it is very desirable that every corner of the broad earth, every strip of inhabited land which belongs to Christ, should be opened to the Gospel and to commerce, which is its pioneer. It may be that international trade has a right to break open the door that opens not to knocking. It may be that a higher civilisation, or, as it is here termed, "the blaze of true civilisation," may claim to overpower every form of lower civilisation. These are questions which jurists have never determined, and which admit of much variety of opinion. But we think there can be no doubt about the propriety and the duty of gaining only a peaceful entrance for the Cross. So doubtless our Bible-bearer thinks; but some of his sentences have a strong belligerent flavour, and need a tolerant interpretation. We need not separate our commerce and our civilisation from our Christianity; and we must be very cautious how we entertain schemes which, though "they may obviate any great loss of life," would force upon a reluctant people, at the point of the sword or the cannon's mouth, the blessings of Christian international industry and of the Gospel of peace.

But what is this strange dark country which is for us, unlike all others, only a name? It is one of the finest peninsulas in the world, three times as large as Scotland; composed of mountains varying from 1,000 to 8,000 feet high, covered some of them with dense forests to their summits, and of valleys between them of the utmost fertility. The king, though an independent sovereign in some respects, yet recognises the Whang-ti of China by a yearly tribute. The people are of the same stock as the Mongols, Manchus, Japanese, and Chinese; but on the whole they are a finer race than any of these, or at least they have given proofs of possessing the elements out of which Christianity would pro-

duce a finer result. For more than two thousand years Corea has figured largely, and with various fortunes, in Chinese history; ruins and vestiges of Corean fortresses remain, after the lapse of more than a thousand years, silent and crumbling evidences of wars, the history of which has passed into oblivion. Cities, towns and villages are crowded with population, living very much like the Chinese, but with many customs peculiar to themselves. For instance, they cultivate the hair of their boys as a trade; plaiting it into long tails till the time of marriage, when these tails are cut off and sent to the Chinese fairs. In the north they mostly wear grass-cloth, which bleaches well, and gives to the Corean crowd a very lively and pleasant aspect; in the south, they wear white cotton, whilst the wealthy in all parts are known by their silk dresses. Amber is the substance of their favourite ornaments; their dishes are of copper, or a composition in which copper largely prevails; their native coin is of hard-baked clay, while they use the Chinese and Japanese copper and silver coins. Their guns and cannon, like their ancient fortresses, show considerable military education; they are beautifully finished breechloaders, which their recent encounters with the French showed them well able to manage. Their boats and junks are of wood, without a nail in them. Their minerals are endless; gold is too plentiful to have its Occidental value; and silver is also found in great abundance, even though the Corean "mountain of silver" be a myth. Their clay and pottery rank with the Japanese. Their cereals and vegetables are abundant. Their cotton is superior to anything in China, long and fine, but not plentiful. Silk is manufactured only to a limited extent. Paper is made of beautiful texture from the bark of the mulberry-tree. These and many other interesting particulars of the life, commerce, and habits of the Coreans leak out to us foreigners through what are called "The Gates," or the three places where intercourse with the Chinese is allowed. We cannot help thinking that in the order of Divine providence these are the gates through which a more effectual Gospel will enter than that which furtively found its way through Roman Catholic agency.

We are reminded of a reference to the Corean embassy that occurs in the narrative of the journey to Peking in an earlier part of this volume:—

"We also met the Corean embassy returning home; part of the suite on the other side of the ferry, and part in the ferry-house and

inns around. The chief men spoke the Mandarin colloquial well, and we found they had met several Missionaries at Peking, and had visited the London Mission. They said they had some of our religious books, and knew a little of their doctrines, and I offered them some more; the chief man refused them, politely telling the great lie that 'he did not understand the Chinese characters;' but some of the others accepted them. They would have a difficulty in getting them smuggled through the Korean gate; but, if in earnest, no doubt they would succeed. They were dressed in their own fashion, and were pleasant and affable, and brave too. They inquired about the rebels, declaring that they were not in the least afraid of them. I jocularly said that no doubt the great general Wun-siang would drive the rebels into Korea. They smiled and said, 'No fear of that; we shall kill them as fast as they appear. One come, one dead; ten come, ten dead.' One or two of the party were Roman Catholics, and spoke freely of the foreign priests at Peking. The Romanists get their converts into every business of any importance, doubtless to further their religion. I was surprised to find that even among the select youths who had been set apart to learn the English language at the capital, there was a Romanist who likewise frequents the London Mission, and tries to make himself very familiar there."—Vol. II. p. 135.

The "Gate of Korea," in Southern Manchuria, plays a conspicuous part on the maps. Mr. Williamson describes his visit to this disappointing place in a very lively manner. In reply to his question, "Where is the gate? and where are the famous palisades?" he was pointed to a small house at the end of a street with a small opening through it. He tried to sell his books at a low price to tempt Koreans; but finding little success, studied character, and made his observations. Nothing struck him more than a breed of ponies, which is peculiar to Korea: miniature horses in every respect, but not much bigger than a dog, and made exceedingly useful. The officials who guarded the neutral ground, in which neither Chinese nor Koreans are permitted to settle, took umbrage at his sketching, but on the whole treated him well as a British subject. This respectful treatment has been very generally our missionary's lot; and we are inclined to ascribe it not so much to the fact of his being *civis Britannicus*, as to his frank and straightforward Christian demeanour.

Since we began to write these notes, confirmation has reached us of the intelligence which struck horror into the heart of the whole nation when briefly announced by telegraph. The lamentable solitary case of violence to which Mr. Williamson referred in the beginning of his book has been followed by such an exhibition of ferocity at Tien-Tsin

as has had no parallel since the Indian Mutiny. Negotiations for satisfaction and for pledges with regard to the future have apparently been of little avail ; and even those who are most anxious to avoid the semblance of retaliatory violence, think that the time has come for the display of a very determined front. The sending of Bibles and establishment of Missions can be of no service, if the observance of treaties cannot be enforced, and if the European population cannot be protected from the cunning of Chinese officials and the mad prejudices of the Chinese mob. The following words of the Report, to which allusion was made at the outset, will be read with interest now :—

“ From the Report submitted by Mr. Williamson since his return, the Directors have been led to fear that for some time it may be more difficult to conduct Bible work in China. Recent discussions in the House of Lords, and articles in English papers, all duly translated into Chinese, have increased an intolerance which did not require to be fostered by influences from without, and a movement for the entire exclusion of foreigners has begun, which may not improbably lead to war, unless the British Government at once insist on the right of travel and residence in the interior, which was secured by Lord Elgin's treaty, and is now conceded to citizens of various other European nations. Motives of self-interest might well urge this country not to relinquish, unasked, privileges which were won at the cost of much blood and treasure. The national conceit of the Chinese has been little shaken by their closer intercourse with Europeans during the past twenty-eight years. Their Emperor is still the one representative of Deity on earth, and no other prince or potentate can be admitted to an equality with the ‘ Son of Heaven ;’ their empire is still the ‘ Middle Kingdom,’ and all other peoples are but barbarians. Till these opinions are dissipated by the diffusion of more correct ideas of modern civilisation, it must be expected that foreigners, merchants, and Missionaries alike, will continue to be treated as intruders. The very appearance of a Missionary in the interior, his words, and the books he circulates, proclaim unmistakably the existence and civilisation of a world beyond the confines of the ‘ Flowery Land ;’ while his observations on the produce, mineral wealth, and commercial capabilities of the districts he visits tend still more directly to promote the material interests which impel his countrymen to seek intercourse with the Chinese. British merchants in China are not slow to recognise the force of these considerations, which it may be hoped will have their own influence in connection with higher motives to which the government of a Christian country cannot be indifferent. The numbers, literary characteristics, and innate power of its people, constitute China one of the most important fields for Bible enterprise. What cause for thanksgiving in

the thought that whatever may lie in the immediate future, many thousand copies of the Word which does not return void have been already placed in the hands of its inhabitants."

These remarks bring us round to the Preface again, where Mr. Williamson gives us very plainly to understand what his judgment is as to the present calamity. His book has been published with this design among others, to show the real state of the case as to "the inland residence" of the foreigners which has been so much denounced, and their restriction to the parts which has been advocated. His unvarnished tale has shown that, in spite of all that has been said to the contrary, the Bible and Christianity are adapted to do good to China as in every other part of the world; that there is no hostility on the part of the people of North China towards Protestant Missionaries; and that their passports were invariably acknowledged even in the most distant places. He claims, therefore, to be heard, when he declares that "were the matter of inland residence made a provision in treaty engagements, there would be little or no difficulty in peaceably carrying it out."

The tolerant and friendly spirit displayed throughout the volumes towards the ancient Roman Catholic Missions is very remarkable; the observations made on the feeling of the natives towards them will have therefore all the more weight. Mr. Williamson shows that the Roman Catholics are very much disliked: in some places because of the outrages committed by French soldiers during the last war; in other places because of the assumption of the priests, and the violent way in which they have insisted upon the restoration of confiscated property and other rights. But he asserts that none of the charges urged against the Catholics, whether, as in these cases, well founded, or, as in other cases, like the kidnapping and its concomitants, without foundation, can be brought against Protestant Missionaries. In common with all who believe in the duty of aiming at the evangelisation of China, and in the adequacy of the preaching of the Gospel to that end, and in the truth and fidelity of European Missionaries and agents, now in more or less peril, we wait for the blessing of the Supreme Being on the action to which the Government is roused. When these lines are read the crisis, we hope, will have been safely passed. Meanwhile we close with Mr. Williamson's forcible words—words which have a melancholy interest just now:—

"These things have recurred in consequence of the ultra-liberal policy of our Government, and especially of that outburst of hostile criticism in the spring of 1869, on the part of our officials and leading politicians and writers at home, all of which was duly communicated to the Chinese authorities, leading them to believe either that we were shorn of our strength, or had lost all interest in our countrymen in China. I trust no deeds of violence will ensue; but if they do, I hope the opportunity will be taken to set matters right once for all."

Deeds of violence have ensued. The perpetrators have been punished in semblance, screened in reality. A mockery of satisfaction has been offered to Europe; and the Chinese hope, as usual, to escape. Meanwhile, the journals find in the most recent excesses food for their animosity against the Missionaries,—as if, forsooth, it was their interest to exasperate the peoples they go out to convert. *Christianos ad leones!*

ART. IV.—1. *The History of Scotland, from Agricola's Invasion to the Revolution of 1688.* By JOHN HILL BURTON. Vols. V., VI., and VII. W. Blackwood & Sons. 1870.

2. *The Case of Mary Queen of Scots, with an Examination into the Evidence for the Casket of Letters.* By W. HOSACK, W.S. Edmonston and Douglas. 1870.

MR. BURTON has now brought down his voluminous and painstaking work to the Revolution of 1688. Throughout he has acted upon the rules with which English historians have long been familiar; but, further, he has done what they have seldom done—he has applied those rules with perfect fairness. Unless this is remembered, unless Bacon's "dry light" is allowed to diffuse itself over the page, it is clear that the minutest reference to original authorities may be simply illusory. Mr. Froude and Lord Macaulay have shown how it is possible to make the most elaborate apparatus of documents help to establish foregone conclusions and to subserve party ends. Mr. Burton aims in general at thorough impartiality. He would fain be the Scottish Hallam, and he succeeds so far as the eliminating of all enthusiasm goes, though sometimes, as in the case of Queen Mary, his personal prejudices get the better of his impassiveness. What we lack in his book are broad general views,—those views which, while they are the snare of the sciolist, and constantly lead to the enunciation of a vast amount of nonsense, are, nevertheless, when set forth by a man of real insight, the most valuable part of history. From such views Mr. Burton steadily abstains; and he also, perhaps in consequence of this, abstains from anything like a triumphant exposition of the great principles at stake in contest which was going on, with more or less intensity, from the days of Cardinal Beaton to those of Archbishop Sharp.

In this he is just the opposite of Mr. Froude; the latter gives us a brilliant picture, which does not always commend itself as truthful in its general effect, though its details are always unexceptionable: the former puts in all the facts, but makes no attempt at chiaroscuro. This way of writing history has its merits: it enables the writer to give greater attention to the nooks and corners which are usually slurred over; it frees him from the temptation to fine writing, such a snare to

many historians, and such a weariness to the reader, making even interesting subjects like Kaye's *Sepoy War* almost unbearable; above all, it does not force the reader into opposition, as Mr. Froude's plan by its manifest unfairness often does. Its chief sin is its cynicism. A Scottish historian who can write about Bannockburn as coldly as he discusses the question of Druidism, is such an abnormal being, that we must not wonder to find him now and then enunciating views which make the hair of the orthodox stand on end.

The explanation of his ostentatious impartiality is that he wishes so to write as to make a further appeal to the old chronicles unnecessary; he has, moreover, to supersede by real history the romance which in Scotland has hitherto gone by that name. The Scotch have always been barefaced literary forgers. From the days of so-called "blind Harry" to those of Macpherson and his *Ossian*, they have palmed off chronicle after chronicle; nay, not content with forging native records, they tried their hands at Roman forgeries, the strange history of one of which Mr. Burton tells, with much glee, in his first volume. Thus the fact that Scottish history has hitherto been little more than a string of romantic incidents—even Principal Robertson being as uncritical as the author of *Waverley* himself—makes Mr. Burton studiously neglectful of the old-stock stories; hence the dreariness of the whole period of the English wars as detailed by him. So long as the question of feudal supremacy has to be argued, it is argued with singular acuteness, and much prominence is given to important points (such as the rejection of Edward's claim by the Scotch commons while it was admitted by the nobles and clergy) which have hitherto been usually slurred over. But this once settled, our author is scarcely himself again until the case of Queen Mary comes up to exercise his acumen and to interest to the full his legal mind.

Of his earlier volumes, already noticed in this Review, the first striking peculiarity is his strenuous assertion of the old Scotie claim to a high civilisation before society in Ireland was broken up by the Norse invasion. He proves, what he well remarks it is strange for the historian now-a-days to have to prove, that Scotie means Irish, that Ireland up to the eleventh century was *Scotia major*, and that these Irish Scoti, settling in Argyle, and driven eastward by the Norsemen, conquered as they went, and gave to the Lowlands a king and a ruling race. We remarked before that he does not give prominence enough to the effect of this Scotie admixture in shaping the difference between the Lowlander and the Englishman. Yet he has the

great merit of appreciating instead of wholly ignoring the Scotie civilisation, and of showing how the after degradation of the race was due to the persistent way in which they were treated as outlaws with whom no faith was to be kept.

Mr. Burton is, in his quiet way, a sad iconoclast. To the Druids he has the same kind of personal aversion that Sir G. Cornwall Lewis had to the Phœnicians: his Druids are mere "medicine-men," as indeed they seem to be in the notices of them in the old Irish books. The personality of Wallace is a point dear to most Scottish hearts; yet our author does not hesitate to say that the greater number of the deeds attributed to him stand on much the same foundation as the exploits of King Arthur; nay, that while the latter may be true, the former cannot. The same holds of a good deal of the legendary history of the Bruce. Matters like the cruelties of Edward I. at Berwick, which have a value that the picturesque historians have too frequently forgotten, are detailed in these volumes to the exclusion of the usual accounts of military operations. Then the hardening effect on the national character of the long English wars is traced through the chaos of the fifteenth century; and then the first half of the work closes with a calm yet quite one-sided account of Mary Stuart's reign. This unhappy queen forms the main subject of the fifth volume. Absent though she is, and in prison, she still acts upon the nation's policy; and Mr. Burton follows her step by step, and records with severe exactness every feature of Elizabeth's mean cruelty down to her stupendous attempt to urge Paulet and the rest to murder her captive: and this he does, not like Mr. Hosack, as a partisan of Mary, but with the calmness of a lawyer unravelling trick by trick an elaborate forgery. Hating Mary, showing in her case his one sole falling away from absolute fairness, he certainly has no love for Elizabeth, and brings the contemptible side of her character into even stronger relief than Mr. Motley does when he proves the Tilbury harangue to be a myth.

When the Mary episode is ended, the historian's work is to trace the gradual rise of Scotland until its influence culminates at the beginning of the Civil Wars. There is no doubt that England under the Tudors had been only too successfully prepared for despotism. The old aristocracy was almost annihilated; the new men were the humble instruments of the Crown; the wealth-producing class was intent on securing and advancing its position. The demoralisation was not so complete as that to which twenty years of personal

government in France have given the final touch ; but it was going on rapidly when the changed circumstances of James the First's reign gave a fillip to the national independence. Nevertheless, Charles seemed, by Strafford's help, to have turned the difficulties which his father feared to meddle with ; and he might have gone on unchecked in his downward course but for the madness which led him to insist on forcing the Scots to accept Episcopacy. Mr. Burton is naturally proud of the high position which Scotland took as the modifier of England's religious belief, as the *force majeure* which enabled England to assert her political rights. He scarcely explains, indeed, the cause of the sudden collapse after the battle of Naseby, whereby Scotland soon fell from being umpire in the contest to the position of abject vassaldom. Neither does he wholly account for the radical difference between the religious disputes under the two Charleses—grand and national under the First ; dwarfed, in spite of the heroism of individuals, under the Second. But we had better let him tell his own tale : to do so will be far more satisfactory to the reader than to make the title of his book a mere peg on which to hang our own remarks.

For, whatever may be thought of his ideas on certain points, he undoubtedly deserves thoughtful reading. Englishmen who have hitherto been content with a very vague knowledge of Scottish history will find from him how little they know, and how much there is worth knowing. Mr. Froude has, indeed, proved how intimately Scotch and English history are interwoven during Tudor times ; but he who wishes to form a true estimate of the proportions of an object will naturally take a view from both ends.

We cannot pretend to thread the maze of Scotch and English political intrigue after Mary had written her "letter of demission," and "I, James, Prince and Stewart of Scotland," had had his head put inside the Bruce's crown, and the sceptre laid in his infant hand. Nor will we argue with Mr. Burton about the character of the regent ; the judgment which we form of Murray will depend on our estimate of his sister. Of his visit to the prisoner at Lochleven, he and she give wholly opposite accounts : he says that "Mary kissed him, and begged him to be regent, and to take charge of her forts, jewels, &c." Mary writes that she forbade him to be regent, but that "*il meit bas le masque*," and said he had already accepted it.

Poor Mary ! The French, indeed, sent an ambassador "for the manner's sake," but the Estates forbade Lignerolles to see her "until Bothwell is apprehended." There was no hope

of help from that quarter. Catherine de Medicis' hate kept France quiet; and even if "the fixed hatred of that miracle of craft and cruelty" had allowed help to be sent, the Huguenots would, on the other hand, have helped the Scots Estates. Elizabeth interfered, because the sacredness of the sovereign was so great in her eyes that "she held queens to be exempt from subjects' rules; . . . she could not suffer her, being by God's ordinance the Prince, to be in subjection to them that by nature and law are subjected to her." But, after her fashion, she only interfered in a half sort of way: Throckmorton was, as Lethington and the rest soon find out, not properly accredited. The Scots would not allow him to see the captive queen; they alarmed Elizabeth by saying that her interference "will drive us faster to France than we desire to run." Some think Elizabeth was merely playing a game; but no: she was quite shrewd enough to feel the danger of a precedent which undoubtedly led to the death of Charles the First. Her threats endangered Mary's life; so Cecil urged her to pause, as, if anything did happen, the world would say she had been seeking her rival's death.

Elizabeth stormed, and expounded the Tudor doctrines, and made Filmer-like appeals to Scripture; as Mr. Burton well says:

"The sacredness of the sovereign was to her the most imperious of human creeds. She had counted on it as absolute when she coquetted with her sister's subjects; they might go so far, but there was no risk of their going farther so long as they followed her guidance. The leaders in Scotland had now committed the most awful crime that it lay within the compass of human wickedness to commit. Blasphemy against the Almighty was merely a rash use of words, doing nothing which penitence might not recall; but here was blasphemy put in practical and irretrievable shape against the representative of the Almighty upon earth."

But, in spite of her theories, Elizabeth did stop in time, and recalled Throckmorton. Herein she was greater than her father; she had the same passions, but she had what he had not—the gift of policy, the faculty of retreating from a false position while retreat is possible without loss of dignity.

We mentioned the various possible estimates of Murray's character. Throckmorton writes, "He seeks more to imitate some who have led the people of Israel than any captain of our time." On the other hand, this pattern man did not attempt, while punishing Darnley's murderers, to lay hands on Morton, Balfour, and Lethington,—undoubtedly the chief movers in the affair. Had he done so, Mr. Burton thinks he must have assumed the chief power, and thrust aside the

feeble boy who stood between him and the crown—between him, and also between the Hamiltons, who, while outwardly Mary's partisans, were accused of secretly working for her death. Anyhow, they rallied round her after her escape from Lochleven, with regard to her imprisonment in which the wonderful stories are told—e.g. that she had by Bothwell a daughter, who was afterwards a nun at Soissons, and the prospect of whose birth made her so strenuously refuse to divorce him; and the other story, which makes the first impossible, viz. that she had a son by George Douglas, her keeper's son, brother to the lad William Douglas, who rescued her,—a son whose son, we are told, was chaplain to the Scots in Gustavus Adolphus's army. But these stories are not so strange as the fact (brought out by Prince Labanoff, in his careful researches into Mary's correspondence) that, although she was under constant surveillance at Lochleven, the daughters of the house being her bedfellows, she yet managed to write and despatch a long letter to Catherine of Medici. Her wonderful letter-writing power, her clear conciseness, and persuasive skill, are no less remarkable than the elastic vitality of her nature, which rose to full life out of absolute prostration, with a rapid spring that earns for her from Mr. Froude the title of the panther.

If, after Langside, she had fled to Spain, where Philip II, not yet forty-two, was a widower for the third time, how different might have been the fate of Europe! In England she soon realised her sad position: Elizabeth would not receive her till she was satisfied "by probable reasons that she is clear of the said murder." Yet Elizabeth held that murder by a queen was not quite the same thing as murder by a subject; and Mary's sole hope was to make the most of Elizabeth's horror of the doctrine that anything could justify subjects in lifting their hands against their sovereign. This interview the captive sought for in letters which Mr. Burton justly calls some of "the most wonderful specimens of eloquent and pathetic pleading:" she hoped, if she could see Elizabeth, to bend her to her will—" *je la gouvernerois, lui compléant.*"

The casket letters, on which, after all, Mary's guilt or innocence turns, we believe, with Mr. Hosack, to be forgeries. The Scotch records are full of known forgeries; English statesmen, too, could forge; the documents (for instance) on which England's feudal supremacy was based, were written for the occasion. Elizabeth's oracular sentence, "Both are right; the lords meant no treason, and she had nothing produced against her why the English queen should conceive any evil opinion of her good sister," is in keeping with all the details

of this period, a period in some respects humiliating for England, let the Kingsley party strive as they like to make it out superlatively glorious.

The Saint Bartholomew sealed Mary's fate : after that terrible day Elizabeth, who always let her ambassadors act as from themselves, that their conduct might be disavowed if the consequences seemed unpleasant, instructed Killigrew to offer to give her up to Morton to be put to death, and if he accepted the offer to take hostages that she should be killed. How much of personal spite may have mingled in this, it is not easy to tell ; Elizabeth could not abide the existence, even as a prisoner, of one so captivating that even Nicholas White, writing to Cecil, calls her "a goodly personage (and yet in truth, not comparable to our sovereign), an alluring grace, a pretty Scottish speech, and a searching wit clouded with mildness." On one point we are glad to have the witness of an acute mind like our author's—the forgery by Walsingham of the Babington letters. When the last scene comes he is decently reticent, and does not, like Mr. Froude, dress up from the miserable scandal with which Elizabeth's emissaries flattered her, a false picture of "Jezebel adorning herself for the death." We are the more thankful for this, because the only fault we have to find with Mr. Burton is that he so treats the whole case as to need Mr. Hosack as an antidote, and that while in other matters he can exercise due judgment in dealing with the scandalous correspondence of the time, in the case of Queen Mary he is only too ready to believe it all.

How absurd, how self-convicting in its absurdity, this correspondence often was, is seen from the way in which Bowes, while seeing the contemptible Scottish nobles "with small private doles and poor jewellery," is primed with the most absurd rumours by all the contending parties.

Those parties were in a chaotic state of conflict. Three of the many conflicting feelings were the popular aversion to Queen Mary, the still stronger aversion to England, and the coolness towards France, owing to the over-mastering faith in the Reformation. Out of this chaos there emerges no great man : Murray, Morton, Esmé Stuart, lord of Aubigné, the first of James's favourites, succeeded one another like kings in a puppet-show. In the higher ranks there is nothing which we can look at even with complacency. These mean stipendiaries of Elizabeth did their best, by their self-seeking, to crush the growing Kirk.

"As touching the condition of our ministers present, it is more miserable nor the condition of a beggar, for beggars have freedom,

without reproof, to beg over all; but our poor ministers, bound to their charge, are compelled to keep their house, and with dolorous hearts see their wives, children, and families starve with hunger."

That is a picture of the despoiled state of the body which, in despair of getting the tithe, claimed and did not get the thirds of ecclesiastical property. Meanwhile churches fell to ruin, there being no fund for their repair; "so that they were more like to sheep-cots than to houses of God." The nobles were willing enough to let the Church excommunicate, restrict the freedom of the press, and make the Earl and Countess of Argyle do penance; but about the Church lands they were "firm as fate," and as it was held politic to treat these spoilers as zealous Kirkmen, they had it all their own way; the only compensation being that, underneath all this greed and self-seeking, a whole people was rapidly growing up in wealth (now the terror and ruin of English war was over), in intelligence, and in stubborn devotion to its peculiar form of Christianity.

But we must hasten onward. As we have already said, never was antipathy more pronounced than that of Mr. Burton to Mary Stuart. He is not violent, like Mr. Froude, whose violence he nevertheless applauds; but he is full of insinuation still more damaging than the other's violence. The genuineness, for instance, of the casket-letters has never been proved. We have only for their existence the testimony of those with whom lying was an art and treachery a branch of education. It seems almost enough to say that, had they existed, they would have been shown to Elizabeth, and had she seen them, we should certainly have heard of it: that one lie, that the originals had been laid before any English soul, even Cecil did not dare to invent. Yet Mr. Burton assumes they were genuine, because, forsooth, Elizabeth kept her rival a prisoner, forgetting that the "State-policy" which perpetuated that imprisonment was wholly independent of the question of Mary's guilt or innocence. Elizabeth may vacillate in her treatment of the Dutch; she may sacrifice Flanders, and break Leicester's heart, and it is all charged on her wayward dislike of a republic, and on her personal niggardliness; but when the unhappy Queen whom she persecuted is in the case, the whole burden is laid on the captive, and Elizabeth, instead of being exposed as the most unmixed sample of Tudor violence and subtlety, is found to have acted solely for the good of her realm and the security of her own person. Writing like this,—“even love-letters to Mary's 'my Norfolk' have, when correctly deciphered, some faint

harmony with the letters in the casket,"—is special pleading of the worst kind, seeing that (as we said) the existence of the casket-letters is only assumed by those with whom Mary's guilt is a foregone conclusion. While the Cecil papers contain such a letter as that to Elizabeth, enlarging in the most malignant spirit of vituperative irony on charges which the writer lays at the door of the Countess of Shrewsbury, we may be very certain that, had the casket-letters been authentic, Cecil would have got them, too, into his collection. The letter to which we refer has naturally been often disowned, so bitterly sarcastic is its tone, so strong its contrast to the earlier letters written when Mary still had some hope of moving her royal gaoler; but Prince Labanoff (who, with M. Chéruel, is the chief authority for the Marian literature) vouches for its authenticity; and, this granted, we do not see how the absence of the casket-letters from a set which contains this one can be explained. Even on the well-attested point that Mary was ill-lodged, ill-fed, and worse clothed during her captivity, Mr. Burton is sceptical, and makes the strange remark that, "if she lacked in anything, she had her own dowry as dowager of France." But strong as is his dislike to Mary, Mr. Burton's legal mind will not allow that the way in which she was inveigled into a trap while at Chartley, and then condemned solely on the evidence of "a certain cipher," which even our author suggests may have been forged by Walsingham's instruments, was in the least degree justifiable.

Disliking Mary, Mr. Burton equally dislikes her son. We have sometimes wished that, in the next Scottish historian, the British Solomon might find a champion. His planting of Ulster, unscrupulous as it was, had, at least, the merit of being thorough; and, when we blame him for governing as he did, we must reflect how hard Elizabeth had made it for anyone but herself to govern at all. But we heartily go along with Mr. Burton in his strictures on the way in which the lad received the news of his mother's impending death. "He would do nothing to risk his chances of England. . . He mumbled his sordid discontents to Courcelles, the French Ambassador, his mother must drink that she had brewed; and he wished she would meddle with nothing but her prayers and serving God." The scene between Elizabeth and James's ambassadors is disgraceful to all parties; and we are glad that Mr. Burton does not attempt, after Mr. Froude's fashion, to exonerate the English Queen; as he well says, "for the clumsy cunning and the brazen mendacity with which the

triumphant rival concluded the scene, no one has any palliation." It is quite certain that Elizabeth tried to have her captive taken off by assassination; "her unfruitful hints—hints which approach solicitation—are creditable to the honourable feeling of those about her." Even the surly Sir Amyas Paulet, brutally as he treated his prisoner, was proof against both autograph letters* and messages sent through Walsingham and Davison. One of these Mr. Burton well calls "that terrible letter, one of the foulest blots in English history," which reproves Paulet and Drury for not having, "*in all this time, of yourselves without other provocation, found out some way of shortening the life of the Scots' queen.*"

The last scene, at Fotheringhay, Mr. Burton, we are thankful to say, passes over in decorous silence; herein pleasingly contrasting with Mr. Froude, who sums up and gloats over the petty cruelties wreaked on fallen greatness in a page which he will probably be anxious to expunge from future editions.

On one point Mr. Burton is at issue with most of his predecessors. They assume that all Scotland was actuated by a deep desire to attack England, and avenge Mary's death. He shows, on the contrary, that indifference to her fate, if it might not even be called approval, was the feeling which prevailed in Scotland. No wonder: the Scots, who were so far from wishing to take up Mary's cause, that, during her trial, they had even refused to have her prayed for in their kirks, were a very different race from those who afterwards freely gave up all for Charles Edward, and resisted the most tempting offers to betray him. Tytler and the rest have accounted for the sudden decay of this supposed reaction in Mary's favour by the speedy coming of the Armada. Mr. Burton shows that the reaction never existed.

But let us turn to a pleasanter subject. It would have been strange for Mary's son to have been without a spice of romance in his character, and he showed it in his winter voyage to Norway in quest of the bride to whom Elizabeth made such pitiful opposition. "He had one of those erratic wills on the motions of which no one could calculate, and he might at any time be found doing something as far off from the character indicated by his common habits as he could go." His

* As an instance of Mr. Burton's covert unfairness, we may note that when poor imprisoned Mary writes, "My Norfolk," she is blamed; while Elizabeth may say, "If you knew, my Amyas, how kindly my grateful heart accepteth your spotless actions," &c., without a word of comment.

explanatory document is certainly an odd one. "I am knaune, God be praised, not to be very intemperately rash nor conceit in my weightiest affairs, neither use I to be so carried away with passion as I refuse to hear reason." The irony with which he explains his reason for keeping the whole affair secret from his chancellor is delicious. "If I had made him of the counsel thereof, he had been blamed for putting it in my head; . . . and, therefore, remembering what envious and unjust burden he daily bears for leading me by the nose, as it were, to all his appetites, as if I were an unreasonable creature, or a brain that could do nothing of myself, I thought pity then to be the occasion of heaping so much unjust slander upon his head, . . . nor would I be unjustly slandered as an irresolute ass wha can do nothing of himself."

James was no doubt brought up under circumstances the most unfavourable for the formation of character; a puppet king, the prize of contending parties, over-instructed at the same time in all kinds of book-learning, he grew up with one fixed idea—dislike to the whole system, religious and political, which had made his early days so uncomfortable. He is to be pitied as coming in the interval between personal and representative government, a hard place for one of far greater capacity than his; he is to be pitied, too, as having been all along exposed to a series of petty annoyances from the dominant Presbytery, such as would have marred a much more generous nature. Mr. Burton quotes many of these from Calderwood: when he interfered in their debates, the clergy, instead of being amused at the King's pedantry, "used their theological weapons with little remorse, and did their best to inflict signal punishment on the intruder. They would have him submit to discipline, too; and a strange scene is described, under the heading 'The King's Stubbornness under Rebuke,' in which the rebuker, the Rev. Robert Bruce, desired him to 'humble himself upon his knees, and confess his negligence before God, and to keep his promise better nor he did the last he made in that place. The king was so far from humbling himself, that he stood to his own purgation.' . . ."

In 1594 the Kirk gave nobler evidence of its Power by crushing the Popish lords of the north and west. Two of them, Huntly and Errol, renounced their errors, and "made public confession of their defection and apostasy in the marriage-desk before the pulpit in the old church of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen." This was all well; but cruel, indeed, was the treatment of Archbishop Adamson. They excommu-

nicated him, leaving the excommunication to carry with it the civil penalty. Adamson appealed to James, "lay at the king's horn"—an act which gave the King the opportunity of confiscating his revenues; and James, "being like those animals of the baser sort which drive the stricken brother from the herd, 'was so ashamed of him, now infamous, that he cast him off, and disposed his life-rent to the Duke of Lennox.'" Adamson being crushed, "certain clerical detectives" are appointed to attend on the Marquis of Huntly, the Earls of Angus and Errol, Lord Maxwell, and others, "to instruct themselves, to catechise their families, to press them to purge their houses of all evil-livers," and otherwise to act "in a way which, for some men, would be worse than the tortures of the Inquisition." In fact, the zeal of the Kirk was, in great things, too much in the spirit of Jehu, while it was marred by a pettiness of which that self-seeking reformer shows no trace. Here is an instance. The Synod of Fife had somehow received certain passages from the *Basilikon doron*, as if they were the work of an unknown author; "they judged them treasonable, seditious, and wicked, thinking that such things should not be, and directed them to the King." He naturally enough was exceedingly annoyed, and replied by publishing the entire book.

The Gowrie conspiracy (1601), that strange pendant to the Raid of Ruthven, loses, in Mr. Burton's hands, a good deal of its mystery. "Seizing upon or kidnapping a king had, in that day, become almost a constitutional method of effecting a change of ministry in Scotland." The Earl of Gowrie and his brother wished to seize James in order to avenge their father's death, not probably on him (though, as one of them remarked, they owed him no gratitude for their restoration), but on his advisers. Mr. Burton is rich in detail on this intricate matter; and, as he largely quotes the original documents, he makes one of his most picturesque chapters out of a very unpromising subject.

Picturesque in a different way is the account of James's royal progress southwards in 1603. The contrast is well drawn between the Scotch fortress-houses, "everything about them betokening danger and defence, leaving little room or thought for the ornamental or the enjoyable," and "the wide hospitable Tudor architecture with its oriels throwing a flood of light into richly-decorated apartments, testifying to a country where the law had put down private warfare, and rendered each man safe in his own house."

The childish style of pageant introduced in James's reign,

the gormandising which disgraced his banquets, and his inordinate love of hunting, are all characterised by Mr. Burton, and lead him to give a sketch of the new King by contrasting him in his fussy, ungainly ugliness with—

“The repose and self-assurance and natural dignity which enhanced his mother’s beauty. Even in the evil repute that haunted both, there was the antithesis of the sublime and the ridiculous. The charges against the mother were of those great appalling crimes which frighten mankind; yet they had to be sought out under a covering of calm decorum and gentle elegance, such as might become unsullied virtue. Her son, on the other hand, wallowed in filth, moral and physical. His court was the crew of Momus without the seductive cup of Circe The meanness of those about him, his loathsome familiarities with them, his diseased curiosity about the things that rightly-tempered minds only approach at the bidding of necessity and duty, his propensity to touch and stir whatever was rank and offensive, afforded his malignant enemies the range over the whole scale of sensual vices as their armoury.”

This is a fine piece of writing, and it is based on truth. Mr. Burton proves it by quoting the well-known passages from Sir Anthony Weldon about the lolling tongue, the rolling eyes, the doublets quilted stiletto-proof, the weak legs and circular walk, the constant “soaking” of which James was fonder than of the heavy drinking-bouts of his countrymen. He had more, perhaps, than any other king whom the world has seen, the art of destroying his prestige; nay, he succeeded in making himself out worse than the reality—in appearing before men as a vicious fool instead of the shambling lout that he was.

We are glad that Mr. Burton treats with deserved contempt the scandals about Anne of Denmark: he calls them “imputations springing out of that propensity to court gossip and suspicion, whence (sic) no virtue or prudence could, at that time, protect a princess who was both handsome and cheerful, and who set herself to enliven the dreary abode of the companionless old Queen.” If this same measure had been meted out to Mary, how much trouble of many kinds might have been saved! Whatever else James was, he was a good husband, and if we look only to a letter written about the custody of Prince Henry (Vol. VI. 170), we should call him a good father, wise and firm, yet withal generous. About this Prince Henry our author gathers a good many contemporary notes, enough to set us thinking how different things might have been had he, the Protestant champion, succeeded, instead of the puny child whom none of the great ladies would take charge of, “when they did see

how weak a child he was, and not likely to live." The cleverness of the family seems to have centred in the Princess Elizabeth; but her caprice and wilfulness increased instead of mitigating the troubles which beset her husband.

On the Elizabethan system and its results, Mr. Burton makes some very lucid remarks: "She had disciplined the court into thorough subjection and adoration, and he reaped where she had sown; for no man was less fitted to create such a paradise, and no man better suited to enjoy it when it fell to his lot. . . . But though the court submitted to live under an absolute despotism, the public liberties were not disturbed so long as Elizabeth lived." The moment James laid a finger on them the hollowness of the system became apparent to every one except the King. Him, his courtiers sedulously kept in a strange atmosphere of obedience and worship; and he, breathing such an air, naturally deemed himself an absolute monarch; nay, so impressed was he, from the very first, with this feeling, that on his southward progress he sent a warrant to the recorder of Newark-on-Trent to hang a pick-pocket who had been caught playing cut-purse among the crowd, and hanged "the nimming gallant" was accordingly.

The union of the two crowns under one head made very little change in Scotch affairs; it was thoroughly different from that later union which took up to London the great part of the Government business, and, with it, the wealthiest men in the kingdom. Most of the Scotch nobles still lived on their estates, going up every winter to their town-houses in the local capital, of which the fine old mansions of the Kennedies, of Carrick, still to be seen in Maybole, are examples. Of the two chief reproaches against the Scots, who did come southwards,—their dirt and their greediness,—Mr. Burton admits that the first was true, though he enters a protest against "the social creed of the true-born Englishman, that he alone is clean, all the rest of the world being dirty." Not so long before, Erasmus had cried shame upon the filth of these very English, and had connected it with the sweating-sickness as cause and effect. The Scots were rather personally unwholesome than unclean in their ways; and how far race is accountable for their proverbial affliction, is a medical question. The fact is suggestive that the Bergen leper hospital is the fullest in Europe, and that thirteen different forms of that disease are found among its inmates. The other charge, the rapacity of the Scots, our author indignantly repels: "Could there be (he argues) a fitting of accounts between nations, the balance at that time

would have been heavily against England, setting down on the debit side all that had been done for the impoverishment of the Scots from the destruction of their mercantile capital, Berwick, down to Somerset's invasion." Fortunately, Mr. Burton gives up this mode of reckoning, a mode much adopted by Irishmen of the "national" school, and claims that, by the rules of political economy, the immigrant who prospers (and the Scots said their enemies prospered inordinately) is a boon and not a burden to the land in which he settles. Moreover, as one of the most pungent satirists of the time confessed, "It is true that many Scots did get much, but not more with one hand than they spent with the other. . . . But all the Scots in general get scarce a tithe of those English getters that it can be said did stick by them or their posterity;" and he then details a trick whereby "Salisbury used to get the kernel and leave the Scots but the shell, yet cast all the envy upon them," buying up from them the estates which had been granted to them, and leaving their names as grantees upon the books. The Scots at home, as is usual with stay-at-homes, denounced their brethren, stigmatising them as "idle persons of base sort and condition," just as an Irish gentleman accounts for a street-row in Seven Dials by saying, "It's always the worst samples who come to England." Some of these "idle rascals and poor miserable bodies" had the audacity to solicit the King for payment of debts incurred to them by his court when in Scotland, "*of all kinds of importunity the maist unpleasing to his Majesty.*"

James, and he alone, wished to carry an incorporating union between the two countries: the attempt was premature, the old national enmity was still too strong; yet it did good, for "every artist knows the advantage of seeing a half-finished attempt to accomplish the project he is going to begin; and, in this case, difficulties had been started and minutely examined, and then lay over for the events and discussions of a century, either to find how they should be solved, or to remove their causes."

The Hampton Court Conference, "that dwindled mimicry of the great colloquy of Poissy," had a momentous, though indirect, result for Scotland. The very moderate demands of the Millenary party (so called, because its petition was signed by a thousand clergy—not separatists), "who groaned as under a common burden of rites and ceremonies, were 'reforms in the practice of the ecclesiastical courts and in the bestowal of benefices, that the cross in baptism, *interrogatories* to infants, and confirmations—as superfluous—may

be taken away; . . . that examination may go before the communion; . . . that the terms 'priest' and 'absolution' may be corrected; . . . the longsomeness of service abridged; Church songs and music moderated to better edification; that the Lord's Day be not profaned. . . ." Had these very reasonable concessions been made, there is no knowing how the relative position of Church and Dissent throughout these islands might have been modified: anyhow, the victory gained then was the ruin of the Church in Scotland. James's judgment was warped by the adulation of the Churchmen: "No bishop, no king," became his motto; and "I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of this land, or yet do worse," was his threat. No wonder, when one of the lords present "said he was fully persuaded his Majesty spake by the instinct of the Spirit of God;" to which the Archbishop of Canterbury assented; and the Bishop of London, on his knee, protested "that his heart melted within him—so, as he doubted not, did the hearts of the whole congregation—with joy, that God had given them such a king as since Christ's time the like he thought had not been."

Language like this, so pitiable in what Mr. Burton calls its grotesqueness, was paid for by abundance of blood and tears in Scotland; for it led to the persistent attempts of the Stuarts to set up Episcopacy, and these attempts brought about (besides other troubles) the wild protest of Cameronianism, the murder of the apostate Sharp, and all the misery inflicted by Claverhouse.

Though the Scotch bishops were restored in 1606, the Church revenues, even the small portion of them which had remained in the hands of the Crown, could by no means be recovered. There was indeed no great change of constitution in the new act, for (as Mr. Burton says) "we find only one parliament, or at most two, since the Reformation, in which the bishops were not represented in some form or other." The chief thing that King James had to do was to dress up the existing occupants of the sees, most of whom had been quietly working as parish clergymen, in suitable robes, and to arrange the order in which they should ride in state. Follies of this kind, joined to absurd pretensions as to doctrine and discipline, made Episcopacy henceforth impossible in Scotland. Still it is impossible not to feel fresh contempt for the King who first dressed up his bishops and set them in high places, and then left them to fight their way among the scheming, cheating ruffians who either by force or fraud withheld nearly the whole of their revenues from them.

James's sign-manual was as worthless as the I.O.U. of a ruined man. As a matter of course, "it was checked in its way through the public offices, because there were other claimants on the revenues." The Bishop of Galloway loses even the money he spent in organising a choir for Holyrood Chapel; the Bishop of the Isles, who is also "steward and justice of all the north and west isles except Orkney and Shetland," is left to be harried by the wild Macdonalds,—fully deserving, by the way, all he got, because he acted on what Mr. Burton stigmatises as "the fundamental principle of the diplomacy of that day, *that no faith was to be kept with the Celt.*" As for the Bishop of Dumblane, Adam Bellenden, he gets a windfall of a peculiar kind: the King "promised him the making of two serjeants-at-law," the expectants agreeing to give him £1,100 sterling apiece, "and the projector of it a hundred pounds for his pains." Out of this £2,200 he gets £500, the rest being somehow intercepted, to his immense disgust, but according to the usual Court policy of the day. And it was through men like these, squabbling about underhand gains—worldly men, if ever men deserved the epithet—that James hoped to bring Scotland back to Episcopacy. No wonder Calderwood says, "It is an absurd thing to see men sitting in silks and satins, and crying 'poverty, poverty!' in the mean time when purity is departing." Absurd it was, but surely something more; it was pitiable that the religious destinies of a nation should have been in any way affected by such agents and by such a principal.

Sadly connected with this attempt to restore Episcopacy was the hanging (1615) of Ogilvie the Jesuit. James wanted to propitiate the high Presbyterian party, but he managed so clumsily that the remark of their historian Calderwood is: "Some interpreted this execution to have proceeded rather of a care to bless the King's government than of an sincere hatred to the Popish religion. Some deemed that it was done to be a terror to the sincerer sort of the ministers not to decline the King's authority in any cause whatever." James would have gained much more by teasing Ogilvie with minor persecutions on purely theological grounds: instead of this, he sought to probe the prisoner's opinions on the power of the Court of Rome over temporal sovereigns. Was his execution, then, a religious or a political act? On James's part it was the latter; but though the Scotch might not acquiesce in the grounds of his death, they were rejoiced that a Jesuit should die; no sect, then, or, indeed, long after, except the Dutch Baptists, dreamed of practising toleration.

This affair of Ogilvie gives room for one of Mr. Burton's very interesting bits of archæology. It is well that the historian should rise above the level of Dryasdust, but he will not, if he is wise, despise the labours of that much abused individual. From the author of *The Scot Abroad* we expect a great deal of out-of-the-way lore; and the account of the Scotch Romanist literature, after Romanism had become proscribed, is as interesting as the chapter on old Kirk hymn-books. Kennedy of Crossraguel, Hay of Dalgetty, and others wrote books, now extremely rare, which Mr. Burton has unearthed from the Advocates' Library, the British Museum, and private collections. Hay, among his "205 Questions to the New Clergy," asked, "Do Protestants believe that all their ancestors who died before the Reformation of religion were assuredly damned to all eternity, or do they not?" He did not see that he was virtually putting the same question which both Leoghaire, King of Leinster, and Oisin, asked of St. Patrick, and the answer to which confirmed them both in their heathenism. Hay's book, however, was important enough to be translated into French and German; and, contrariwise, the chief Romanist book of devotion at this time was one of the many translations of that written by Peter van Hondt, of Nimeguen, first Provincial of the Jesuits for the Teutonic nations.* Strange it is for those who have not studied the history of religious fanaticism, and in so doing sounded some of the depths of human self-deceit, to find among these devotional writers John Hamilton, the renowned assassin, who was foremost in the murder of the great jurist Barnabé Brissot, and of whom Philip and the Duke of Alva speak as ready for any outrage. One of his hymns "On the true use of the Crucifix," is good in tone as well as in poetry:—

"In passing by the crucifix, adore upon thy knee,
Not it but Christ, whom it presents, with all humility;
For God is He whom it respects: no image God can be.
Adore what thou beholdest in it; take it for memory."

If we dwell long on these minute points rather than on those which usually occupy reviewers, it is because the grand issues of the events of that time belong, not to Scotland, but to the whole Empire, and have been canvassed over and over again in English histories.

* Better known by his Latinised name *Canisius*. Here Mr. Burton makes a slip as unaccountable as some of those pointed out in the *Saturday Review*, and the English Liturgy; he calls Van Hondt a *Walloon* word!

Nobody, for instance, needs much additional light about tulchan bishops, or the rapacity of Scotch improPRIATORS of Church lands, or about Mary and Elizabeth—which vexed question will always be a matter of feeling, Hosack against Froude—or about James's character, though, of course, Mr. Burton hardly agrees with Lord Macaulay that Stuart incapacity brought England down in the course of one reign from the first position in Europe to the rank of a third-rate power. Our author much more fairly points out that the England of Elizabeth was exalted by exceptional circumstances, such as the state of France—circumstances which prevented the Queen's miserable pettiness from doing its full mischief. He also naturally brings out, what English historians usually keep in the background, the immense influence of Scotland in bringing about our Cromwellian revolution. Lord Macaulay, indeed, points out that Charles might have ruled England at his will, that nation of trimmers having quietly settled down and acquiesced in an oppression which did not interfere with material prosperity, had he not, contrary to Strafford's advice, roused the *perfidum ingenium Scotorum* by insisting on carrying out his father's plans about bishops and a service book. But Mr. Burton shows that not only did Scotland kindle the smouldering fire of English discontent, it also wonderfully impressed its own spirit politically as well as religiously on the larger nation. England accepted the Covenant; England was Presbyterian during all the earlier part of the struggle; and, but for the strange unwisdom of the Scots in selling their King, they and the English Presbyterians might very probably have managed to keep down the Independents.

Another point more important to the Scotch than to the English historian is the effect of the union of the crowns in checking Border quarrels, and in promoting internal peace by strengthening the executive. Everyone can picture to himself the wild Scotland of the sixteenth century, with its distinction between town and country folk, and its family feuds as fierce as those of Ireland, from which country it differed only in having a king and some sort of central authority round which all parties gathered in time of danger from abroad. In fact, there was just enough of Roman civil institutions in Scotland to make it a kingdom, while there was plenty of Celtic admixture to make that kingdom a sufficiently unstable one. This Celtic element in the Lowlands, which proved so valuable because it was due to the fierce stubbornness which baffled Charles I., Mr. Burton, as we saw in our

notice of his earlier volumes, very unaccountably ignores. He is far fairer to the Celts than most "Saxon" writers. He allows them to have been in the seventh and eighth centuries the most civilised race on this side of the Alps. He admits that they were all along treated, by Stuart as well as by Tudor statesmen, in a shameful manner; yet he fails to recognise their influence on the Lowlander, making him such a different man from the average Englishman. He does not see that, while a wild man like Angus Oig was brother of the civilised Sir James Macdonald of Islay, the influence of Highland and Lowland on one another was less confined to mere force than he imagines.

His remarks on the Highlands (Ch. LXV.) deserve careful study. The absurd and mischievous caricatures in Lord Macaulay show how easy it is for even an able author to write abject nonsense on this difficult subject. Mr. Burton, on the contrary, weighs his words, and is seldom led by modern prejudices to misrepresent the strange destiny of the Gael. He says of them: "Migrating over from Ireland to plant civilisation and religion among the barbarians of the country to which they were to give a name, they are brought to ruin by the devastation of the Northern marauders. The representative of their line of kings moves eastward, and becomes the sovereign of Lowland Scotland, while the Scandinavian leaders, losing their own language, endeavour to found a state of their own in the lordship of the Isles." This mixture with Norse blood spoils both; "it brings the strength and determination of the stronger to aggravate the wayward, turbulent, and mischievous propensities of the weaker;" and thus the Norseman, after crushing what we have elsewhere called "the egg-shell civilisation" of the Celt, reappears in his worst characteristics in the Irishman of Tipperary and of the Pale.

Whether it be correct to say "the Highlander's nature is to be idle and to feed on the produce of other men's labours," we leave to those who have seen him in Canada, since grouse and deer and sheep have driven him from his valleys far more ruthlessly than did any mediæval raid.

We will only ask, Could he be expected to live as a peaceable citizen so long as the policy was never to keep faith with him, and always to encourage his worst propensities? How did the Highlanders live in the first half of the seventeenth century? The plan whereby the cattle stolen from the Lowlands was sent up far north and exchanged for beasts which the plundered farmers could not identify, was not yet orga-

nised; so the cattle-lifting could only have supported the clans bordering on the Lowlands. For the rest of the Highlanders, Mr. Burton finds profitable employment in Ireland. The old tide of Scotie migration was rolled backward, and "the Scots" are for some time a power in Ireland. They had, indeed, no privilege of Scottish nationality, and are put to death *as mere Celts*, whenever (as at the taking of Rathlin) such treatment suited the English policy; but still the English were not ill-pleased to see them there, and to use them on occasion.

Were the Highlanders at home worse or better off in the old days than they are now? Mr. Burton collects passages from Irish ballads, some of them of the thirteenth century, and therefore written long before it became the fashion to lay Ireland's miseries at the door of "the Saxon," which speak of "seas of corn and lustrous gardens;" while in the Isles, the consumption of wine, limited though it was by Government, proves an amount of riches far beyond anything which the present appearance of the country makes credible.* Our author's explanation is cynical: "War and confusion were useful—keeping the population within its natural limits; . . . war and murder had a wholesome, social tendency, and it is added to the wrongs committed on the Celt that the law and order to which he has been reduced under Saxon rule have driven him to starvation."

On the Highland antipathy to "the sheepskin title," which led to the abortive attempt to "plant" the Isles, Mr. Burton has some good remarks. We are thankful to him for reminding us that, whereas historians are usually content to praise such "plantations" if successful,—to say, for instance, that Ulster, from being the wildest, became the most cultivated province in Ireland,—"the balance between infliction and beneficence has to be struck from data broader than those allowed in such an estimate."

We recommend the whole chapter as more interesting, because far fresher, than such well-worn topics as the squabbles of James and his Presbytery.

That King, low as is the usual estimate of him, showed far more sense than some of his advisers. When the Estates passed the Five Articles, "the only statute on the face of the records of the Scots' Parliament authorising or dictating on matters of religious ceremonial," the great storm of thunder and rain which burst at the moment when the chief commissioner ratified the Act by touch of the sceptre, typified the popular

* In 1616, Maclean of Duart, Macleod of Dunvegan, and Donald Gorm of Sleat, were allowed four Scotch tuns (478 dozen) each yearly.

feeling. Every article was violently opposed, chiefly that enjoining the "Yule vacance." James, indeed, fined William Rigg, a wealthy citizen who had spread opposition pamphlets, so heavily as to ruin him; but he soon after drew back (1624), and showed his estimate of men and things by remarking: "The plain truth is, that I keep Laud back from all places of rule and authority, because I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain, which may even danger the steadfastness of that which is in a good pass." Verily, if James was as infirm of purpose in some great matters as he was childishy stubborn in most small ones, he was, in his view of Church matters, gifted with almost prophetic sagacity.

With Charles we get a steady policy and a fixed purpose in all things, and this policy and purpose are mainly directed in Scotland to the re-establishment, not merely of an exotic episcopate, but of the "Church system" in all its branches, bringing it "a step nearer perfection" than the system established in England.

Charles's first act we cannot but praise; for it was a mere act of justice—the resumption of Church revenues, or rather the "transactions," i.e. the special arrangements for making "*the titulars of the teinds*" disgorge a part of what, in the general scramble, they had seized upon. These lay lords were very hard on those from whom they drew their tithes, and Charles stood forward as the champion of these. Indeed, by enforcing a system of commutation, he relieved Scotland of the difficulty which caused so much ill-feeling through the rest of the Empire quite down to the present generation. He had right on his side; for it was clearly unjust that the man who happened, at the Reformation, to be a holder of Church land should seize it in freehold. It is now-a-days clearly understood that the revenues of suppressed ecclesiastical offices belong to the nation, and they are, therefore, protected by Parliament from appropriation by greedy and powerful men. But this was by no means the case then. The lay impropiators were furious. Sir James Balfour, a courtier, calls the revocation "the ground-stone of all the mischief that followed after, both to this King's Government and family." The chief grantees met in Edinburgh, fully determined "to act in the old Scottish manner, and knock the King's commissioners on the head. . . . Blind Lord Belhaven bid them set him by one of the King's party, and he would make sure of him. So they sat him next to Lord

Dumfries, by whom he held fast all the meeting, saying that he did so for fear of falling, but having a poniard in his hand with which he would have stabbed Dumfries if any disturbance had happened." In spite of this, by persuading the great houses of Hamilton and Lennox to set the example of giving up a part, Charles managed to force something out of all the lay lords. His lawyer, Sir T. Hope, was wonderfully clever, and managed to establish the King's feudal superiority over the whole of the old Church lands; but the sore rankled, and by-and-by, when Charles's folly in other things had alienated public feeling, "the titulars of the teinds" had ample vengeance. Charles's courage, in acting as he did, will be appreciated when we remember that neither in England nor Ireland was Mary able to get back an acre of Church land. Her great lords were willing enough to turn Papists; but they would not give up a particle of their possessions. No doubt the Scotch nobles had been more rapacious than their English brethren; they had seized the tithe as well as the Church land: and this enabled Charles to form a Royalist party of the small landowners and farmers, while the high landed aristocracy was banded with the Ultras against him. His party did not last, because, instead of managing it properly, he disgusted a whole nation by the outrageous measures to which Laud prompted him, and which even the obsequious Heylyn condemned as mischievous. Of the "supplication" against the use of "the whites" (surplice and rochet), to which the Scotch strongly objected as savouring of the worship of Isis, "from which the Israelites had sought refuge in the desert," and of the coarse dictation of Laud, "which would have evidenced a vulgar mind, did we not know that it was a mind so engrossed in its own visions and projects that it was impervious to good taste as it was to discretion," we need say nothing: the subjects are already worn threadbare. Everyone has heard of the Liturgy tumults; though Mr. Burton raises a serious question as to the identity of Janet Geddes, who also figures by name in *Edinburgh's Joys for his Majesty's Coronation in England*, as having burnt her whole stock in trade, chair and stool included, in honour of the Restoration. "Perhaps (our author cynically suggests) she had acquired such a character that any conspicuous or violent act naturally gravitated towards it."

For the rise of that powerful body, "the Tables," and for the history of their growing sympathy with the English opposition, we must refer the reader to the book itself. The same chapter which details this gives the well-known story of how the Covenant began, and how it was first signed in the Grey-

friars' Churchyard, and how in Fife and elsewhere "the devouter sex" sat in church from Friday to Sunday for fear of losing their seats, the result being (as our cynical author remarks) "what we may imagine when a crowd of human creatures betake themselves to a lair unprovided for the abode of civilised beings. At length was reached the much-sought antithesis to the old worship, with its pomp and state and its *perfumed incense*." It is surely unworthy of a historian to contrast the reek of incense with that evolved by a Scotch-woman who had been occupying the same seat for more than thirty mortal hours; and, in his attempt to be funny, Mr. Burton loses sight of the grandeur of the position. Here is a nation rising up almost as one man to say that they will not have the new-fangled forms which a false King has forced on them. They know full well his instructions to Hamilton, "to flatter them so as to win time, until I be ready to suppress them;" yet they stand their ground. Almost all Scotland is with them. Of course the Western Highlands follow Argyle; but not in Argyle's country alone, in Ross, Inverness, &c., the Covenanters found eminent success, "clans among whom there was nothing before but hostility and blood meeting together with hearty praise to God for so happy a union." And we must remember that Edinburgh was then not at all, what Paris has so long been, the intellectual centre of the country. Scotland was so constituted that under a weaker Government several portions of it would have grown up into separate principalities like German grand-duchies and margravates. Of these half-independent communities the most isolated and compact was the Aberdeen district, in which the Popish house of Huntly held sway; and here the Covenant had so little success that the Aberdeeners were condemned as schismatics who must be brought to order. Huntly, a young man who, when his father died two years before, in 1636, was in France commanding a company of gendarmes, stood for the King. The Covenanters threatened that "they knew how to undo him; and bade him expect that they will ruin his family and estates." To this threat he replies, "that his family had risen and stood by the Kings of Scotland; and for his part, if the event proved the ruin of this King, he was resolved to lay his life, honours, and estate under the rubbish of the King his ruins." The Covenanters had Alexander Leslie* and the

* Spalding detractingly writes, "One gentleman of base birth who served long and fortunately in the German wars, and called by the name of Felt-Marschal Lealie." David was his nephew.

troops trained in the Thirty Years' War. Leslie, who had been "causing a great number of our commanders in Germany subscribe our Covenant, and providing much good munition," came over "in a small bark," thus evading a ship of war which was cruising about. Of the value of these troops, Mr. Burton makes a great point; they were, to the other Scots, as Prussians of the Guard to the rawest Mobiles, supposing the latter had only old muskets instead of chassepôts. "The general reader" will be surprised to find Montrose, afterwards the Stuart hero, general of the Covenanting Army, with Leslie for his second. He marches northward, and being joined by the Keiths (under the Earl Marischal) and other clans, so overawes the Gordons that Huntly gives himself up, and is taken to Edinburgh. Huntly's second son, Lord Aboyne, draws first blood by surprising 1,200 Covenanters at Turriff. "The Trot of Turriff," with two killed on one side, and one of the other, was the beginning of the great Civil War.

From the outset the Covenanters carry all before them. "So wretchedly were the royal fortresses apparelled and manned, that the Tables resolved to take them at one sweep out of the hands of the Government." The blind folly of Charles in making war with only ship-money to depend on, may be measured from the fact, that even the expense of entertaining the Queen's mother crippled the treasury, and the war departments were all at starvation point. So Edinburgh and Stirling were taken, and a strangely mixed force began to march to the Border (1639). "It contained more of the aristocratic element than any army since the time of chivalry, going though it was to make war upon the sovereign. 'Our crouners (colonels),' says Baillie, 'for the most part, were noblemen.' It contained, too, Argyle's little group of Highlanders,—an object of wonder, like the French Mamelukes,—men who came from districts as utterly unknown in England as the interior of Africa." Mr. Burton is very proud of this army of 22,000 foot and 1,500 horse; he says it will give some conception of the skill and perseverance of those who raised it to note that, in mere proportion to the number of inhabitants, it was as if a British war minister now-a-days were to send out 600,000 men at one time. How, after the vain "pacification of Berwick," the Scots crossed the Tyne at Newburn, defeated the King, seized Newcastle, and sent commissioners down to treat in London, while England was the theatre of immensely important events, we need not pause to describe. To those who are well-read in the details of the Common-

wealth, Mr. Burton will often seem to be hovering on the edge of history. He feels, as every Scot must, and as Lord Macaulay has made most Englishmen confess, that the existence of the Long Parliament, with all that followed therefrom, was due to the Scotch. Of the connection of that mysterious plot, the "Incident," with the Irish Rebellion of 1641, Mr. Burton leaves it almost impossible to doubt. He, like Mr. Prendergast, in his *Cromwellian Settlement*, believes that the Irish were assured they were acting under the King's commission. He scouts the story put forth by Clarendon, and accepted by Hume and others, that Sir Phelim O'Neil tore off the broad seal from some old patent and fixed it on a forged document, quietly remarking, that "if he did so he was fortunate in getting his order executed by one intimately acquainted with official business." It was the Great Seal of *Scotland* which the insurgents were able to show; and it is possible that, during its transfer from Archbishop Spottiswoode, through Hamilton to Loudon, it may have been tampered with. Whatever we may think of the massacre of 1641, of the cruelties on the other side there is unhappily no doubt. "Celts (says Mr. Burton) were excluded from the courtesies of civilised warfare; and Sir James Turner, well-seasoned to ferocity in the Thirty Years' War, had carried away from that ordeal enough of human feeling to shudder at the work in which he was expected to bear a hand in Ireland." His account of the taking of Newry, quoted by our author, is as bad as any thing that their worst calumniators attribute to Sir Phelim and his party.

Montrose, jealous of Argyle, had been moving towards the King's side since the Incident: his plan of recalling, by a diversion in the Highlands, the Earl of Leven's army, which was turning the balance against the King, was adopted just when it had become too late. Raising the royal standard at Blair Athol, Montrose marched, "in coat and trews, as the Irishes (Highlanders) was clad," on Perth. Having the good sense to allow "the Highland rush" to do its work, he routs Lord Elcho at Tubbermuir, marches in mid-winter over mountains on which tourists sometimes die of cold in summer, and comes upon Argyle on Loch Linnhe, and then, after beating Urry, first at Alford, and then at Kilsyth, allows himself to be miserably surprised at Philiphaugh. "Perhaps no military career (says Mr. Burton) has ever had a literary commemoration so disproportioned to its length and fruitfulness." Wishart has, certainly, made the world in general forget that Montrose began as a Covenanter, and that he was the betrayer of Huntly.

All this while the Westminster Assembly was sitting, not very profitably, if this from Baillie's letters is a fair sample of their debates:—"We were next settling on the manner of the prayer—if it were good to have two prayers before sermon, or but one; if in that first prayer it were meet to take in the King, Church, and sick, as they do, or leave those to the last prayer, as we. While we were sweetly debating on these things, in came Mr. Goodwin, who incontinent essayed to turn all upside down, to reason against all directions, and our very first grounds; also, that all prefacing was unlawful." Mr. Goodwin is one of the Independents, who "increase marvellously"—so marvellously that they soon carry almost all England with them, and make futile, as far as its acceptance south of Tweed is concerned, the elaborate array of Catechisms, Confessions of Faith, and Psalter, which the Westminster divines put forth.

Then comes the King's surrender to Leven, and the subsequent handing over to the Parliament. Mr. Burton is very anxious to clear his countrymen from the charge of "selling their King." Their King should not have gone to them, for they were older and steadier enemies than the English; and instead of their after-conduct at Preston and Worcester showing that, Judas-like, being overtaken with remorse, they committed suicide, it proves that had Charles consented to be a Presbyterian king over a Presbyterian people, they would have fought for him instead of "selling" him.

His execution the Scots looked on as rather a fortunate event; without any trouble to them, the English regicides disposed of a King so obstinate and so scheming that there was no dealing with him, and way was made for an unsophisticated youth who might be trained in the right path. There were no republicans in Scotland; but though the Scots had only wished to bring their King to reason, they could not help rejoicing that the stumbling-block to their Covenant should be removed by the hands of English sectaries and latitudinarians.

How Charles II. became "a Covenanted King," and how Cromwell and Leslie measured swords at Dunbar, are too well known to need repetition. Mr. Burton does not believe in the threadbare charge against the Scotch preachers, that they ordered Leslie to move down from the Hill of Doon, "seeing that the Lord had delivered Agag into their hands." If Leslie's own words (in a letter to Argyle, copied from the Lothian papers) are to be believed, he marched down of

set purpose. "I take God to witness (he writes) we might have as easily beaten them as we did James Graham at Philiphaugh, if the officers had stayed with their troops and regiments." The way in which clerical interference told was doubtless in weakening the sense of obedience and discipline. After the battle came the inquiry into the "causes of wrath" which had led the Lord to deal so with them. Walker says, "The ministers told Almighty God it was but little to them to lose their lives and estates, but to Him it was a great loss to suffer His elect and chosen to be destroyed." Our author, in his usual tone, observes that the report on the Lord's dealings at Dunbar resembles the report on a railway accident: it had been caused by neglect of the proper precautions, the admission of Engagers, a coquetting with hyper-Brownism, &c. With the closing of the General Assembly (1653), Scottish history ends till the Restoration; it is wholly merged in that of England, which country also (as Mr. Burton remarks) has very little history, except abroad. There Cromwell was well served by Scots: Sir W. Lockhart, for instance, braved Richelieu, and forced France into an unchivalrous alliance with the Protector, and, further, took Dunkirk out of the hands of both France and Spain.

Before dealing with the Restoration, Mr. Burton has another of his specially interesting chapters on social progress. The century between 1560 and 1660 saw the decay of Latin and the rise of vernacular literature. Drummond of Hawthornden and Sir Robert Aytoun are well-known names: less famous is Alexander Hume, whose "Day estival," despite the pedantry of the title, is quite Wordsworthian in its simple beauty.

" All trees and simples, great and small,
That balmy leaf do bear,
Nor they were painted on a wall
No more they move or stir."

This is a verse which, like many in the poem, is singularly free from the trammels which still hampered most of the art of that day. But these writers contributed to "the literature of the library:" of the ballads, such as the exquisite "Waly, waly," the authors are not known; and yet it is for her ballad poetry that Scotland is chiefly famous. Of songs there was not the same abundance as in later Jacobite days: "Blue Bonnets over the Border," a pæan on Leslie's march to Newcastle, is almost the only battle-song on the winning side. The social songs have been altered by many hands: Burns improved many; thus, one about a drunken lassie—

" Blithe, blithe, blithe was she,
Blithe was she butt and ben ;
An' weel she lo'ed a Hawick gill,
An' leugh to see a tappit hen " *—

becomes in his hands—

" Blithe, blithe and merry was she,
Blithe was she butt and ben ;
Blithe by the banks of Earn,
But blither in Glenturrit glen."

Burns, on the other hand, does not always beautify what he touches. Thus Sir Robert Aytoun's lovely lines—

" I do confess thou'rt smooth and fair,
And I might have gone near to love thee "—

are altered to

" I do confess thou art so fair
I wad been o'er the lugs in love."

On the subject of Scottish music, and the value of the Skene MS. (1568) in upsetting the notion that it was introduced by Rizzio, Mr. Burton has some interesting remarks. He also speaks triumphantly of Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms, to visit whom the astronomer Henry Briggs made a pilgrimage to Edinburgh, and said of that great invention, what has so often been said of other great inventions, " I wonder why nobody else found it out before, when now being known it appears so easy." Less known are Gregory the optician, and Dalgarno, who set Bishop Wilkins speculating about universal grammar, and anticipated the Abbé Sicard in his plan for teaching the deaf and dumb. For Jameson, the one Scotch painter of the period (circ. 1620), Mr. Burton claims renown on the ground that, till Dobson came out, a little later, England had no artist so good. In architecture, Archbishop Spottiswoode was willing enough to work on the old models ; but the remains of his work show that the artist's hand had lost its cunning ; it is but carpenter's Gothic, worse than that which James and Land had set up at Oxford and elsewhere.

Sir W. Brereton's *Northern Memoirs* (1634) give many curious notes of the then state of Scotland. Of Glasgow he says : " The very prospect of this flourishing city reminds me of the beautiful fabrics and the florid fields of England. . . The people were neatly dressed, and such an exact decorum in every society represents it, to my apprehension, an emblem

* Three quarts of claret.

of England, though in some measure under a deeper die." The small Ayrshire towns he finds pleasant and comfortable, full of French culture, and well furnished with French products.

On witchcraft, pre-eminently a Scotch superstition, Mr. Burton has some curious notes. When the laws against it were repealed, in 1736, the Kirk appealed against the repeal as contrary to the express laws of God. "Demoniacal possession (our author remarks) served the purpose of indulgence, and enabled those who with a small morsel of religion had a large share of wickedness, to get the plenary remission without payment. Thus when John Kells, a minister of the most rigid class, murdered his wife, he said he had no motive but the continual suggestions of the Evil One. This setting the powers of good and evil in two opposite armies, ranged in material hostility against each other, had a terrible and brutalising effect on the polemical and superstitious passions." Yet surely Mr. Burton must confess that it is the scriptural method of dealing with the mystery of evil.

But we must hasten on. Few are aware that the news of the Restoration was received in Edinburgh with a sort of delirious joy. The pageant presented on the occasion exceeds any display which was made in the south of the island. Charles had a grand opportunity; but by his dealings with James Sharp, and his determination to carry out the Church-system, he lost it miserably. Sharp's treachery comes out most strikingly in Mr. Burton's pages. He was sent to London, in February 1660, to "use his utmost endeavours that the Kirk may, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and privileges of her established judicatories ratified by the laws of the land." He came back to Scotland Primate and Archbishop of St. Andrew's, pledged to do the work of those with whom the bargain seems to have been struck as soon as he had arrived in Breda. His comrades were naturally disgusted. Robert Douglas, for instance, Queen Mary's reputed grandson, writes: "I profess I did no more suspect him in reference to prelacy than I did myself." As we read Mr. Burton, we cease to wonder at the intense hatred with which he was followed, and at the exultation with which his murderers set about their work. The wonder is that the Royalist reaction, as it is called, should have so far altered things in Scotland as to have made it necessary to go to work by way of assassination and petty local insurrection, instead of reorganising "the Tables," and sweeping away at one stroke the whole of the King's enactments.

As it was, as Mr. Burton remarks (Vol. VII. p. 477), "in many features it will be apparent that the troubles of this period ranked in heroic dignity far below those of the original Covenant." Pettiness is stamped on those who resist as well as on those who attempt to enforce the new ritual. Sharp, traitor as he is, is almost the only grand character on the scene. His enemies accuse him of being in league with the Evil One. His servant, despatched to St. Andrew's for some papers, leaves him at Edinburgh, finds him at St. Andrew's; and when he gets back to Edinburgh, sees him just where he was, and has the assurance of those about that he had never stirred from the council-room. He is capable of what Burnet calls "a show of devotion." When he is shot at in the High Street, he exclaims, "My times are in Thy hands, O Lord." Sharp, however, never forgot the face of the man who had fired at him; and one of the worst things he ever did was to promise the poor wretch safety of life and limb if he confessed, and then to declare to the King's Commissioner and the Council that "no assurance of life was given to him or any sought by him."

After the assassination of Sharp comes Loudon Hill, or Drumclog, where Claverhouse fought his first battle against the Western Covenanters (1679), and was defeated, and for a time it seemed as if the rising might have spread like that of Cavalier and the Camisards in Provence. But soon came Bothwell Bridge, where Monmouth and the King's troops gained a decisive victory, 1,200 prisoners being taken; and, despite the energy of Cameron, who "published his testimony" in Sanquhar, the cause drooped. Cameron was killed on Aird's Moss, Cargill and Hackston were taken and executed, and Claverhouse conducted a most successful dragonnade.

With regard to the well-known case of the Wigton martyrs, Mr. Burton remarks that this struggle was throughout less grand and far more bitter than that against Charles I. "because the enemies confronting each other were not two nations but two opposite parties of the same nation, each hating the other with a hatred stronger than the hatred of national animosity." Scotland before had been in the main united; the Stuarts had since managed to secure a considerable party of devoted friends, and therefore the country was, much as France is now, split into hostile camps. The well-known case of the Wigton martyrs was possible, "not so much because the Government with its own hand acted the executioner, as because it let loose the spirit of hatred and tyranny in the districts where it grew out of local conflict."

With James's accession the Covenanters took heart again. The Estates met ; and while publishing an act against conventicles, they made a strong protest against Popery. But even James's "indulgences," being granted "by our sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power," seemed to the Scots the deed of an arbitrary ruler, and such a ruler they did not mean to brook. The Covenanters "owned that God had made the King an instrument of showing them some favour ; but since they were convinced that what favour was shown them was only with a design to ruin the Protestant religion, they would meddle no more with him." And so James is left to his fate, and our author drops the curtain on the abdication, handing us over to Lord Macaulay to learn how Scotland co-operated with England in the construction of the Revolution settlement.

And thus is brought to a close a history well worthy of the author's reputation, and full of valuable information on points not usually touched on by the historian.

ART. V.—*An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., of the Oratory. Third Edition. Burns, Oates, & Co. 1870.

IN his *Apologia*, Father Newman gave a history of the changes and developments by which his views have been brought to what they are; in this Essay he expounds the sort of philosophy which underlies his theological views, and indicates the principles on which he would defend his faith as a Christian and as a Catholic. The *Apologia* was, in its main scope, a vindication of his honesty, and an exhibition of the progress of his opinions; the present work is a vindication of his principles in themselves, philosophically regarded, and is evidently designed to show the basis on which a Catholic philosopher—a modern empiric in his philosophy—may safely rest in his embrace of the doctrines and authority of that Church which claims infallibility and indefectible inspiration as its attributes. This is the veteran's latest, and it must be regarded as his most mature and elaborate contribution to Christian philosophy. Here we have what Newman has to say on the great controversy of the day respecting the mutual limits of faith and philosophy, and their respective claims and authority. Such a work demands grave and deliberate attention. It is the measure of what trained and subtle intellect can do to harmonise the faith of the Western Catholic Church with the principles of truth in philosophy, and the conditions of progress in human thought.

Our own judgment on this remarkable book may be summed up in few and familiar words: "What is true in it is not new, and what is new is not true." Much of what is true in it, however, is expressed with great felicity of statement and illustration; at the same time much of what is new and not true is, to a trained metaphysician, or a true logician, repulsively paradoxical. Moreover, in the neighbourhood of the paradoxical vein of writing, there is commonly an amount of confusion which, in the case of an author whose writing is often so luminous, is very extraordinary.

So far as this volume is metaphysical, it teaches a system of empiricism, experience being the only basis of certitude,

and certitude itself being only personal and relative, altogether, and merely subjective. Apart from such relative certitude, Dr. Newman teaches, no man can have any assurance as to fact or truth; and his assurance only approximately represents the fixed and real truth itself.* Assurance, accordingly, is only and altogether personal. If I have myself a personal assurance, an absolute conscious persuasion or conviction, as to all matters which I regard as of primary concern and supreme moment, it is well for me and my tranquillity and consistency of life. But if it is not so,—if I can by my own thoughts and efforts gain no personal assurance,—I can only resort to the personal assurance and authority of some one else, in whose character I have confidence, whose guidance I am prepared to accept, whose own personal assurance I can trust to instead of my own. If I have faith in such another,—if I can accept him as my guide and adequate authority, as a young child trusts its wise and faithful parent,—then I become thus vicariously settled and assured myself. But only in such wise is peace and assurance to be obtained by man.

It is evident that such views as these assort perfectly with the position of one who intellectually opens himself to the suggestions of a profound and universal scepticism, and holding no philosophical principles of realistic assurance and stability, has fled for refuge from his own doubts and difficulties to the authority of a Church which claims to be supernaturally infallible; that they well agree, likewise, with the genius and general scope of a pastoral theology which teaches all the faithful to resort to the priest, and reverently to accept his personal instruction and authority, as an adequate and rightful solution of the perplexities which beset them, as to faith and practice, in their journey through life. It is in strict harmony with the specific principles of Roman Catholicism that no independent principles of authority, or intuitions of common sense, or ground of intellectual certainty, should be left for human reason to build upon.

The whole volume may be said to be concerned with the subject of assent, its nature and genesis. In the First Part, Dr. Newman deals, to use his own distinction, with the relation of Assent to Apprehension; in the Second, with the relation between Assent and the processes of Inference.†

What all thinkers have been hitherto agreed upon is, that

* The assurance is, at best, only the reflection of the truth itself on to the oblique plane of personal consciousness.

† P. 379.

when assent is not given to a self-evident truth, it is the sequel to an inference, consciously or unconsciously made, and that it follows involuntarily and immediately, not seldom unconsciously at the time, upon the definite formation and assimilation by the mind of the inference on which it depends. The inference need not be the result of any syllogism distinctly presented to the mind; it may be the result of a process of induction perhaps unconsciously performed; it may be generated in various ways, it may be the result of very complex combinations of thought and reasoning, logical or inductive, and of protracted and manifold lines of experience and observation; but, however generated, when an inference is actually made and settled, assent cannot but follow. Assent, indeed, is but the echo, or at most the formal utterance of inference; it is the acceptance of a demonstrated conclusion, which thenceforth is felt to be a settled thing, and, as such, is stored up in the mind—in *alta mente repositum*. A thousand such assents have passed into the common stock of our convictions, as to the history and genesis of which—by what steps they grew into form and fixture, how we came by them—we know nothing. The subtle processes of our unlaboured, not seldom our unconscious, reasonings and divinations, have left no trace on the memory, no footprints by which to track the converging intimations and reasons which have gathered together and conspired to fix the final inference and conclusion securely in the inmost sphere of the mind's immovable certitudes. It has been commonly admitted, moreover, that in many instances our final absolute assents and assurances have grown by insensible gradations into what they are; that what began as a presumption, or as a kind of guess or divination, or as a possibility, has grown into a probability, and the probability has brightened, deepened, developed, into a certainty. It has been felt, too, that this certainty in many cases is much more than a very high degree of probability, that there has not merely been an accumulation of presumptions, but that a complex system of concurrences and coincidences has been brought into view, such as amount to absolute demonstration. As a consequence, distinctions as to the nature and degree of assent have been universally accepted, and have been graduated and proportioned to the nature of the evidence and of the inference to which the assent is given. Probabilities have commanded an appropriate assent; demonstrations have commanded an absolute assent. On certain evidence I assent to an inference as

probable; on adequate evidence I assent to a conclusion as certain.

From all this, however, Dr. Newman dissents. According to him, there can be no assent but what is absolute; and a revised and deliberate assent implies settled and indefectible certitude. According to him, moreover, assent is separable, not only in logical definition, but in truth and reality, from evidence, and argument, and inference. To infer is one thing, to assent is altogether an independent and substantive act of the mind; and we may either assent upon evidence and inference, or, by a conscious and voluntary act, we may assent without proof, or inference, or argument. In this, also, as in the points to which we have before referred, it is not difficult to see how the experience of the sceptical and subtle speculator, who has done violence to his speculative intellect in wilfully accepting the dogmatic bondage of the Church which he has joined, has caused a dislocating jar in the structure of his philosophy.

Whilst, however, divorcing assent from inference, and denying its dependence on evidence and argument, Dr. Newman endeavours to heal the breach of continuity in his philosophical system by bringing into large prominence a faculty which he designates the *Illative Sense*. That we have an illative power, or faculty, to which syllogistic proof, mathematical reasoning, the sense of what is called moral probability, and the inductive processes of our mind, stand all in relation, we have no doubt, and many excellent and felicitous observations are undeniably made by Dr. Newman on this subject; but it is certain that he has made no discovery of a new faculty. He has but classed together the various processes of reasoning under one general name. Meanwhile his exposition on this subject is disfigured by fatal fallacies. He assumes throughout that the conclusions arrived at by our illative faculty, as distinguished from the processes of logic and mathematics, can never rise beyond a high degree of probability, although they produce in us in many cases a feeling of absolute assurance. He assumes that there underlie these illative processes and conclusions no principles of sure reasoning, capable of being analysed, defined, or tested; we feel sure, but can never give evidence to any others that we have a right to be sure. He maintains that although our persuasion may be absolute, our certitude can only be personal, and that we can in no way or instance be sure that we have attained to objective truth and certainty. And he insists that the assent which is generated within us by the

processes of our illative faculty is a distinct, a conscious, a decisive act.

Having thus indicated the general scope of the volume, and the nature of the fallacies which pervade it, we will now glance, in a more detailed way of criticism, at some of the positions which it contains, beginning with the First Part of the Essay, which is more crowded with grating fallacies than, so far as we remember, any equal number of pages from the pen of an author of eminent ability.

Dr. Newman's Part I. relates to Assent and Apprehension ; and his first chapter treats of the modes of holding and apprehending propositions. Here his strange idea, as to the essential independence of assertion or assent on inference or condition, comes at once prominently into view. "A question," he says, "may become a conclusion, and be changed into an assertion ; but it has, of course, ceased to be a question, so far forth as it has become a conclusion, and has ceased to be a conclusion so far forth as it has become an assertion. . . . An assertion has got beyond being a mere conclusion, though it is the natural issue of a conclusion."* Now, to this statement we must altogether object, because, if an assertion is not an axiom, it must always be understood to be a conclusion. Formally it may not be, but virtually it must be. Dr. Newman goes on to say, that "if we rest our affirmation on argument, this shows that we are not asserting ; and when we assert, we do not argue." Nothing can be more curiously and, at the same time, ingloriously fallacious than this sort of distinction, which cannot claim the credit of being plausible or even ingenious. For, in fact, reasonable men affirm, for the most part, on the strength either of testimony, or consciousness, or argument. The strength of their argument sustains the weight of their assertion. So mistaken and perverse is the statement which follows—viz. that "assertion dispenses with, discards, ignores, antecedents of any kind," and "carries with it the pretension of being a personal act." As Dr. Newman leads us farther into his labyrinth of distinctions and explanations, the confusion becomes worse, and evident contradictions begin to thicken around us. "A conclusion," he says, "is the expression of an act of inference ; and an assertion is the expression of an act of assent."† As if assertion and assent were equivalent terms. I assent to what another says or concludes. I assert out of the strength and fulness of my own knowledge or personal

conviction. But, again, the sentence we have last quoted is intended to place in distinction and contrast to each other—*assertion* and *conclusion*, and *inference* and *assent*. Of the fallacious distinction intended by the former contrast, we have already spoken; the distinction and contrast here laid down between *inference* and *assent* are equally unreal and misleading. "A conclusion," we are taught, "is the expression of an act of inference." Assent, we are to believe, is an act altogether distinct and apart from inference or conclusion. But to what do we assent but an inference or a conclusion, unless it be a matter of testimony or of intuitive certainty?

On the page following Dr. Newman has a passage which, if perverse, is at least suggestive. We must quote his words:—

"These three modes of entertaining propositions—doubting them, inferring them, assenting to them—are so distinct in their action, that when they are severally carried out into the intellectual habits of an individual, they become the principles and notes of three distinct states or characters of mind. For instance, in the case of revealed religion, according as one or other of these is paramount within him, a man is a sceptic as regards it; or a philosopher, thinking it more or less probable considered as a conclusion of reason; or he has an unhesitating faith in it, and is recognised as a believer." —P. 4.

Here we see what comes of making a radical separation between inference and assent. It leads directly to the severance of faith from reason, of philosophy from religion. The Apostle inculcated upon his converts that they should be ready "to give a reason of the hope that was in them, with meekness and fear." But Dr. Newman here teaches not only that a man *may* be a believer of unhesitating faith, who knows nothing of Christian evidence, of the reasons of his faith, and never regards his religious faith as sustained by the "conclusions of reason," but that such a "man of unhesitating faith" is the purest and truest type, the very ideal, of "a believer." As if true philosophy and true religion were not in harmony with each other; as if the highest reason did not blend and unite with a genuine and real Christian faith; as if no philosopher accepted Revelation, on the grounds of reason, as being much more than highly probable, as absolutely certain; and as if philosophy incapacitated for faith; as if grounds of reason did not form part of the true and only stable support for the believer's "unhesitating faith;" as if, in a word, reason had never lighted the way to faith, and reason and faith could never coalesce in the heart of the

enlightened but humble Christian into an absolute unity of solemn conviction and reverent trust.

Such an opening chapter of the Essay is ominous of what is to be its colour and general strain throughout. But it must be remembered that on this subject of reason and faith, Dr. Newman has always been, what *we* must call, a heretic. In his sermons long years ago he taught that faith and reason were so far in opposition to each other, as that the man who believed the most upon the least evidence or ground of mere reason was the man of the greatest faith, so that to believe all that the Church teaches, absolutely apart from all reason or evidence, is the perfection of faith.

This paradox, monstrous as it is, is much more plausible than the glaring fallacies which give character to his present volume. Doubtless, the Christian is called upon to believe matters which it is difficult for his understanding to accept—difficult at first to harmonise with the requirements of our reason. But the like may be said as to what the pupil, in the school of science or philosophy, is required to accept. Many things are taught by science and philosophy which, to the plain man, and at first sight, appear to be unreasonable, even contradictory and impossible. The faith of the Christian embraces the revelation of God, because it is God's revelation. Here is its virtue and essence; here also is its reason and reasonableness. It means trust in the character and authority of one, whether God or God's servant and messenger, whose supernatural credentials are duly certified to reason. Reason judges of the credentials, of the evidence; candour and humility are demanded of reason in judging; but these qualities are, in themselves, most reasonable; are, in fact, included in the idea of true and pure reason. Faith, in the Christian sense, is never mere belief, mere "assent," with or without reason, on the sole basis of unquestioned and uncertified authority. Nor does it stand related to a certain *quantum* of definition and of doctrine. It is a reverent, humble, trustful, temper of mind and heart, the object of which is the Divine truth, goodness, and almightiness. There may be more of dogmatic belief, and, along with it, less true faith, or more of true faith, even though there be less dogmatic belief.

It is, of course, impossible for Dr. Newman to keep up throughout his Essay the intolerable separation between inference and assent which we have set forth in his own words. In one place he thus explains his views: "An act of assent, first, is, in itself, the absolute acceptance of a proposition

without any condition ; and next, it presupposes, in order to its being made, the condition, not only of some previous inference in favour of the proposition, but especially of some concomitant apprehension of its terms."* What is this but to say that assent is, first, unconditional, and next conditional? As near as we can make out, however, what Dr. Newman means to say is something like this. We are brought by argument and inference to assent ; but, having assented, we cut ourselves away from the argument and inference, and are thenceforth independent of it. We climb by the ladder of argument to the position which we intend to hold, and then, dismissing the ladder from beneath us, we hold ourselves aloft in the pure ether of faith and truth by sheer force of self-determination and unflinching faith. We do not even feel firm footing under us ; we have no need to feel it ; we stand now related to no ground of faith ; our assent is unconditional ; we rest on wings, soaring or staying as we list. By an act of assent, a self-determinate, unconditional act, we have attained to certitude—"quietness and assurance for ever."

Not less remarkable than his views respecting inference and assent are Dr. Newman's lessons on the mutual relations of apprehension and assent. Dr. Newman distinguishes between assent, which is independent of any true apprehension, either real or notional, and what he calls apprehensive assent. This distinction is worthy of a philosophy which can cut off assent from argument and inference, and we shall need to recur to it very soon. Apprehensive assent he further distinguishes—justly no doubt, although his distinction is obscured by his manner of stating and explaining it—between notionally apprehensive and really apprehensive assent. He greatly mystifies, whilst he greatly labours, the subject of real apprehension, as distinguished from notional apprehension, as he afterwards mystifies in like manner the distinction between notional and real assent. But it is evident that what he means by the real apprehension of a proposition is such an apprehension as, by the power of imagination, and under the inspiration of a living sympathy, transmutes the abstract notion into a vivid reality before the mind's eye, just as, in a following chapter, his distinction between notional and real assent evidently amounts to this, that real assent is a notional assent quickened by sympathy and lighted and coloured by imagination. If Dr. Newman had only recognised the power

of sympathy and the faculty of imagination as coefficient factors with the power of abstraction in the mental acts or states of apprehension and assent, he would have written much more simply and clearly on the subjects which have engaged his attention in this volume. Our present point, however, is that Dr. Newman has increased and complicated the tangle of fallacies in this volume by his manner of explaining the relations between apprehension and assent, and especially by what he teaches as to inapprehensive assent.

His paradoxes in the chapter on "Assent considered as Apprehensive" begin from the beginning of the chapter. "We can assert without assenting; assent is more than assertion just by this much, that it is accompanied by some apprehension of the matter asserted."* That is to say, we may, we may properly, in some cases—for this is evidently what Dr. Newman's statement must be taken to mean, if it means anything serious and real at all—we may assert without any apprehension whatever of the matter asserted! And all that distinguishes assent from mere assertion, is that in assenting we apprehend as well as assert! As if we could (really) assert a proposition to which we do not assent; as if it were conceivable that any man could really assert that as to the meaning of which he has not even a glimmer of apprehension; as if assent did not imply acceptance of a proposition set forth to us by another. The distinction between assertion and assent is not that the former may be made utterly without apprehension or intelligence, whereas the latter implies some apprehension of a proposition; it is that assertion sets forth a proposition as of one's own knowledge or conviction, whereas assent (*ad-sensus*) accepts it as from another.

But the passage on which we are about to offer some remarks shows that, in reality, our Catholic metaphysician and divine teaches, not only that men may assert, independently of intelligence or apprehension, but also that we may assent without any apprehension of the proposition to which we assent.

He teaches that "to apprehend the predicate of a proposition" is all that is necessary in order to "assent" to "apprehensive assent." "The subject itself need not be apprehended *per se* in order to a genuine assent." In the proposition, for example, "Trade is the interchange of goods," "trade," he says, "need not be known as a condition of

assent to the proposition." The predicate, "interchange of goods," makes it known. Further, our subtle analyst proceeds as follows :—

"If a child asks, 'What is lucern?' and is answered, 'Lucern is *medicago sativa*, of the class *Diadelphia* and order *Decandria*;' and henceforth says obediently, 'Lucern is *medicago sativa*,' &c., he makes no act of assent, but speaks like a parrot. But if he is told 'Lucern is food for cattle,' and is shown cows grazing in a meadow, then, though he never saw lucern, he is in a position to make as genuine an assent to the proposition, *on the word of his informant*, as if he knew ever so much about lucern."

Still further, Dr. Newman proceeds to affirm that indirectly a child can give an assent to a proposition, although he may have no knowledge either of the subject or the predicate. He can only *assert*, indeed, that "Lucern is *medicago sativa*," but, in faith on his mother's word, he can *assent* to the proposition "That lucern is *medicago sativa* is true."

The sum, as to the case of the child, its mother, and the lucern, is that, as regards the three propositions, "Lucern is food for cattle," "That lucern is *medicago sativa* is true," and "My mother's word, that lucern is *medicago sativa*, and that it is food for cattle, is the truth," there is for each one of the propositions on the part of the child "one and the same absolute adhesion of mind to the proposition; he assents to the apprehensible proposition, to the truth of the inapprehensible, and to the veracity of his mother in her assertion of the inapprehensible."*

Now in this passage the first and most fundamental fallacy to be noted is one which relates to the nature of assent. Assent either, to use Dr. Newman's own words, "presupposes" argument and "inference," or it is given to a self-evident proposition, or else it is yielded to an infallible authority. It must be remembered that *assent* is not, in the sense in which Dr. Newman uses the word, yielded to a merely probable conclusion; assent, in Dr. Newman's sense, implies full conviction, absolute assurance. Now no mere authority can command or convey such conviction and assurance in regard to a proposition itself entirely destitute of evidence, except a really infallible authority. No absolute assent, therefore, can be given to a proposition on mere authority, unless we know that such authority is infallible, and its utterances unfailingly true. Bearing this in mind, let us look at the passage of which we have given an abstract.

"I apprehend a proposition, when I apprehend its predicate. The subject itself need not be apprehended *per se* in order to a genuine assent." The first sentence here is true; the second could only be true if no more were needed in "order to a 'genuine assent' than in order to apprehension." "Trade is the interchange of goods:" trade need not be known as a condition of assent to the proposition, except so far as the account of it which is given in answer, "the interchange of goods," makes it known; and that must be apprehended in order to make it known." Now in order to *apprehend* the proposition, it is evident that one only needs to know the predicate: the information is then understood which the proposition is intended to convey; the meaning of the assertion made is clear. But in order to my giving a real *assent* to the proposition, to my consenting intelligently to the statement, to my being able to confirm it out of my own knowledge, I must myself know what *trade* is. When a man who knows by experience what *trade* is hears another say, "Trade is the interchange of goods," he *assents* with a full assurance to the proposition, he *knows* it to be true. Whereas, one who knows nothing beforehand as to the meaning of the word *trade* can at most only accept the proposition as probable on the faith of his informant. But such acceptance as probable Dr. Newman refuses to call *assent*. It is the cardinal principle of his book throughout that "assent" is "absolute" and "unconditional," not yielded to probabilities, as such, but only to what we feel to be immovable and indubitable certainties.

It follows from similar considerations that no person, whether man or child, can make a "*genuine assent*" to the proposition "Lucern is food for cattle," on the mere word of his informant, whoever that informant may be.

We need hardly add—and yet our remarks will not be complete unless we add—that no child can intelligently, therefore that no child can really, even "assert" that "*lucern is medicago sativa*," who is absolutely without ideas both as to *lucern* and *medicago sativa*; and furthermore, that no child can really *assent* to the proposition, "that *lucern is medicago sativa* is true," who has no knowledge whatever of the subject, and to whom the predicate conveys no other idea than that the subject is a proposition affirmed by his mother to be true. Mere jargon, of the meaning of which a child has no apprehension, can never be in any sense accepted by him with a "*genuine assent*." Nor can even a mother's word to a child, the word of any mother, be regarded as a guarantee for the

absolute truth of whatever assertion she may make, however unintelligible that assertion may be, a guarantee so sure and infallible that it is equivalent to the child's own conscious and intuitive knowledge, or to absolute demonstration, or to the infallible authority of God.

The child, then, does *not* "assent to the apprehensible proposition," that "lucern is food for cattle," although he does apprehend it, and, on the faith of his mother's word, believe it; he does *not* assent to the truth of the inapprehensible proposition, that "lucern is *medicago sativa*," although, in implicit faith, he might have no doubt that, as his mother affirmed this unintelligible something, it expressed some truth; and, although he is fully persuaded of his mother's veracity, he certainly yields no "genuine assent," in any true or intelligible sense of the words, to "her veracity in her assertion of the inapprehensible."

But amidst such lamentable paradox and confusion as we have now been examining, it is evident enough that there is a "method in the madness" of this subtle, perverse, accomplished, sincere, self-deluding metaphysician and casuist. Rome demands of all her children the same dogmatic faith; and as few, perhaps none, do or could yield this faith throughout all its integrity and in all its articles consciously, intelligently, and explicitly, it is needful to bring in the doctrine of implicit faith, and to construe implicit faith as equivalent to explicit and absolute assent and consent. Hence the jargon here about *lucern* and *medicago sativa*, and elsewhere about $x = y$; hence the child's implicit faith in its mother is wrested into "genuine assent" and "absolute adhesion."

The application of pp. 10—15 is found at pp. 144—147.

"Such," says our divine, "is theology in contrast to religion; and, as follows from the circumstances of its formation, though some of its statements easily find equivalents in the language of devotion, the greater number of them are more or less unintelligible to the ordinary Catholic, as law-books to the private citizen. And especially those portions of theology which are the indirect creation, not of orthodox but of heretical thought, such as the repudiations of error contained in the Canons of Councils, will ever be foreign, strange, and hard to the pious but uncontroversial mind. . . . But then the question recurs, Why should the refutations of heresy be our objects of faith? If no mind can believe what it cannot understand, in what sense can the Canons of Councils and other ecclesiastical determinations be included in those *credenda* which the Church presents to every Catholic, and to which every Catholic gives his firm interior assent? . . .

"The difficulty is removed by the dogma of the Church's infalli-

bility, and of the consequent duty of 'implicit faith' in her word. The 'One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church' is an article of the Creed, which stands in the place of all abstruse propositions in a Catholic's mind, for to believe in her word is virtually to believe in them all. '*

From the relations between apprehension and assent, Dr. Newman passes on to distinguish both apprehension and assent into two sorts, notional and real. Notional assent is assent to a proposition of which we have but a notional apprehension. Real assent is assent to a proposition of which we have a real apprehension. The cardinal point, accordingly, in this portion of the Essay is to distinguish between notional and real apprehension. This Dr. Newman does diffusely, and with abundant illustration. But yet there is a serious defect in his treatment of the subject. We miss the *lucidus ordo* and clear grasp of the matter under discussion, which are so needful in philosophical writing. We find many flashes of light, many bright paragraphs; but we are altogether disappointed of finding that suggestive luminousness of statement and exposition which consists so greatly in seizing and setting forth in sharp definition the natural divisions of a subject, and the capital points or principles which, in their connection and harmony, constitute it an organic whole. Dr. Newman is an adept at using the analytic scalpel in microscopic investigations; but he seems to be greatly wanting in synthetic power. He is like an anatomist who can lay bare a bunch of fibres at a point, and trace their intimate connection with each other there, but fails to explain, apparently because he does not see, the working and mutual relations of the larger organs, the play of the muscles, and the functions of the heart—who can trace the course of a nerve, but does not understand the philosophy of the ganglionic centres, their relations to each other, to the brain, and to the nerve-system in general. This, in fact, is the great defect of the volume throughout, conspicuous equally in the earlier portion, which we are now reviewing, and in the large, profuse, yet unsystematic and disarranged, chapters of illustration which relate to the subject of the illative sense and illative assent. Throughout all his writings, indeed, and in all stages of his course, the lack of synthetic grasp and range has been Newman's great defect. His power of introspection and of analysis has been very strong, but his vision has been very short. He has felt his way from point to point, almost

with the preternaturally quick and subtle sensibility of the sightless traveller; but he has never had the bright, keen, broad vision which reveals to the traveller at one view the country which lies before and around him, the goal towards which he is journeying, and the roads among which he must choose his way.

The reader, bewildered amid the various illustrations which Dr. Newman gives as to the distinction between the notional and real in apprehension and assent, is continually asking himself the question, But what, after all, is the distinction in general between the two? How should it be stated and defined? What is common to the two modes of apprehension, and in what, briefly stated, does the difference between the two consist? It avails little to say that "apprehension is notional in the grammarian and real in the experimentalist;" that "it is the primary duty of a literary man to be clear in his conceptions, and in the expression of them, while it is a merit in a philosopher not to be altogether vague and obscure;" that "it is the least pardonable fault of an orator to fail in clearness of style, and the most pardonable fault of a poet." These and other such statements, equally trivial or equally disputable, really throw no light whatever on the nature of the distinction between the notional and the real in apprehension and assent. Only at one point in his long course of remark on the subject does Dr. Newman attempt anything like a definition. What he there says is good, so far as it goes, but as it stands is inadequate. "The apprehension of singular terms, which stand for things, for units, I call real; the apprehension of common terms, which stand for notions, I call notional." This, we say, is good so far as it goes; but it does not go far enough. Indeed, it can hardly be said to be precisely correct in one aspect, because common terms may be *realised*. Abstract names of classes of things are by no means always, perhaps are not often, pure abstractions to the mind of the person who uses them. A mother can hardly entertain the word *child* in her mind for an instant as a pure abstraction. And, in fact, a considerable part, the most interesting and valuable part, of what Dr. Newman writes on this subject relates to the quickening and transforming of notional into real apprehensions and assents. In such a case, the form of the apprehension or assent may be notional—it may be notional in its terms, while the apprehension, in fact, is real. "Real apprehension," Dr. Newman says, "is an experience or information about the concrete." This is a very inexact way of writing, especially for one who

is at once logician, metaphysician, and divine. Apprehension is certainly *not* "an experience or information." But still it is true that notional apprehension is made real when the notional is clothed with reality, the dead word quickened into a living fact presented to the mind, the name into a thing or person. And to understand how notional apprehension is transformed into real, we must understand what, superadded to the notion, is necessary in order that the dead words may start into life. The notional is purely intellectual, is mere abstraction;—under what conditions does the abstract and merely notional become vivid and real—come home to the mind and feelings, as if it were concrete fact and touching, moving life?

Now the answer to this question, as we have already intimated, was not far to seek; it might have been apprehended and stated by Dr. Newman in the very beginning of his discussions on this subject, and his remarks might then have been classified and arranged in a clear and natural order; whereas he does not state it first or last. Imagination and sympathy, as we stated in an earlier part of this article, are the two factors which, added to mere abstract and intellectual apprehension, transform the notional into the real. It is singular that Dr. Newman seems almost to ignore the imagination as a constituent faculty of the mind. If he recognises it, it is quite incidentally and almost inadvertently. Yet the imagination is as real and as important a faculty as the memory, of which Dr. Newman speaks at length. When he speaks, indeed, of "'an inventive faculty,' or, as I may call it, 'the faculty of composition,' which out of passive impressions forms new images," Dr. Newman is evidently describing one of the processes of the imagination. But of the imagination, as such, or in its wide and potent sway and influence, he takes no formal or adequate account. So also, although he refers occasionally and interspersedly to some of the effects of sympathy—as when he says, "I can understand the *rabbia* of a native of Southern Europe, if I am of a passionate temper myself"—he treats the power of sympathy, as such, with as much neglect as the faculty of imagination, very rarely indeed (only, so far as we remember, twice or thrice) even using the word; and yet this word sympathy expresses at one stroke much that is loosely and discontinuously laboured at by Dr. Newman through a good many pages.

Imagination and sympathy are different faculties, the former belonging to the intellectual, and the latter to the emotional aspect of human nature, but their connection with

each other is very close. Each is quickened and replenished from the living fulness of the other, sympathy giving colour and glow to imagination, imagination adding force and intensity to sympathy. And the man who is richly endowed with these qualities cannot look upon propositions merely in their abstract meaning and their logical relations; colour, form, movement, life are lent to the dead words; the merely notional is realised, and is impregnated with life.

Dr. Newman endeavours to discriminate between the virtue and effect of notional and real apprehension respectively. "To apprehend notionally," he says, "is to have breadth of mind, but to be shallow; to apprehend really is to be deep, but to be narrow-minded. Without the apprehension of notions, we should for ever pace round one small circle of knowledge; without a firm hold upon things, we shall waste ourselves in vague speculations."* Now the distinction here made seems to us to be as unreal as that of which we had to speak some pages back, in which an attempt is made to set reason and faith apart from each other. The truth is that a notional or purely abstract apprehension, altogether apart from any realising conception of the proposition by the aid of imagination or sympathy, vanishes into a nonentity or a mere formula of words to be used in reasoning like algebraic symbols, while a real apprehension must of necessity imply a notional apprehension, otherwise there would be no apprehension whatever of the proposition. The notional and the real blend into one, and there is no foundation whatever for saying that the apprehension which is deepened in meditation by the realising power of the mind is thereby of necessity narrowed, while phase after phase, fold after fold, development after development of its meaning is successively revealed to the sympathetic consciousness.

Throughout this volume, each main distinction and special doctrine of the author's philosophy finds its application in the sphere of theology. It is so in regard to this distinction between the real and the notional. Religion among "Catholic" populations, we are instructed, is real; in England, speaking generally, it is but notional. "Theology, as such, always is notional; religion, as being personal, should be real." "As to Catholic populations, such as those of mediæval Europe, or the Spain of this day, or quasi-Catholic as those of Russia, among them assent to religious objects is real, not notional. To them the Supreme Being,

our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, angels and saints, heaven and hell, are as present as if they were objects of sight; but such a faith does not suit the genius of modern England."*

Surely this surpasses the utmost hardihood of "Catholic" writing. It reminds us of the "hard swearing" of the Old Bailey. Dr. Newman might have put his case plausibly, and with some respect to decency. He might have referred to the rapt meditations of the eminent contemplative saints of his own Church, such as Thomas à Kempis, or Fénelon, or the Marquis de Renty. And a candid Protestant might have felt himself obliged to confess that modern Protestantism in England can show but few instances of piety at once passionate, contemplative, and practical, but few instances of that highest style of Christian consecration of which Roman Catholic hagiology certainly does show some eminent and illustrious instances. The candid Protestant might have done this with the easier grace, because Dr. Newman, for his part, admits that his charge does not apply to every age or branch of English Christianity. "I do not say so," he concedes, "of old Calvinism or Evangelical religion; I do not call the religion of Leighton, Beveridge, Wesley, Thomas Scott, or Cecil, a mere sentiment; nor do I so term the High Anglicanism of the present generation." But for Dr. Newman to select the worst examples of corrupt and degraded "Catholic" Christianity, the semi-paganism of "mediæval Europe," and of the "Spain of this day," the superstitious and ignorant devotion of the Russian peasantry, and parade this as "real religion," in comparison of which the average and staple of modern English Protestantism is but a notional and empty form and routine of Bible-reading and "stereotyped aspects of facts," is a wantonness of daring and of insult which we should not have supposed possible in any man, least of all in a man like Dr. Newman. What was the religious realism of mediæval Europe? what is the religious realism of Spanish and of Russian villages or towns? Those who wish to understand the mediæval realism may find some help from ancient paintings. We shudder to remember how, by such realism, "the Father of an excellent Majesty," the adorable Son, the blessed Spirit, the Trinity collectively, the Persons severally, have been commonly depicted. We call to recollection the monstrous fables and inventions about "angels and saints, heaven and hell," which have constituted the staple of "Catholic" religious realism in the very

quarters to which Dr. Newman refers, among the mediæval adherents of the Latin Church, and especially in such countries as Spain to this day. In particular, as regards "Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin," who, we are told, are "as present as if they were objects of sight" to the real devotion of Catholics, we cannot fail to remember in what guise, under what aspect, in what mutual relations, they are present as to "the sight," by their pretended images or effigies, in "Catholic" countries, the colossal Virgin, gaudy, decorated, crowned, the infant Jesus, with His tiny crown, borne in the Virgin's arms. Nor can we forget the miracle-plays of mediæval Europe and of modern Spain. This is the realism in religion of Catholic populations which Dr. Newman dares to place as in favourable contrast with the "notional religion" of England.

We have passed over some curious instances of logical affectations, given as specimens of merely verbal logic, which are so perfectly trivial and so transparently absurd, that it is amazing how Dr. Newman could present them as even possible, as conceivable instances of verbal fallacies or sophistical syllogisms. Instances may be seen at pp. 45, 46. We have not space at our disposal to point out a number of mathematical confusions, as to the interpretation in geometry of algebraical symbols, as to numeration, and as to the senses of the word *infinite* and the nature of infinitude, which are found at pp. 46, 50. We must not even pause to point out the grave metaphysical error involved in the statement that "the straight line is a *notion* and nothing more." We pass over the different varieties of assent which Dr. Newman has distinguished in separate sections, with, as we think, an unprofitable minuteness of shadowy discrimination, as profession, credence, opinion, presumption, and speculation. We must even pass over the section, on the whole a very beautiful and admirable one, on the "Belief in one God," which follows the chapter on "Religious Assents," and in which Dr. Newman, whilst saying nothing that is really new or original, sets forth with great felicity the manner in which, in the case of a child, instincts, affections, moral sensibilities, and intimations from many quarters converging towards one conception of a living, ruling power, are harmonised, blended, and quickened into a real, living faith in God. We cannot afford to linger in criticism on the chapter on the "Belief in the Holy Trinity," which, besides many disputable points, contains much that is excellent and suggestive. We do not need to offer here any remark on the chapter on "Belief in Dogmatic Theology." We have already adverted

to the passage of most significance contained in it, in which he endeavours to vindicate for the Catholic's implicit faith the character of a "real assent." We pass forward to the Second Part of the Essay, which treats of the relation between inference and assent. We have done with the subject of apprehension as related to assent. What remains refers to the illative processes of the mind, and to the assent and certitude which attend upon these processes.

The general view which, at the outset of this article, we gave of the scope of Dr. Newman's Essay, will considerably lighten our work as respects the Second Part of the volume. The relation between assent and inference being the general subject of this latter part of the Essay, Dr. Newman begins by re-affirming the characteristic paradox of the whole volume, with the announcement of which he had opened the First Part. "Assent," he reiterates, "is, in its nature, absolute and unconditional, though it cannot be given except under certain conditions." "Inference and assent," he further declares, "are distinct acts of the mind, and may be made apart from each other." "Inference," he teaches, is "*always* conditional,"—as if there were no demonstrative inferences in the region of abstract truth which are unconditional; whereas "assent" is, in its nature, unconditional. We may retain, he argues, our assent to a proposition, after we have forgotten the reasons which first obliged our assent, or without having ever been really and analytically conscious of what those reasons were; therefore, our assent is, in itself, absolute and unconditional, and independent of inference or reasons. But then the like is just as true of those probable conclusions and opinions which Dr. Newman refuses to call *assents*, but which Locke and other philosophers would call assents no less than our absolute and assured convictions. We often retain such conclusions and opinions after we have forgotten the reasons which led us to adopt them, or without having ever been really and analytically conscious of what those reasons were; whence it would follow, according to Dr. Newman's method of reasoning, that these probable conclusions and opinions are held by us absolutely and unconditionally!

Dr. Newman calls assents which grow up within the mind unconsciously, or are accepted intuitively and immediately, simple assents; conscious and deliberate assents he calls complex or reflex assents. But surely the mere fact that many of our assents are yielded unconsciously, although Dr. Newman passes it over lightly as "an accident of acts of assent, on which he had not dwelt," is not to be reconciled

with his view as to the absolute and decisive nature of the act of assent. Our assent, on his own admission, is very often rather passive than active. How, then, can it have assigned to it a distinct articulation, severing it from inference, distinguishing it in nature altogether from probable persuasions and conclusions? How can Dr. Newman within the distance of a single line from his admission that it is very often exercised unconsciously, describe and define it, "as an act of the intellect direct, absolute, complete in itself, unconditional, arbitrary"? *

Dr. Newman's paradoxical and contradictory position respecting the nature of assent hampers him, as might be expected, throughout his discussions on the subject. The necessities of his position, too, as a divine of his Church embarrass him. Assent, in his philosophy, in regard to religious subjects, is convertible with faith. Orthodox faith, according to Roman Catholic theology, is incompatible with doubt or inquiry; and yet a really intelligent assent, of any value in exposition or controversy, must be an assent sustainable by reasons. The faith or assent may be challenged by those to whom no answer in reply to the challenge can be of any satisfaction or any service except one which sets forth reasons. But then to seek reasons for one's faith or assent might seem to involve a judicial scrutiny and a critical suspense implying both inquiry and, at least, provisional and merely intellectual doubt. How can this be compatible with orthodox faith, unwavering faith, or, to use the dialect of this volume, with "absolute and unconditional assent"? This difficulty leads to not a little metaphysical casuistry on the part of Dr. Newman, of which the passage now to be quoted may serve as a suggestive specimen:—

"I have been speaking of investigation, not of inquiry; it is quite true that inquiry is inconsistent with assent, but inquiry is something more than the mere exercise of inference. He who inquires has not found; he is in doubt where the truth lies, and wishes his present profession either proved or disproved. We cannot without absurdity call ourselves at once believers and inquirers also. Thus it is sometimes spoken of as a hardship that a Catholic is not allowed to inquire into the truth of his creed;—of course he cannot, if he would retain the name of believer. He cannot be both inside and outside of the Church at once. It is merely common sense to tell him that, if he is seeking, he has not found. If seeking includes doubting, and doubting excludes believing, then the Catholic who sets about inquiring,

thereby declares that he is not a Catholic. He has already lost faith. And this is his best defence to himself for inquiring, viz. that he is no longer a Catholic, and wishes to become one. They who would forbid him to inquire, would in that case be shutting the stable-door after the steed is stolen. What can he do better than inquire, if he is in doubt? how else can he become a Catholic again? Not to inquire is in his case to be satisfied with disbelief.

"However, in thus speaking, I am viewing the matter in the abstract, and without allowing for the manifold inconsistencies of individuals, as they are found in the world, who attempt to unite incompatibilities; who do not doubt, but who act as if they did; who, though they believe, are weak in faith, and put themselves in the way of losing it by unnecessarily listening to objections. Moreover there are minds, undoubtedly, with whom at all times to question a truth is to make it questionable, and to investigate is to inquire; and again, there may be beliefs so sacred or so delicate, that, if I may use the metaphor, they will not wash without shrinking and losing colour. I grant all this; but here I am discussing broad principles, not individual cases; and these principles are, that inquiry implies doubt, and that investigation does not imply it, and that those who assent to a doctrine or fact may without inconsistency investigate its credibility, though they literally cannot inquire about its truth."

We shall not spend any time in proving that no real distinction can be established between investigation and inquiry, and that an intellectual attitude not to be essentially distinguished from doubt must be an element in every real investigation or inquiry. We shall content ourselves, as regards this matter, with quoting a passage from a review which was published in this Journal ten years ago:—"The best defender of Divine Revelation, the only man who can effectually defend it, is the man who has fully appreciated the force of the doubts and difficulties which may environ it. The way to a firm and deeply-founded faith leads by the avenues of many doubts; doubts not, indeed, welcomed as such, but yet listened to till understood, and kept in view till, by the help of the Spirit of Truth, the answer has been learnt and given."*

It cannot fail to be observed that in the passage which we have quoted, *faith* is evidently implied to be a matter of *creed*, of *belief*, the unshaken and immovable acceptance by the mind as infallibly true of a certain modicum of belief. Elsewhere we are taught that the compendious summary of "the faith of a Catholic," his "indispensable and elementary faith,"

* *London Quarterly Review*, July 1860, p. 375. On Mansel's *Limits of Religious Thought*.

embraces "whatever the Church then or at any future time should teach." * At the same time it is impossible to read what we have quoted, especially with its context,† and not to feel that he who thus writes of doubt and faith, of investigation and implicit faith, of inference and assent, is one to whose restless intellect doubt is as familiar as faith and religion are to his susceptible, shrinking, clinging heart.

The subject of complex or conscious assent leads on to certitude, which, as we learn, is the feeling of absolute assurance that accompanies conscious assent. In one place (p. 202) Dr. Newman absolutely identifies "complex assent" and "certitude" as essentially one and the same. A few pages farther on (p. 209) he tells us that "the simple and the reflex assent together make up the complex act of certitude." It is not our business to reconcile these two positions, nor to explain in what sense "certitude" can be "an act" of the mind. Looseness and confusion of this sort pervade the volume. Certitude, we are told, may attach itself to a real truth, or to a mere prejudice having the authority of unchallenged possession, but no other authority or right, or even to a rooted misconception, whose strength is that, erroneous as it is, it is the natural, perhaps in the particular case the almost necessary, distortion of a real and ineradicable truth. But whencesoever it may derive its origin, "certitude," we are instructed, is "indefectible." Apparent instances of defective certitude Dr. Newman endeavours to explain away, and in so doing doubtless says many ingenious and suggestive things.

There can be no doubt, indeed, that many seeming changes of conviction are in reality only developments. The man's principles have really been the same all through, only that at first he did not know himself. A man who denies the possibility of a miracle is at bottom an atheist, though he may suppose himself to be a theist. The Anglican who believes in the supernatural endowment of the Christian priesthood, in Apostolical succession, in sacramental efficacy *ex opere operato*, and in the external continuity and unity of the Church, is already a Roman Catholic, whether he knows it or not. Still the position laid down by Dr. Newman, that, as to his fundamental convictions, his radical and assured principles, his complete and really defined "assents," a man never changes, that all his "certitudes" are "indefectible," is really monstrous. It would follow that Christianity never changed the

* P. 240.

† See also a very remarkable quasi-autobiographic passage at pp. 209—211.

"assents" and "certitudes" of a convert. It would also follow that all original prejudices are invincible and indefectible. This last, indeed, seems to be accepted by Dr. Newman as a philosophic principle.

After leaving the subject of certitude and its indefectibility, Dr. Newman gives the remainder of the volume to the subjects of formal and informal inference, to the illative sense and faculty, and to general applications of his principles and illustrations to points of natural and revealed religion. Our limits will not allow us to do justice to this part of the Essay. Its scope and general course of thought we intimated at the opening of this paper. Certainly in no part of the volume do Dr. Newman's fine powers of analysis and illustration appear to so great advantage; and yet the whole is spoiled by the false philosophy which pervades it.

Dr. Newman's doctrine is, that certitude follows direct and conscious "assent." Upon what conditions, then, does "assent" depend? Assent is given to self-evident truths; it is also yielded as the result of "formal inference" to demonstrative evidence and argument, clearly and fully apprehended. But it is given, besides, in a large number of cases, in cases innumerable, where the conclusion, accepted with full assurance, is neither self-evident nor yet demonstratively proved. Indeed the deep and sure convictions of people in general have seldom been settled in their minds by demonstration or by any process whatever of formal reasoning and inference. Very few persons could give a clear account of how they came by a large proportion of their convictions: and yet these convictions have for them the force of absolute certainties. To inquire into the nature of the illative processes, which, often quite unconsciously, conduct us to conclusions such as, although never formally demonstrated, have in our minds the force of demonstrated certainties, is the main business of the latter portion of Dr. Newman's Essay.

Here, as elsewhere, while Dr. Newman shows great power of analysis and illustration, he fails in synthesis. Our illative processes must include, besides the facts on which they proceed, three elements woven into one fabric of ratiocinative thought, conscious or unconscious, or partly conscious and partly unconscious, viz. (1) self-evident principles, (2) acts of inference, in the nature of syllogisms, although they may not be articulately drawn—capable at least of development and explicit statement as syllogisms—and (3) inductions, more or less complete, and leading to conclusions sometimes clear and certain, and sometimes more or less probable. An

orderly and complete account of our illative processes would have shown how they must include these three elements, and would have endeavoured to investigate under what conditions a combination of syllogisms, each of which regarded abstractedly might perhaps only warrant a probable inference, and of inductive processes, not one of which, perhaps, would warrant an absolute conclusion, might yet, by complex mutual support and corroboration, amount to a certainty. That such converging and interlacing evidences may warrant in many cases an inference as certain as in any case of direct demonstration, we have no doubt, and have long felt that "a grammar of assent," scientifically investigating this subject, was one of our chief *desiderata* in the philosophy of reasoning. Dr. Newman has given some precious hints towards such a grammar, but he has failed altogether to accomplish the work, partly because he has not seen that syllogism and induction together must make up the whole web of our illative processes, and partly because he does not believe that any other sort of demonstration is possible besides that of the syllogism or of mathematical reasoning. He believes in assent and certitude, but not in intuitive principles of truth, not in objective truth or certainty.

Dr. Newman has happily shown how a syllogism which only warrants a probable conclusion as abstractly stated, may become an argument of absolute certitude to me, if it is applied in a given case, as to which the terms become for me, instead of mere abstractions, living persons or concrete facts. "A man of honour and benevolence will not lie to the injury of his neighbour," is a proposition which commends itself at once in its abstract form as of the highest probability, and warranting all but absolute certainty in any case whatever. But let me know a man of honour and justice against whom an imputation lies of having spoken such a falsehood, and the conclusion comes home to me with a conviction as full as any mathematical demonstration could command, that that man could not have been so guilty. Knowledge and intuitive certainty come in to reinforce probable evidence. Dr. Newman has given a number of instances to illustrate this principle.

How excellently, also, has he illustrated, in the following passage, the manner in which converging arguments produce the effect of demonstration on the mind:—

"I consider that the principle of concrete reasoning is parallel to the method of proof which is the foundation of modern mathematical science, as contained in the celebrated lemma with which Newton

opens his 'Principia.' We know that a regular polygon, inscribed in a circle, its sides being continually diminished, tends to become that circle, as its limit, so that its tendency to be the circle, though ever nearer fulfilment, never in fact gets beyond a tendency. In like manner, the conclusion in a real or concrete proposition is foreseen and predicted, rather than actually attained; foreseen in the number and direction of accumulated premisses, which all converge to it and approach it, as the result of their combination, more nearly than any assignable difference, yet do not touch it logically (though only not touching it), on account of the nature of its subject-matter, and through the delicate and implicit character of at least part of the reasonings on which it depends. It is by the strength, multiplicity, or variety of premisses which are only probable, not by well-connected syllogisms,—by objections overcome, by adverse theories neutralised, by difficulties gradually clearing up, by exceptions proving the rule, by unlooked-for correlations found for received truths, by suspense and delay in the process issuing in triumphant reactions—by all these ways, and many others, the practised and experienced mind is able to make a sure divination that a conclusion is inevitable, of which his lines of reasoning do not actually put him in possession."

This is admirably said. In our judgment, a conclusion so arrived at is as demonstratively certain as any syllogism; and, like the syllogism itself, derives its cogency from a self-evident principle. It is in the nature of an induction, and inductive certainty is, in our judgment, as decisive and absolute as syllogistic demonstration, or even as mathematical proof.

But it is just here that Dr. Newman's sceptical heresy comes in. He does not believe in any absolute certainty, except such as may be established by mathematical or syllogistic proof; he does not believe in the "intuitions of the mind," the science of which has been so well drawn out by Dr. McCoah, or in objective truth. Inductive certainty with him is the mere accumulated probability of the world's experience. We have indicated our conviction that inductive demonstrations, when rigorously conducted according to the now systematised laws of the method, are as absolute and conclusive as mathematical demonstrations. They rest ultimately on the intuitive principle, that the like cause in the like circumstances will produce the like effect. But Dr. Newman holds with Hume and Mill that experience alone has generated our faith in the constancy of nature,—that it is not primary and intuitive; and that all our assurances are but the feelings or opinions which grow up within us from the impressions produced by experience. We do not know

that he would go to the length of Mr. Mill, who indulges so far in paradox as to intimate it to be not impossible that in another world two and two may make five instead of four, and two straight lines may enclose a space. As Dr. Newman speaks of a straight line as a mere abstraction, it is hard to say what he may not be able to imagine as to the latter point. But, at any rate, he teaches throughout his discussions that certainty is altogether relative and subjective.* "Those propositions," he says, "I call certain which are such that I am certain of them."† He gives up all hope of finding "a common measure" of truth in any province of thought, or any "criterion" by which to test principles and conclusions. In a word, he is a sceptic in philosophy.

That philosophy of which we have now given an analysis is the characteristic feature of this volume; what there is else in it, besides this and the application of this to sustain the author's position as a Roman Catholic, is for the most part very good, and takes up perhaps a fourth of the volume. It relates to faith in God, to natural religion, and to revealed religion. But though very good, it is not by any means original; and it is not the personal and individual element in the volume. It will commend the *Essay* to some readers: quotations of superior beauty and force have been given from this portion in some reviews by writers who appear, like Newman, to be content to repose, first and last, on mere authority in religion, and who seem not to have apprehended the philosophic scepticism of which the *Essay* is the vehicle. We should have been glad also to have enriched our pages with quotations from the sections in which Newman writes as a Christian apologist. But our space is limited, and it has been our duty to show what the *Essay* really is in its inner and essential character. Newman, the Christian apologist, writes no better and no otherwise than many besides with whose writings the Christian divine and philosopher is familiar. Newman the philosopher has now published his philosophy, which is special and distinctive, and eminently characteristic, and which strikingly illustrates a passage in one of Bishop Wilberforce's writings, in which he speaks of those who have taken their flight "on the wings of an unbounded scepticism into the bosom of an unfathomed superstition." That philosophy destroys all principles of objective certainty and intuitive conviction; it is compatible with a belief in transubstantiation; it allows of no appeal to

* Pp. 286, 337, 343.

† P. 337.

the evidence of our senses, or to the necessary judgments of the mind. It knows no certainty but personal certainty. If a man has not that in himself, by virtue of the natural actings of his mind, it teaches him that it would be best to resort for assurance to some other and higher personality. It is, in short, the fit philosophy of a man of keen and restless intellect, who has settled his doubts and difficulties by betaking himself to the infallible direction and authority of the Roman Communion.

ART. VI.—*Life of James Hamilton, D.D., F.L.S.* By WILLIAM ARNOT, Edinburgh. Third Edition. London: James Nisbet and Co., Berners Street. 1870.

BIOGRAPHY, especially that of religious men, is commonly subjected to merciless criticism, taking many forms of objection. Who was he? In what respect was he so distinguished from other men as to justify the taxing of a grievously book-ridden public with the story of his life? And why so much about him? And is the tale, even approximately, a true one? Was he, after all, such a perfect saint?

We have no sympathy with all this. The book may lack all literary attractions; but every man's history abounds in interest, and the farther he has been removed from the sphere of our own ordinary observation, the interest heightens. Here are new circumstances, a different class of ideas, a world—be it but a little one—we never saw or conceived of before; a zoophyte, perhaps, but therefore a marvel and a study, and, if a study at all, then surely, like other studies, worth pains and patience. The warts on Cromwell's face had their lesson, and so has every peculiarity of character. As for the general accuracy of the representation, the observant reader may judge for himself. There are some portraits of which we can at a glance tell that they are very like somebody, and may infer that they are true to their intention; there are others of which we as easily pronounce that they are not faithful. Facts, indeed, may be misstated, though they seldom are; eulogy may sound its trumpet so as to annoy and deafen; but even a skilful writer will let out something which serves as a key to the whole. We have read *Lives of modern Bishops*, honestly written by good, moderate, High Churchmen, whose fine scholars and clever ecclesiastics were thorough Evangelicals at heart, and who have betrayed the secret to any practised reader of such records. So also, in various ways, in the case of other classes of men,—men like Baron Alderson or Lant Carpenter. If it be demanded that religious biography is to detail every littleness and weakness, every fault and wandering, we again object. It is needless. We understand well enough peculiarities of temperament. This fervent spirit, to come near

which has set your own on fire, was sometimes, of course, and with whatever habitual self-command, irritable, impatient, impetuous. That model of serene, collected, amiable piety,—not to say that, when things ran very hardly with him, he bore them with less dignity, perhaps, than his opposite—was, of course, sometimes wanting both in feeling and action, when both would have done service. And such details would, to those of common and cursory thought, give an unfair impression,—would absolutely spoil the likeness. Candour is the rarest of the graces. We judge of the soil by its fruitfulness, of each other by occasional seasons of storm or drought. Nor is the alleged fault, if it be one, at all peculiar to the biography of good men. We think we could name many a “Life,” which, with obvious purpose, conceals the goodness of bad men, of any goodness which exceeds the standard of conventional decency. And, lastly, what of yourself, most excellent critic,—you very just, you unmerciful, exacting Shylock?

Here is the record of a life which ought to silence the most fastidious and incredulous. To the genial and accomplished biographer we may offer the hint that his performance, all but perfect, might have been altogether so. Mr. Arnot is a Scotchman, a Presbyterian, and a Free-Church-man, and may well be thankful for so many advantages. But there are mists on his mountains. Here and there,—we cannot say, pervadingly,—there is a tone of national and denominational conceit which does not please English readers. Scotch theology is very sound, but we suppose it is very Scriptural also; and we have the same version of the Scriptures, and sometimes read it,—read it by the light thrown upon it by one or two very respectable scholars, by a few divines, generally accepted as capable and orthodox, by some fair share of plain good-sense. And, again, here and there, there is an ugly, unnecessary vein of attack upon the English Establishment, which we regret the more because multitudes of its members were Dr. Hamilton’s friends—almost his disciples—and will be more grieved than edified by these memorials of him. We should be very sorry to illustrate our meaning by quoting the passages which we wish had been omitted. Generally speaking, Mr. Arnot, himself no faint luminary, has lost himself in the light of his subject, and we proceed to lose ourselves accordingly.

Good luck, in spite of what the newspapers say about a recent famous letter from the great German Monarch to his wife, is really God’s luck, the way in which He deals with

men ; but if it mean more,—if it mean a constant succession through life of circumstances Divinely ordered, all tending to the best and happiest development of a man's capacities and habits,—then was James Hamilton eminently lucky. This will continually occur to us as we trace his course.

Dr. William Hamilton was his father, a minister of the old Scotch type, godly, book-loving, industrious, learned, tender-hearted. As we read the son's graceful memorials of his many-sided love, we think of Keble's lines, and of those they echo:—

" Father thou art to me, and mother dear,
And brother too, kind husband of my heart."

He died, comparatively young, whilst his son James was at College; but was a near and pleasant presence about him to the last. The real mother was worthy of husband and child. The secluded parish of Strathblane, in Stirlingshire, was the birthplace of the latter, "with the perpetual Sabbath of the hills smiling down on its industrious valley, and with its bright little river trotting on cheerfully towards Loch Lomond." The child wore "amber-coloured spectacles," too, and saw in "patches of withered grass, far up the mountain, the glow and glory of a constant sunshine." At the time when he was born,—it was in 1814,—the place "still retained some traces of its original simplicity." Rob Roy was a more familiar name than that of the Duke of Wellington. Old people remembered the times of the Pretender, Mrs. Provan having concealed the meal and cheeses from his hungry army; Miss Robertson was known as having been the possessor of the first umbrella in the parish; Margaret Freeland, eighty years old, had never slept under any roof but her own, and, when once detained in Glasgow by a great storm, lay awake all night, that she might keep up her boast. There was only one "foreigner," and, as he always had tea and bacon for breakfast, he was much disliked for his luxury. Well was it for the future modern metropolitan minister to have mixed with scenes and persons such as these.

When very young, he began to play at preaching; but the peculiarity of his case was that, even then, he wrote his sermons before he delivered them. A resident tutor taught him; but, under this guidance, he taught himself better. The father's library was very large, and the son "enjoyed heartily, for many years," the luxury of sitting for hours together in the library-room, strict silence being the law." Speaking of himself, many years afterwards, he says:—"It

was his lot to be born in the midst of old books. Before he could read them, they had become a kind of companion, and, in their coats of brown calf and white vellum, great was his admiration for *tomes* as tall as himself. By-and-by, when he was allowed to open the leather portals, and look at the solemn authors in peaked beards and woollen ruffs, his reverence deepened for the mighty days of the great departed; and, with some vague prepossession, his first use of the art of reading was to mimic an older example, and sit poring for hours over Manton and Hopkins, Reynolds and Horton. When bedtime came, some bulky folio was taken with him to bed." Nor were intelligent society and lively conversation wanting. His religious character, also, was very soon created and developed. When quite a boy, his voice was regularly heard at the Saturday-night prayer-meeting. A notice, written when he was about fourteen, in the first of his voluminous journals, paints him to the life:—"Read Bowman's *Genuine Religion*, and the articles Ophiology, Spectre, Nile, Nilometer, and the Life of William Cowper, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*."

According to Scotch custom, about this time, he entered the University of Glasgow, where he remained eight years. Never was a more diligent student, though he seems to have been a frequent invalid, and, for some time, a hypochondriac also. Here is a sample of his work:—"Rise at a quarter to seven; read Henry's *Commentary*; attend Greek and logic classes from half-past seven to half-past nine; breakfast, ten to eleven, write logic lectures; eleven to twelve, attend the logic class; twelve to two, write letters, prepare for Greek, write notes of the logic lectures, get books from the library, &c.; two to three, Greek class; three to four, walk, dine; four to six, Greek; six to seven, logic; seven, tea; half-past seven to nine, logic; nine, worship; half-past nine to half-past twelve, read two chapters of Greek Testament, and go to bed." Of course he carried off prizes to his heart's content. Sandford was Professor of Greek. Archbishop Tait and Archibald Smith, of Jordan Hill, were with Hamilton at Glasgow, afterwards went to Oxford, and became the men they are. Divinity, Hebrew, and Church History came on in time, and subaidiary studies were botany, natural history, chemistry, and anatomy. In 1827 he devoted some months to the study of the first-named science; French, German, Italian, and, subsequently, Dutch, were mastered. He took an active part in the politics of the University, though his political opinions seem to have been somewhat rude. He

thought, as he considered, hereditarily, that what is right is expedient, and that "the real rights and interests of the many should be preferred to the alleged interests of the few;" and, with this small capital, did a good business as a Liberal. All the while, he was a great reader of books of all kinds, "horrified at the idea of wanting general knowledge." He was always picking up and recording information about everything. In June, July, and August, 1835, he read at the rate of more than two thousand pages a month. He completed his academic course by attending the lectures of Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Welsh at the University of Edinburgh. When this was over, Sir William Hooker proposed that he should spend a year in Syria, collecting its plants, and studying its natural history, with a special view to the illustration of the Bible; but his proper and immediate work was the holy ministry, and the project was abandoned.

He had already begun to indulge his passion for book-writing. Before he was seventeen he offered a *Life of Baxter* to the Religious Tract Society. By the time he was twenty-two, he had published a memoir of his father in one volume, and edited some posthumous remains in another. With this memoir he subsequently became much dissatisfied; but it did not discredit him, and gave promise of future success. A biographical preface to Bishop's Hall's *Contemplations* soon followed. Projects of literary work were many and various; some of them to be carried out afterwards. Mr. Arnot well points out his familiarity with "the quaint piety of the past and the general culture of the present generation." Of the unpublished writings of this period, we catch many notices. The Irving Medal, for an account of the wars of the League in France, was awarded to him in 1835. An essay on "The Importance of Church History" obtained the prize in Dr. Welsh's class. We read also of essays "On the Development of the Moderate Party in the Church of Scotland;" on "Natural History the Appropriate Recreation of a Country Manse;" and on "Recent Travellers in Syria."

He was wise enough, too, to take such opportunities of travel as presented themselves to him. A journey to London in 1838 gives us a picture of his early likings:—

"Thundered along in an omnibus to the British Museum. . . Took a run to the Linnean Society's Rooms. . . Then to the Zoological Society's Rooms. . . And, lastly, to the Exhibition of the Royal Academy." Windsor, Eton, and Oxford were visited. At the place last named, "heard four sermons," one of them the Bampton Lecture, and "attended five churches or chapels. . . Dined with the

fellows" of a college. "In London I heard Melvill, but was much more interested with Mr. Newman here. . . . I have not for long heard a sermon so affecting or so impressively spoken. He is doing much good, and some evil." (This from a man accustomed to the choicest of Scotch preaching.) "Through Lincoln's Inn. . . . Mr. Binney's, Weigh-House, remarkable man. . . . The finest forehead extant, perhaps. . . . Forcible language. . . . Factory children defrauded of their childhood. . . . Fine people sighing over the negro's oppression, whilst they flaunted about in gay clothing, wet with the tears and stained with the blood of infants. . . . Valleys once awake only to the voice of the bird have had their echoes disturbed and *frightened* by the rumble of machinery. . . . Happily this sermon was an exception from his ordinary train of subjects. . . . Along with Uncle Thomas," the well-known publisher, still living, "for Brighton. . . . Uncle always makes a point of taking every meal, when travelling, whether inclined or not, for the encouragement of people who, at great risk and inconvenience, keep their houses open for the public accommodation. And, on the same principle, instead of calling surlily to the waiters, and abusing everything brought to table, he praises what he can. To-night he praised the butter, &c. . . . Rooms of the Royal Society. . . . Went to Surrey Chapel," where he heard "a young Irishman, in a black stock, with a style as florid as his complexion."

He visited a cousin's curacy in Essex, and admired the picturesque cottages of the peasantry:—

"Whoever has seen these cottages, and gets a parish in Scotland put under his care, should never rest till he has put this badge and instrument of morality upon the homes of all its inhabitants. . . . Evening—Scotch Church, Crown Court, Mr. Cumming. . . . People seemed heartless, &c., altogether. I should fear that Presbyterianism does not shine in London. . . . I question how far it is worth while to struggle for its lifeless existence." (Read this by his own subsequent efforts and success.) "St. Paul's in the afternoon: Sydney Smith—very good (some might have been suspicious) on pious men endeavouring to render religion attractive. . . . Magnificent anthem from 1 Kings viii. . . . Dedication of the Temple. . . . The richest and most full-toned voice I ever heard—one of the choir. . . . 'The heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee, and much less this house that I have built,' brought tears profusely into some eyes; whether occasioned by the music alone, or helped by the consideration that this was the temple of England, I cannot tell."

Such, very briefly, was the period of preparation; child, boy, youth, man, continually astir and active; systematic study, and the constant accumulation of knowledge which did not come within any specified range; the discipline of the mind, and the cultivation of the tastes; book-lore and nature-lore: all sanctified by a severe yet kindly piety; all to be

devoted to the sacred calling. As we read of some five or six of these years being mainly occupied in pursuits peculiar to that calling, we cannot but compare Scotch with English systems. How few candidates for the holy ministry, whether in the Church of England or among the Nonconformists, enjoy one-half of the advantages placed at James Hamilton's easy command ! It is true he had the leisure which is insured by pecuniary competency ; but the number of very poor men who make their way into positions of well-deserved influence is much larger in the northern than in the southern churches. The difference must be traced to another cause,—to the greater religiousness of the people beyond the Tweed ; a religiousness often denied, it is true, but obvious on the very surface of society, and not there only ; and to the consequent popular demand for knowledge and intelligence, as well as for manifest sincerity and zeal, in the pulpit. This religiousness is itself more intelligent in the case of the masses than in that of any other country in the world ; for every child has, for centuries, had education enough to give it at least some interest in acquiring more. Demand has created the means of supply. And thus it has come to pass that the Scotch clergy, for the most part, are as well furnished for the purposes of their special profession as, in other countries of Europe, the statesman or the lawyer or the physician has been trained for his. Amongst other signs of good in the Church of England, none is more reassuring than the revived sense of the importance of distinctive preparation for holy orders. We have our fears whether, amongst other communions, this sense is on the increase. Colleges are multiplied ; the curriculum reads well ; everybody admits the principle ; but are competent professors to be had in plenty ? Are young men laying out the plans of their lives with the possibility before them of some day worthily filling vacant chairs ? Nay, as to the principle itself, are there not a latent Plymouth Brethrenism and a spurious revivalism which ignore if they do not deny it ?

During the autumn of 1838, Hamilton passed through the usual trials, and was licensed to preach. We gather that he had previously exercised, in some analogous fashion, from the “desk in Mr. Wilkie's Grassmarket Schoolroom.” His first regular sermon was delivered in a church on the top of the Lammermuirs, to about a hundred shepherds. In prospect of it, he writes to his biographer : “I find it extremely difficult to write sermons with sufficient plainness and seriousness, so long as I have no settled charge, and without making

thought and style the chief consideration. It shows vanity and disingenuity which I would not at one time have suspected, for I have always thought myself honest in the main; and yet, after all, I think I could forego reputation for the certainty of doing good." Then follows the first of many similar complaints: "I hope to spend this evening quietly, for so I have scarcely spent the day, but could not help it. It is other people, and not myself, that spend my days." Yet he had devoted all his days to the service, often most unreasonably and arbitrarily demanded, of anyone who chose to ask it.

It seemed probable that his first charge would be that at Morningside, close to Edinburgh. He himself records, in words also addressed to his biographer, which show both his consummate good sense and his modesty, the reason of failure:—

"You heard rightly that I had accepted Morningside, and yet I am not and never will be its minister. Had I adhered to my acceptance, I would have been settled in the most delightful of all the new churches in Scotland, but it would have brought before the public an angry altercation, which had been going on amongst some good men, not to their credit; and in such cases, the *occasional cause* of the evil is sure to be considered a party. I am much happier where I am than I could have been for the next twelve months in Morningside, with a pamphlet and newspaper and Presbytery controversy about my induction; and all this I had certain knowledge would ensue. I withdrew my acceptance, and—Mr. Grant having withdrawn from being a candidate—George Smeaton will be elected to-day, and, I am happy to say, will accept. My withdrawal has brought upon me the resentment of my supporters, but when Smeaton settles among them they will be thankful."

The sagacious eyes of Dr. Candlish were at once fixed upon him, as the conductor of a district mission connected with St. George's Church. Here Hamilton remained for about three months, conscientiously labouring amongst the poorest classes in a large metropolis, in strictly evangelistic work. When will the Churches learn the lesson that this is the best, if not the absolutely necessary, training for regular pastoral duty? Here, too, his Sunday mornings being at liberty, he took lessons in the art and spirit of preaching from his minister, still one of the greatest preachers in the Empire. Thence, early in 1839, he accepted an invitation to be assistant-minister in the parish of Abernyte, in the presbytery of Dundee, a quiet country place, where he remained about a year and a half. We must pass over,

almost entirely, the story of his sojourn there. The incumbent was past service, the congregation scattered. The "old gentleman, with an old-fashioned spencer above his coat, and an old-fashioned wig on his head," nervous and shy, received his shy colleague with kindness, and soon learned to love and even to defer to him. "My dear," said he, one fine morning, pointing to his precious treasure of manuscripts, "there are my sermons; I give them to you; I have no further use for them; make what use of them you please; they will be of use to you." Hamilton, we feel sure, was duly thankful for these very small mercies. He set himself to work, both in and out of the pulpit, in his own way. Before the first month was over, he writes:—"I am still new enough to bring out a good congregation. The people are remarkably attentive, but I fear novelty may account for most of it." The whole parish was canvassed to form a class of young persons above the age of fifteen, part of whose time was spent in examination, and part in a familiar lecture. He looked to this class "as the thing likely to do most good;" and he was not disappointed. These are some brief characteristic notices:—

"This is a bright day after many dark ones. Our three cats are very happy in the sun,—for we have three cats,—but, owing to the vigilance of the gamekeepers, the term of feline longevity is greatly abridged in this part of the world, and vacancies are constantly occurring in Mrs. Wilson's rat-police establishment. A Monday is a day of idleness with me."

Then comes the first premonition of what was to be the end:—

"I cannot fall soon asleep on a Sabbath night; and though I lie in bed until half-past eight on Monday morning, I am tired till evening. . . . My class now numbers twelve young men and fifteen young women. I have got hold of all the unmarried farm-servants except three, and those I hope to secure in time. . . . I will go to Dundee some day after William Burns arrives. He is one of the right spirit, and a little sharpening on such an iron as his is what I greatly want and long for."

And again:—

"Never felt such up-hill work in committing"—that is, we presume, in fixing the outline and main idea in the memory—"a sermon as yesterday. Bodily languor got the blame, but not earnest enough in praying for assistance in that very particular thing. Lay down very anxious, all the more so as the church would likely be full, the seceders having no sermon. This morning prayed often and earnestly

to be helped and set above the fear of man, and particularly the love of applause, and I trust was heard and helped, for I feel unusual freedom. Remembered all that I had tried to commit, and the part which I had not came almost as good as the MS. Church very full. . . . The passage in my preaching which seems to have made the greatest impression was a mere description on John xiii. 1. Several have spoken of it; and I remember seeing a grown man shedding tears abundantly—the first time I made a *man* cry. But the truly practical and most touching part of all, the love of Christ,—on which I extemporised at the close, with much warmth, produced no perceptible effect."

To his brother, then, in preparation for the ministry, he writes:—

"We who have a little of our own] will show no self-seeking in looking out for a rich and comfortable living. There are some comforts which I must have, and so must you, for we could not live without them; but with humble notions, and with a judicious wife, or without one altogether, I believe that the poorest charge in the Kirk might keep you or me. Poverty should rather weigh in its favour with you or me. Writing a sermon all day for India-Mission collection, and from the subject grudged all the while that so little of the Gospel, so little of what sinners need to hear, could be brought in. Hope to make up in afternoon-lecture somewhat. Must always have a bit for children expressly. I still have a hankering that I should like to deliver a few lectures to my people on the natural history of the Bible. Henceforth I would consecrate all that I may anyhow have learned to the making the Bible interesting."

He was true to this point. Sometimes he would bring flowers he had gathered by the way into the desk, where he presided at the weekly prayer-meeting, and exhibit them in explanation of the Scriptures. Once he begged the branch of a fig-tree from a neighbouring proprietor, and hung it over the pulpit during his discourse, not, however, without subsequent remonstrance from a plain woman, who, fresh from the great revival at Dundee, under the preaching of McCheyne, made her way up to Hamilton and exclaimed:—"Oh, Maister Hamilton, hoo do you gie them fig-leaves, when they are hungerin' for the bread of life?" All the while he was intent on doing good, and as earnest in enforcing the old Evangelical doctrine as were McCheyne and Burns. There is no doubt that intercourse with them, and participation in their labours, greatly quickened his zeal. Mr. Arnot, adopting the opinion of some intelligent hearers of this period, seems disposed to concede that, "in some discourses, the grace of God in the Gospel was not articulated

with sufficient fulness." We very much question it. We do not hold, as these hearers seem to have done, that, preaching to the same people twice a week, it was necessary or wise that every sermon should contain "such a positive declaration as would enable a listener on that very occasion to learn the way of life." Some truths must at some times be taken for granted, for the sake of enforcing the wisely-chosen topic of the hour; and surely James Hamilton's habitual auditors knew "their first principles." There is a style of exposition which never explains; of dogmatic teaching which never teaches; of perfunctory exhortation which never rouses. But these were not his. All his soul was astir to do good, and to this end he laid out the plan of his public teaching, and, indeed, of his whole life. "About this time he became connected with a select society, twelve in number, bound together in a common covenant to devote themselves, with all their might, to the advancement of the kingdom—the revival of the Church." And, with a view to this, he lamented "that it was not competent to a minister, when expounding such a book as the Acts of the Apostles, to hang a big map on the wall behind the pulpit, and secure a long pointing-rod as a part of his preaching furniture." Accordingly, there is a letter to a younger brother studying at Edinburgh, with an order for materials for a series of Sunday-school lectures. The requisitions include books, the brown parcel of fruits he had given to "Jane," the cone from Lebanon, and the twig of sycamore, a twig of olive, and a piece of red everlasting from Tabor, and "the palm leaf." "Buy a pomegranate, a few almonds and walnuts, both in the shell, a bit of frankincense, a few olives preserved in a phial, also some dates."

At Abernyte he took, as might have been expected, his ground firmly with the Evangelical party in the Church, then in rapid progress towards disruption. He was one of the ministers who, in bold defiance of the courts of law, officiated in the famous district of Strathbogie. By no means fond of ecclesiastical politics, he had taken hold of their main principles, and never lacked courage to follow them out.

Dr. Candlish still kept his eye on him, and, towards the end of 1840, he received a call to the Roxburgh Church in Edinburgh. Here he remained for only five months. London was to be the scene of his most successful labour. Not yet twenty-seven years old, and comparatively unknown, he was to supply the place which Edward Irving had so illustriously occupied, and had been compelled so disastrously to vacate.

We have but little time to pause at the mention of that

name. No fair life will now be written of him ; for there are few left so young or so impressible when he began his metropolitan career as to have come fully within the scope of his mingled command and charm. If he became "a reed shaken with the wind," certainly at this period he was "more than a prophet." We cannot now attempt to solve the secret of his unbounded popularity and influence ; in the pulpit over the intelligent and refined ; in private upon the coarse and ignorant also. If truths were over-stated, the exaggeration was obvious, and detracted nothing from their force. If illustration was sometimes strained, or the style somewhat stiff and bombastic,—reminding one of the brand new antiques which travellers are coaxed to buy,—or the tone and gesture too carefully adapted to the matter in hand, yet sympathy, or perhaps instinct, told you that this was a true man, and must not be judged by rule, or by your experiences of other men. How many, immeasurably his inferiors, has popularity, even in the absence of any love of it on the part of its victims, effectually and for ever spoiled ! His was a noble fall, caused by no unworthy aim ; no failure in personal goodness ; no selfish, meretricious love of display ; no dainty ambling along the pleasant ways of public favour ; but by a patient plodding, if with faltering feet, right up the steep and slippery places of theological knowledge ; an effort to sound the unfathomable depths of Divine mysteries ; a "coveting earnestly" of unpromised and needless "gifts," which, if not "the best," were yet "spiritual." Compare this with the history and characteristics of vulgar apostasies. Yet that word grates. The "broken pieces of the ship" were strong enough to take him "safe to land." The essence of him becomes more fragrant for keeping. We saw and heard him when he was in his full strength and splendour, and "all men counted him as a prophet." Much later, we heard his round and eloquent interpretations of prophecy. We saw him, too, on dark mornings, "when neither sun nor stars appeared," as he sat waiting for the hideous howlings which travestied the wonders of the Pentecost, or when they startled the echoes of the huge church, submitting himself like a child to utterances he did not hope to understand. We stood on Islington Green the Sunday after his deposition,—it was in the evening, and the service was so protracted that the sun set and the full moon rose on him ere its close,—as he expounded from the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans the duty of submission to "the powers that be," and then discoursed widely on "the things that are coming

on the earth." It was at a later date still that, meeting him, a hopelessly withered man in a dingy London street, though quite unknown to him, we asked his blessing, and, with a benign majesty, he gave it us. Its influence has never been lost.

The fragments of this great man's work were to be gathered up. Before Irving went to London, Presbyterianism there had, for many years, been represented mainly by the genial and saintly Dr. Waugh, and he was a seceder from the Kirk. The English people generally knew it only as, principally in the Northernmost counties, it crept closely to its mother-Church; and, in those border lands, mother and child shivered with cold. In Lancashire, there were some hearty and steady adherents; but Munro,—a name never to be mentioned but with affectionate respect,—and his munificent elder, Robert Barbour, had not yet become a great power. Irving at once attracted attention to the system he professed, and men of culture began the study of what, to those only such, was just a department of ecclesiastical entomology. When his light faded, it was dark indeed. But he had noble spirits to deal with, and the effort to relight the fire which he had first fostered, and then almost put out, was not abandoned. By this time increased vitality had shown itself in the provinces. Once more the leaders of the Scotch Church bethought themselves of Hamilton.

Besides the discouragements to which we have already adverted, one more must be stated. We have said that even intelligent Englishmen were very imperfectly acquainted with the faith and forms of genuine Presbyterianism; but they were tolerably familiar with an audacious parody of it, which, without any kind of identity, or pretence of relationship, assumed its name, wore some soiled tatters of its dress, and lived lazily on its stolen patrimony. Unitarian congregations called themselves Presbyterians,—let candour hope, by sheer force of custom, and in ignorance of their true position and character. And now Irving, the new champion of orthodoxy, had lapsed, certainly not into Socinianism, but into habits of thought and speech which tended in that direction.

So when Hamilton first took his stand in the pulpit of the Regent Square Church, he had much to encounter, and he bravely encountered it. The history of his London life must be given in a very brief summary. It is so recent, and public interest was so largely occupied about him during the rest of his course, that it has been our object to show rather how he came to do what he did, than how he did it. He soon became

known as a preacher. What sort of a preacher he was, may be gathered from his published writings, most of which had been previously delivered in the shape of sermons. His theology was rather Catholic than Calvinistic, and even his terminology was of the same character. His expositions were bright and clear. His illustrations,—and he abounded in them, and was perpetually collecting them and storing them for service,—were habitually suited to the dignity of his theme and office. If he ever descended a little too low, it was to fetch some stolid professor out of the depths. He drew from a very wide range. An illustrative style demands a copious and accurate knowledge of men and things, and of their mutual relationships; else it soon becomes vapid and ineffective. For the more intelligent of his hearers, he kept ahead with modern science and travel; and the lawyers who frequented his ministry, as they sat involuntarily cross-examining him as to his facts or his use of them, never found him at fault. For his countrymen, and for all of like temperament, there was a certain Scotch, homely, good-sense, which was both food and warmth. To “the spiritual,” he became “as spiritual,” sharing with them the secret of their souls, and awakening, as by “a song without words,” the music of their inmost hearts. He was welcomed to the pulpits of other Christian communions. If in his own he did not ultimately command unbounded popularity, such as it is the pleasure of London *quidnuncs* to confer from time to time upon the flashy orators of the day, it was not that he could not, like some other very rare preachers, impress and fix even them; but rather because his voice was feeble, and his gesture, occasioned by his anxiety to be heard, sometimes ungainly. This feebleness was his “thorn in the flesh.”

In these brief characteristics of his preaching, but without any deduction on account of physical weakness, we have traced also, for the reason before given, those of his published writings. Whilst we think them well worth preserving in a collected form, we shall greatly regret if there be not a large and frequent demand for some of his tracts in the form in which they originally appeared. For circulation amongst certain large classes of religious people, and of people who honestly work to become such, they have few equals. *Life is Earnest* is a model of compositions of the kind.

He did much for the Church of his education and choice. It is hard for the many to believe in the law that various gifts are seldom combined in the person of the same individual; and those who are delighted with the man in the

pulpit will insist on his appearing on the platform, and, if great there, then on his intermeddling with every detail of ecclesiastical policy and even finance. Nothing can be more untrue to fact, or more exacting upon its subject. We feel an unbounded admiration, and also great pity, for Hamilton, as, altogether intent upon his special and conscious adaptation for the highest usefulness, the exigencies of English Presbyterianism, undoubtedly very urgent, extorted from him the hard service of early and continuous leadership, both in council and practical effort. But he set himself kindly and successfully to the task. We do not disparage the labours of other distinguished men of his own community, if we ascribe to his labours very much of its increased vitality and power. In two departments, specially, was this manifest. He shook other Christians by the hand with a heartiness strangely contrasting with the cold, civil touch, which used to be characteristic of some of his brethren,—a suspicious touch, like that of a child we have seen timidly feeling the hand of a black man, and then looking at its own, lest it should have changed colour,—a patronising, repellent, freezing touch. And, again, more than any other man, he helped to reform, almost to create, the hymnology of his Church; to teach it to sing like and with the saints of every Christian age. No easy task was this, for the blindest prejudice pretended to almost preternatural eye-sight. Happy he who contributed so largely to a state of things in which, as we ourselves have heard, a Cameronian can sing, “with the spirit and with the understanding also,” Charles Wesley’s Hymns with pianoforte accompaniment.

We have left no space to speak of the cheerful, steady, self-sacrificing diligence with which all these services were rendered. As to their extent, we stand astonished and reproved when we read that, during one year of his earlier ministry in London, before he was fairly committed to its countless engagements, he had preached 124 sermons, spoken at six public meetings, and at sundry breakfasts and *soirées*, paid 492 visits, received 1,112 visitors, written 855 letters, studied 1,254 hours, read 9,010 pages; attended Synod, Communion of Synod, nineteen Presbyteries, 119 miscellaneous meetings and committees, &c., 20 Kirk Sessions, 878 meetings connected with congregation; taken nine journeys, some of them to distant places; and published three sermons, one review, one theological lecture, and seven miscellaneous papers. *Some statistics have their value.* Nor can we forbear to notice how numberless projects of literary labour, and even the

preparations of years, were, as in the case of a contemplated Life of Erasmus, deliberately abandoned, as, in course of time, they were found to interfere with dearer and higher claims of duty.

He cannot be said to have been prematurely removed who has crowded into a comparatively short life the labours of a long one. During twenty-six years Hamilton worked as we have described, but with increasing velocity. His health failed again and again, and he took every pains to recover it; again and again to re-expend it, but at last so as to exhaust the powers of life. He was suddenly smitten down, yet not so as to deny him the opportunity of calm retrospect and cheerful hope. The history of the end is too touching to be told here. It is reading for the closet. He died, when only fifty-four years of age, in November 1867.

There is a moral to every story; and from a life like this it is not difficult to learn lessons for ourselves. Surely they are those of a wise estimate of our own capacity and calling; of anxious effort to make the best of them; of the beauty and power of a universal Christian charity; of the sin and folly of sectarianism. Viewed by the lights of the days we are living in, our thoughts take yet another turn. Scepticism, and the affectation of it, and carelessness about it, as if the issue were unimportant, meet us in every shape, on every hand. What an example is this of the kind of instrumentality that is ultimately to prevail against it,—an example not for those specially who contemplate or occupy the sacred office, but for us all. War has its strategy. Those weapons of scientific knowledge, of literary culture, of general intelligence, of large concern with the ways of men, and of honest interest in their welfare, wrested, or supposed to have been wrested, from us for a moment by the enemy, and used to our apparent loss, are still ours. Let us retake and use them. Above all, let there be no panic.

- ART. VII.—1. *The Moabite Stone: A Fac-Simile of the Original Inscription, with an English Translation, and a Historical and Critical Commentary.* By CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG, LL.D. Longmans.
2. *Die Vorschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab, Erklärt von T. NÖLDEKE.* Kiel. 1870.
3. *Die Inschrift auf dem Denkmal Mesas.* Von Dr. S. J. KAEMPF. Prag, 1870. Tempsky.

THE history of the seventh decade of the nineteenth century will be one of the most impressive chapters in the political annals of Europe and the world. But it will be equally if not more memorable in the annals of Biblical literature, taking that word in its most comprehensive meaning. It began with the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus: in May 1860 Tischendorf took the manuscript, the discovery of which, in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, was the greatest joy of his life, to Leipzig, where an edition was printed for the Emperor of Russia to be a memorial of the thousandth anniversary of his kingdom. On any theory this Codex is the most wonderful discovery of modern times, and the most valuable edition that the archives of Christianity have received for centuries. The decade closed with the discovery of the Moabite Stone; and now in 1870 students of Scripture are arranging the array of manifold evidence furnished by the most ancient lapidary monument known among men. Many points of interesting comparison between these two relics of antiquity might be dwelt upon; but this would carry us away from our present object, that of giving a brief account of the inscription which has thus been brought to light, and of its value to the interests of the faith.

Dr. Ginsburg has given us the opportunity for which we have waited. The reports circulated in all kinds of papers and periodicals have been conflicting, and left much obscurity over the history of the discovery, the name of the discoverer, the nature of the inscription, its degree of completeness, the final state of the text (if it may be so called), and the verdict of European critics. It was necessary that some competent scholar should undertake the task of pronouncing a

definitive sentence on all these points from which there could be no appeal. German and French Semitic scholars had done this, or attempted it, for their several nations, and England has not been behindhand. We have scholars quite as accurate, and far more unprejudiced in this matter, and, therefore, needed not to be dependent on translation. General consent would accept Dr. Ginsburg's arbitrament, and he has frankly come forward with it. His volume will not, of course, be the last—the Moabite literature will probably be an extensive one—but it is by far the most complete and systematic yet presented. Its merits may be summed up in very few words; it gives us the inscription in fac-simile, reduced to one-third of the original, so that the student may examine the shapes of the earliest letters traced by the hand of man at present extant or known; the same inscription in the modern and familiar Hebrew letter, with an exact translation, filling up the *lacunæ* according to the best lights; a long and generally fair account of the History of the Stone, as the editor too largely promises, of the History of the Discovery of the Stone, as he means a full examination of the "present condition of the text;" an analysis of the inscription, with the determination of its date; valuable excursus on the relation of the inscription to the Biblical narrative; and a still more valuable essay on the importance of the stone, historically, theologically, linguistically, and palæographically considered; with a general sketch of the literature of the subject. All this is introductory. The commentary follows, occupying the bulk of the book; and of this it may be said that Dr. Ginsburg has not spent more care on any of the expositions that he has issued than on this morsel of text. The commentary is followed by the leading translations of those French and German scholars to whom this edition is largely indebted. And, finally, there is a vocabulary, which shows where every word or every form differs from Biblical Hebrew, thus giving the reader the advantage of a concordance to the document itself, and a great help in the study of this ancient specimen of Hebrew. Enough has been said to recommend this able and faithful work to the shelves of our libraries and the desks of our young students.

The work of Herr Nöldeke needs not to be very distinctively characterised. Most of its important contributions to the settlement and interpretation of the text have been, in fact, incorporated in Dr. Ginsburg's work, which we may regard as having superseded it in England at least. Reference will, however, be made to the work of this most distinguished

scholar, who has permanently connected his name with the Moabite Stone.

The discoverer of this inestimable relic does not happen to have been, like the discoverer of the Sinaitic Manuscript, able to do justice to the value of his discovery. There can be no doubt that Mr. Klein, an agent of the Church Missionary Society in Jerusalem, first heard of its existence; he, in fact, is the only living person who ever saw it or will see it in its integrity. In the summer of 1868, he made a journey to Kerak, over a country seldom visited by Europeans. On his arrival at Dibān, the ancient Dibon, he was informed by Sheikh Zattam that, scarcely ten minutes from their tent, there was a black basalt stone with an inscription on it. This stone he soon found; it was 3 feet 5 inches high, 1 foot 9 inches wide, had thirty-four straight lines of writing about an inch and a quarter apart, and was rounded to nearly a semicircle at the top and bottom. Mr. Klein surmised its great value, took a sketch of a few lines, and went his way, determined if possible to get it removed to the Berlin Museum. The Moabites marked the value put on a stone which their forefathers, for two millenniums and a half, had counted only a charm; and very soon they went into Jerusalem to Captain Warren, the agent of the Palestine Exploration Society, with an offer of the stone and demand of its price. Captain Warren honourably left Mr. Klein to turn his discovery to good account for his nation. He, however, or the German Government, was tardy; and a more vigorous competitor appeared on the scene, M. Clermont-Ganneau, of the French Consulate at Jerusalem. This gentleman's enthusiasm was roused, and he employed several agents to obtain squeezes or impressions of the inscription, offering at the same time a high price for the stone itself. A sum of nearly four hundred pounds was a great temptation, and the Frenchman would have carried off his prize from the Prussians had not a new actor appeared on the scene. The Governor of Nablus heard the circumstances, and determined to put pressure upon the Bedouins, and get the stone for himself, that its price might be his. As we have read in Captain Warren's noble account, "The Moabites, exasperated, sooner than give it up, put a fire under it, and threw cold water upon it, and so broke it, and then distributed the bits among different families, to place in the granaries, and act as blessings on the corn; for they say that without the stone (or its equivalent in hard cash) a blight will fall upon their crops." We may estimate the sorrow of Captain Warren when, returning from the

Lebanon in November 1869, he met on the road an Adwân, who showed him a piece of the broken stone with letters on it.

It would have been a terrible calamity—one almost beyond endurance—had Tischendorf found one morning that his precious leaves had been burnt, and that there remained only the blackened fragments. The partial destruction of the stone was a grievous blow. The pieced fragments, part of which are in the possession of M. Ganneau, and part in that of the Exploration Society, can never represent the beautiful basalt itself, “the very oldest Semitic lapidary record of importance yet discovered, which had defied the corroding powers of more than 2,500 years.” But Dr. Ginsburg is rather hard on the learned Frenchman who strove to “outbid the field,” and whose efforts to secure the stone for his own nation led to its destruction. This “young French *savant*” was, perhaps, “more enthusiastic than discreet;” still he was not altogether without discretion, for he took care to get the squeeze on which so much depends. Moreover, if he was not the discoverer, he deserved to be so; his genius at once saw the full import of the question, and, after all, we cannot be sure that he was “more jealous to appear as the original discoverer of the monument than to give credit to whom credit is due.” Mr. Klein’s name was neglected by most. Herr Nöldeke says: “As to the contest about priority, which has sprung up unhappily, I will not enter into it; but this appears to me perfectly certain, that, whilst the stone of Mea was indeed first seen by a German, it was, and this is the more important matter, discovered and made of use for science by M. Ganneau. He has, by his indefatigable deciphering, gained a permanent name for himself in the history of science. Would that all Europeans in consular office throughout the East were actuated by a similar zeal for science!”

Next to the discovery of the monument, the history of the “squeezes” is full of interest. Ganneau’s first was taken whilst the Arabs were fighting over their share of interest in the stone; consequently it was an imperfect impression, and, being taken off wet, was preserved only in torn fragments. Captain Warren’s impressions of the pieces and lesser fragments have helped in the collation; but M. Ganneau has been able himself to reconstruct the text “in a most scholarly, careful, and conscientious manner,” as Dr. Ginsburg admits. Since the first transcript was published, “the enthusiastic scholar has incessantly prosecuted his studies of the sundry materials in his possession, and, as results of his

research, issued two revised texts with elaborate notes." At present the lacunæ amount to less than a seventh of the whole; out of eleven hundred letters wanted six hundred and seventy-nine are at hand. Ample spoil for the avidity of the critic and commentator!

Such as it is, however, may the stone be relied upon as genuine? Is it possible that it has been imposed on the credulity of the Franks, the most gigantic deception known? The question is asked by Herr Nöldeke at least. His remarks on this subject we will translate:—

"Once glance at it shows its importance. It is the oldest of all Semitic inscriptions; and generally the *most ancient memorial of pure alphabetical writing*, much older than any in the Greek. It is the only *original document on the history of Israel* before the time of the Maccabees, and throws light on the relations of Israel with a neighbour much spoken of in the Old Testament. Here, indeed, we have a memorial, the language and phraseology of which are an echo of those of the Old Testament. We have had hitherto no reason to assume that, at a time so early as this, such inscriptions were raised in these lands. We may now hope that some other monuments of this kind have been preserved from the times before the Captivity. The inscription is of the utmost value for philosophy and the arts of writing. It may be boldly affirmed that it is the most important of all Semitic inscriptions.

"The genuineness of the inscription is incontestable. External evidence coming through Warren and Ganneau, as well as through Count de Vogué [who in Paris first published the discovery of Ganneau to the European world], excludes all doubt. If anyone, nevertheless, should approach it with any suspicion—and I must confess that this was my own case—investigation will soon dispossess him of his scruple. He who placed this inscription knew the Old Hebrew writing perfectly (writing which is distinguished from the Phœnician only by a variety of delicate touches known only to a learned few); his knowledge of the Hebrew language was, at any rate, greater than that of the discoverer, however ingenious an Hebraist M. Ganneau must be acknowledged to be; moreover, he was most accurately acquainted with the geography and history of Moab. If there could be found in the present day a learned man in whom all these kinds of knowledge were united, it is not probable that he would be also in possession of the technical facilities for the origination and successful execution of such a deception in Palestine. On the other hand all these varieties of knowledge and skill are easily enough understood in the case of an original memorial. And then the substance of the inscription has in it nothing suspicious; for example, we find in it no direct echo of the narrative in 2 Kings iii. 4 seq., the wonderful and tragic events of which would have

seized the mind of a falsifier. But I am not aware that the genuineness of the stone has been impeached by any competent investigator."

When the Sinaitic Codex was published there arose a consummate cheat, Constantine Simonides, who asserted that he had written the whole with his own hand some quarter of a century before. His pretensions did no more than add a certain new element of interest to what was intensely interesting before; and never was there an argument more triumphantly or more enthusiastically conducted than that which discredited his miserable claim. This early document became only the more dear because of the hand that had been laid upon it. In the case of the Moabite Stone no such element of piquancy is found; we have referred to Professor Nöldeke's scruples, partly because they would naturally occur to any mind, and partly because of the instructive manner in which he settles the question. Would that he, and those like him, in Semitic enthusiasm, were always as just to the evidences of antiquity!

It is probable that the linguistic importance of the thirty lines of this monument will be very highly estimated by many critics who will fight against its theological and historical value, and refuse to receive that silent testimony which, to us, is its chief interest. Its language is, in all respects, identical, or almost identical, with Biblical Hebrew; its style is as pure as the earliest parts of the Old Testament, and it has never been touched of course by the fingers of the redactors. Here, then, is a pure piece of Hebrew, so to speak, for collation with the Masoretic edition of the Scriptures; having almost the same value that a fragment of the original autograph roll of one of the prophets would have. The orthography, the etymology, and the syntax of this text have been diligently compared by the linguists of France and Germany; but no one has accomplished this task more fully or with more precision than Dr. Ginsburg. Indeed, so thoroughly is the work done that a student of Hebrew, who has mastered his elements, could scarcely do better than read these pages as a grammatical praxis. After a complete exhibition of the testimony borne to the Scripture language, and of its elucidation of many more recondite grammatical points, the editor says triumphantly concerning the construction:—

"The syntax is exactly that of the Hebrew, and differs materially from the Phœnician. Thus the article, which is so seldom used in the Phœnician, occurs no less than fifteen times in this short and mutilated inscription, not including those instances in which it is

dropped by contraction in the numerals, where the Phœnician differs so essentially from the Hebrew, the Moabite entirely agrees with the Hebrew. The use of Vaw conversive, with the future or the imperfect, to express the preterite in a continued narration, which has hitherto been believed to be peculiar to the Hebrew Bible, is not only to be found throughout the Moabite Stone, but it is even employed with apocopate forms which do not exist in the Old Testament. When we add that the whole vocabulary of the Moabite Stone is to be found in the Hebrew Scriptures, as will be seen at the end of the essay, and that certain shades of meaning, attached to different words in this inscription, are real acquisitions to Hebrew lexicography, the importance of it to the language of the Old Testament cannot be overstated. It is not too much to say that every Hebrew grammarian and lexicographer will henceforth appeal to the language of the Moabite Stone for the elucidation of certain forms and phrases the exact date of which has hitherto been unknown."

The palæographical importance of King Mesha's triumphal marble is very considerable. Until now, the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar (about 600 B.C.) was considered the most ancient inscription of any length. Here we have a long specimen of the earliest Phœnician character—the alphabet from which the Greek, the Roman, and all our European alphabets are derived. As Count de Vogué says, these are the very characters which, before 700 B.C., were common to all the races of Western Asia, from Egypt to the foot of the Taurus, and from the Mediterranean to Nineveh; which were used in Nineveh itself, in Phœnicia, Jerusalem, Samaria, the land of Moab, Cilicia, and Cyprus. We have here, in fact, the letters we use in their first fount of type, and affectionately should they be examined and studied by everyone.

The number of the letters contained in the ancient alphabet has some light thrown upon it. Herodotus called them *Cadmean characters*, as brought by those Phœnicians who came with Cadmus. The number was generally declared to have been originally sixteen, the remainder having been added by Simonides and Epicharmus. The alphabetical Psalms were pleaded in favour of the original Semitic twenty-two; but it suited the palæographers to assert that these were either post-Babylonian, or recast acrostically after the exile, and when the additional letters had been introduced. The stone of Mesha comes forward with its sharp, clear testimony. It has twenty-two letters; and, as these letters must have been used more than a thousand years before Christ—for we cannot suppose that they were invented by Mesha for his monument—the Greeks must have received from the Semitic

alphabet the whole at once. They did not repay their Semitic debt by inventing some noble and serviceable letters to be added to the original sixteen. The proof of this is abundant, and a long- vexed question is settled.

Another matter of palæographical interest is the original forms of the Greek alphabet. The letters on this most ancient of all lapidary inscriptions are undoubtedly the patterns from which were taken the archaic Greek characters on the earliest inscriptions previously known. This may be absolutely proved; but the process of proof is one that cannot be estimated but by those who compare the fac-simile of the stone with the alphabets as they are seen in the Old Hebrew, the Old Greek, the Phœnician, and the Round Hebrew. Many striking facts connected with the fluctuations of shape to which some of the letters have been subject appear on such an examination. For instance, our modern *D* does not assume its present form, or anything very closely approaching it, save in the ancient Greek and the Moabitic character: in other words, it is only on the Stone of Mesha, and in the earliest Greek, that the letter is found without a certain shaft at the right side, which in all the other alphabets, including the modern Hebrew, where it is reduced to a minimum, has given rise to a vexatious similarity between the *D* and the *R*. Dr. Ginsburg thinks that some incipient traces of this little troublesome shaft are seen in some of the *Dalet*s of the stone itself; but the letter occurs very seldom indeed, and it is hard to see the tendency he refers to. It is very interesting, also, to see in this distant original the very *Y* and *Q* of the alphabet in their perfection—such as they appear in no other alphabets than the Moabite and the archaic Greek. Another striking paternity—which, however, will not be so easy of appreciation to those who are not experts—is that of the ancient Greek *Xi*, a perpendicular line crossed by three bars, which Simonides was always said to have invented (B.C. 530), but which appears on our stone, four hundred years before his time, in the identical form, though found in that form nowhere else. But we must not prosecute this subject; enough has been said to show that on the broken fragments of this triumphal pillar the alphabet of man's literature has its earliest monument.

Turning to the theological bearings of the inscription, there is nothing more remarkable in it than the mention of the name *Jehovah*, and Dr. Ginsburg shows the theological importance of that fact in relation to the Jewish reverence for the Tetragrammaton:—

"It is well known to Biblical students that the pronounciation of the Tetragrammaton was only allowed in the priestly benediction in the Temple (*Mishna Sota*, vii. 6); that when the High Priest, on the Great Day of Atonement, uttered this incommunicable name, in confessing the sins of the nation over the national sacrifice, all the priests and people in the outer court who heard it had to kneel down, bow and fall upon their faces, exclaiming, 'Blessed be the name of His glorious Majesty for ever and ever' (*Mishna Yoma*, vi. 2), and that any layman who pronounced it forfeited his life, both in this world and in the world to come (*Mishna Sanhedrin*, vii. 5; x. 1). That this reverence for the Tetragrammaton must have obtained at a very early period is evident from the fact that it is never employed in the Septuagint, the Apocrypha, or in the New Testament, as well as from the testimony of Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 12), and Philo (*De Vita Mosis*). Hence, in the Hebrew Scriptures this name *Jehovah* is uniformly pointed with the vowel signs which belong to *Adonai*, another appellation of the Deity, so as to avoid its utterance. When we find that the use of this name is so scrupulously avoided, even in the very oldest portion of the Greek version of the Pentateuch, and therefore several centuries before Christ, the question naturally arises: At what period did this pious horror of pronouncing the Tetragrammaton originate? Tradition, which never experiences any difficulty, maintains that it obtained in the time of Moses; whilst modern critics and archæologists can fix no period. Here we see, for the first time, that when the Moabite Stone was erected, the name *Jehovah* was commonly pronounced by the Israelites, and that, from its being so generally used by the Hebrews, the heathen took it as the characteristic name of the Jewish national Deity."—P. 18.

The importance of this is less than its interest: the great *Jehovah* question will not be found to be much affected by it, however striking the mere fact may be that no other name is given to the God of the Hebrews. Another comparatively incidental allusion on the tablet is of deeper theological significance. The conqueror who consigns his victories to eternal basalt tells us that he took from the captured Nebo "the vessels of *Jehovah*," and dedicated them to Chemosh, his own national deity. Now, if these "vessels of *Jehovah*" were really instruments of sacrificial service, adapted as well to the ritual of Chemosh as to that of *Jehovah*, and if they were taken from a sanctuary where sacrificial worship might be offered, then the inferences must be of great importance. The traditions of the Jews affirm that wherever the Israelites lived they had their places of worship and instruction; and, in illustration of this tradition, synagogues are found accompanying the dispersion everywhere. But no tradition says that these places of worship and instruction were sanctuaries

of sacrificial worship, in direct opposition to the prescription of the law. Nor can it be easily believed that these Trans-Jordanic tribes thus early presented the sacrificial service; far as they were from the central Temple, we have no record that they ever did this. The great revolution that took place afterwards, which divided two peoples asunder for ever, was connected with the erection of another Temple; but that was a tremendous innovation, and not merely the erection of one more Temple in addition to many. Dr. Ginsburg passes at once to the conclusion, that "henceforth the treatment of the Jewish pre-exile mode of worship will be materially influenced by the statement in the inscription." But we should be inclined to pause. Granted that the letter wanting must be supplied so as to make "vessels" of Jehovah—and it seems hard to deny that—it does not follow that Mesha intended to signify that these vessels were sacrificial vessels, or that they were used in a sanctuary of Jehovah, or that they were afterwards used in the sanctuary of Chemosh. The words had probably a very vague signification in the King of Moab's triumphal inscription. If, however, the various assumptions of Dr. Ginsburg are worthy of acceptance, the question will demand much close investigation, and King Mesha's inscription may yet stir up more theological controversy than it has allayed.

But here we join company with Dr. Kaempf, whose essay reaches us just in time to shed some light on the subject. His remarks we must condense. In the defection from the legal and normal Jah-cultus there were three stages. The first stage consisted in this, that even outside the Temple in Jerusalem sacrifices and incense were offered. This was quite consistent with a decided, fervent, and enthusiastic worship of Jehovah, and involved no taint of evil or idolatry. The sacrifices were presented only to Jehovah, the only true God, who, as the creator and preserver of the universe, is everywhere present. The deviation from the rule, and the declension from its rigour, was excused to his own conscience by the worshipper on the ground that the ancient prescriptions were intended to secure to the priests their privilege and to control the sacrificial ordinances. The second and more important stage of declension consisted in the evident tendency to the calf-worship introduced by Jeroboam I. This also was thought to be quite consistent with supreme devotion to Jehovah; or, at least, those who fell into this error were not on that account self-convicted of idolatry. They could not see Jehovah; but they might make to them-

selves an image of Him. The animal signified at least the energy and strength of Jehovah; it was well adapted to express that. Thus only can we understand the possibility that Aaron should, in the presence of the golden calf, make proclamation, "To-morrow is a feast to the Lord," and not a feast of the calf, or how Jehu could say to Jonadab, son of Rechab (2 Kings x. 16), "Come with me, and behold, see my zeal for the Lord!" although he clave to the sin of Jeroboam (ver. 22). Finally, there was a third stage of departure from the true worship which was absolute *apostasy*: this was the worship and adoration of another *divinity* like Baal or Moloch, and as such the pure opposite of the worship of Jehovah, even apart from the blasphemies and abominations, such as lust and child-murder, which were bound up with that idolatrous service. Therefore, in 2 Kings xvi. 30, it is said of Ahab that he did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him; as if it were not enough that he walked in the ways of Jeroboam, he served Baal also. (Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 21.)

"Now our inscription teaches us simply that, in the time of King Mesa, the trans-Jordanic tribes of Israel, at least, as a whole, were worshippers of Jehovah; and that on both sides, Moab and Israel, there was a deep feeling of the religious opposition between this service and that of the Moabites. The predominant *ethical* element of the Jah-religion was the leaven of separation between Israel and the nations; and this leaven was all the more active in proportion as the voices of the prophets were heard; of the *prophets*, those unfailing and infallible interpreters of the *true nature* of the Jehovah religion, that is, of its *moral principle*, Nöldeke, whom no one will charge with being biassed, says: 'The significance of the Israelite prophetism for us was its *ethical-religious* spirit. It was far more important as the expression of the Divine will, and of moral requirements, than as a revelation of mysteries. In this, however, as in the other, the prophet is always actuated by a religious-moral spirit.' This great design the Hebrew prophets accomplished; and it is this sublime enforcement of morals that gave the religion of Jehovah its unmeasurable superiority, and has brought the entire cultured world into submission. The Mesa monument deserves most careful study on this account."

These are the only points of theological significance to which we need refer. As connected, however, with the same subject, Dr. Ginsburg furnishes some elaborate notes upon the allusion made to Ashtar-Chemosh, as throwing light upon the prototypical forms of classical mythology. These notes give prominence to Professor Schlottmann: his remarks are very

striking, and, as we find them incorporated and expanded in this note, we must give a condensation of it. The text of what follows, and what has preceded, it may be observed, is this :—

“ ‘ And Chemosh said to me, Go take Nebo against Israel. And I went in the night, and I fought against it from the break of dawn till noon, and I took it, and slew in all 7,000 men, but I did not kill the women and maidens, for I devoted them to Ashtar-Chemosh ; and I took from it the vessels of Jehovah, and offered them before Chemosh. ’

“ We have in this broken line one of the most important contributions to the Canaanite theology or mythology, which at the same time throws light upon the mythology of the Greeks and Romans ; since Ashtar, the masculine companion to the feminine Ashtarte, appears here for the first time in the religions of Canaan. Eminent scholars, who have devoted themselves to the investigation of the ancient cults, have shown to demonstration that the most primitive idea of God was that He consisted of a dual nature, masculine and feminine joined in one, and the connubial contact of this androgynous Deity gave birth to the creation. . . . Among the Phœnicians Ashtar, or the masculine of this androgyne, is called Baal, *the Lord*, whilst Ashtarte is Tanith, and is described as *the name of Baal*, or *the face of Baal*. In harmony with the fusion of the two natures in one, Ashtarte is called, in a Phœnician inscription, *the King, the Sun God*, whilst, on the contrary, Baal is called *godless* in the Septuagint (Hos. ii. 8, Zeph. i. 4), and in the New Testament (Rom. xi. 4). As the subduing and conquering power he was *Chemosh*, i.e. the conqueror of the Moabites, the *Baal* or lord of the Phœnicians and Tyrians, the *Molech*, i.e. the King of the Ammonites. In this grim form he could be appeased only by human sacrifice, and especially with infants (2 Kings iii. 27, Amos ii. 1, with Jer. xxxii. 35). Hence the interchange of the names when the tutelar deities of these nations are spoken of: Chemosh being described as the god of the Ammonites (Judg. xi. 24), and Baal-Peor as the god of the Moabites (Numb. xxv. 1). Hence also the identification of them by Jerome, who remarks, in his *Commentary on Isaiah*, cap. xv. : ‘ In Nebo erat Chamos idolum consecratum, quod alio nomine Bealphegor appellatur. ’ As Chemosh (Ares), he is represented on coins holding a sword in the right hand, a lance and shield in the left. As the generative and productive power he was Ashtar-Ashtarte, or Baal-Peor, and was worshipped with all the phallic mysteries (Numb. xxv. 1, Josh. xxii. 17). . . . The importance of this Ashtar-Chemosh to classical antiquities arises from the fact that we have here, upon Canaanite soil, the original of the Aphrodite mentioned by Aristophanes, the name of the bearded Venus Amathusia, *eodem mas et femina*. The different features under which Ashtar-Chemosh was represented and worshipped will explain the different treatment of

the vanquished places recorded in line 12 and here. There, after the first battle, and in the expectation of soon being engaged in another fight, the first fruits were offered to Chemosh, as the god of war; hence everything was destroyed, men, women, children, and the spoil. Here he is recognised after the second fight, and worshipped, as the Ashtar, to let the army indulge in the orgies by way of reward and stimulus; hence the women and the spoil are saved, and dedicated to the temple. For a similar practice see Numb. xxxi. 17, 18, 35, 40."

The relations subsisting between the Israelites and the children of Moab occupy fragments only of the Old Testament history, but fragments of the most dramatic, and sometimes of the most tragic, interest. It has always been felt that the record of these relations is only a broken and discontinuous one. Certain anomalies, which might easily be exaggerated into inconsistencies, are easily detected by those who seek for them. They have been found and enlarged upon to the prejudice, of course, of the Biblical narrative. Now, it is the almost universal opinion of those who have deciphered this monument, and are competent to give an opinion, that King Mesha supplies by his tablet some important supplementary information. Dwelling only at first on generals, it seems strange at first to read on the stone that Omri—for the name beginning with Om can be no other—subjugated Moab, and brought it into what seems to be recorded as a new and great outrage. The inscription is exceedingly severe on his memory. But when we turn to the Scripture narrative, we read only of a ruthless and exterminating war carried on by King David, who laid a heavy tribute on those whom he spared, and reduced the land to a bondage from which Mesha rescued his land on the death of Ahab. The long period of freedom which the stone implies—or seems to imply, for it would be wrong to interpret it too positively—before Omri's irruption can, however, be with ease inserted into the Biblical narrative, and, indeed, throws a clear light upon the guilty intimacy of Solomon with Moab, who not only married Moabitish wives, but actually built a temple to Chemosh on the Mount of Olives, and even worshipped him there. What more probable than that, through his wives, Solomon was induced to relax the bondage of Moab?

Again, the Prophet Isaiah depicts a state of things in Moab which can hardly be accounted for save on the supposition that King Mesha's record of his exploits was a true one. We find the Moabites masters of the country south of the Arnon, fortifying and holding its fortresses, and, when Isaiah

lifted up his burden, in possession of the entire territory which the Amorites originally took from them, and which, after the Israelitish occupation, had been occupied by the trans-Jordanic tribes, Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh. The Stone of Mesha will throw light upon two of the most impressive pages of the Old Testament. There is no more terrible chapter of history than 2 Kings iii., which describes the assault of the three allied armies of Israel, Judah and Edom, and the fearful sacrifice that raised the siege. There is no grander utterance of prophecy than Isaiah xv., xvi. "The Burden of Moab," in which the Jehovah, whom Chemosh insulted, beholds the glory of Moab and dooms it. Both the history and the prophecy will be better understood when read with the broken commentary of King Mesha's engraven record.

This would be true on almost any theory of the date of the monument, and the true history of the king whose name it bears; but much more if it can be established that this Mesha is the same who fought with Omri. Let the reader take up the history of Omri in 1 Kings xvi. He will see that the chronicle by no means exhausts his history; and he will find no great difficulty in inserting the facts at least, if not the pious reflections, of Mesha's monument as an appendix. The King of Israel, lusting after the fair plains and cities of Moab, broke in upon it when the father of Mesha (Chemosh-gad) died, and made it and its young king tributary. Mesha reigned, it appears, through forty long years of oppression, and seems to have offered to his false god the humbled and chastised devotion of a broken spirit. He represents himself as having waited for deliverance long. He extols his god that at length he had been enabled to make a successful attack upon Kirjathaim, to take Ataroth and devote the tribe of Gad to destruction, and to occupy the wasted places with his own people. He recounts that Chemosh told him—but how the oracle came he does not say—to assault Nebo, which accordingly he took, piously offering the women to Ashtar-Chemosh, slaying about seven thousand men, and devoting the vessels of Jehovah, as his highest triumph, to Chemosh. Then the King of Israel fortified Jahaz, and attacked Mesha; but Chemosh made him relinquish the battle, and go back to his own country, when Mesha captured Jahaz, and from that time Moab was free. At this point comes, as we must needs think, the tragical chapter, 2 Kings iii., which may, without much violence, be reconciled with King Mesha's few lines of crowded history. Then follow, in the rest of the inscription (about

one-third of it), the record of the wonderful things that Mesha did during the few years of victorious freedom that were left to him. "I built—I built" is the watchword; till, at length, "and Chemosh said unto me, Go down; make war against Horonaim"—but the chronicle then vanishes.

Professor Nöldeke is not a very anxious champion of the Hebrew documents and their perfect historical accuracy. His testimony, therefore, will be unimpeachable, and we shall translate it, without omitting its touches of license. After a very striking account of the warlike relations of Israel and Moab, which we must not even abridge, the Professor introduces the Mesha of the inscription:—

"The powerful house of Omri revived the old Israelitish pretensions to the trans-Jordanic territory, and of this our inscription gives evidence. But King Mesha recovered his independence (2 Kings iii.), and, as the stone records, took many cities again from the Israelites. And thus the Moabites, according to the words of the old prophet, which Isaiah repeated (Isa. xv. 1—16), became possessed of the whole territory which (Josh. xiii.) had been assigned to Reuben. . . . Jeremiah, who used the same oracles which Isaiah quoted, mentions a number of north-Arnon cities as Moabite (Jer. xlviii.), as also Ezekiel (xxv. 9) refers to them. . . . Under such circumstances, a fierce hatred was nourished between these neighbouring peoples. The prophets, from Amos to Jeremiah, address Moab with bitter severity. The enmity and the hatred continued long after the destruction of the kingdom, even down to the Maccabees. That the Moabites amply returned this hatred is evident from the whole history, and is especially attested by the stone."

It is painful to read much that Professor Nöldeke writes concerning the oracles of the prophets, and the spirit in which they vindicated the dignity of their land and embittered its enmity against the stranger. But the following testimony, confirming the suggestions made above, or rather sustaining them, are from such a freethinker all the more valuable:—

"The inscription gives us an extract from the narrative of these wars, which were undoubtedly interspersed with intervals of peace. I do not doubt in the least that Ganneau's supposition, accepted by De Vogüé, is the true one, that the King Mesha who erected the pillar is the same who is mentioned in 2 Kings iii. Our king reigned at the time of Omri's dynasty, and after this had for forty years ruled in Moab, and successfully rose up against it. Now the dynasty of Omri was undoubtedly extinguished shortly after the events of 2 Kings iii. It is not possible that in this short space two kings of Moab named Mesha arose, and both with the same results contended against Israel. The narrative of 2 Kings iii. contains, indeed, some

features not historically true; such as the particular circumstances of the attack on the part of the Moabites (*ver. 22 seq.*), as also the mention of the King of Edom; whereas we have the short and unsuspecting statement of 1 Kings xxii. 48, that the Edomites, at the time of the Jehoshaphat of this war, were without a king, with which it is perfectly consistent that when they rebelled against Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram, they got themselves a king."

We must suspend the quotation for a moment. True, the clear and unsuspecting statement of 1 Kings xxii. 48 declares that there was no king in Edom; but why does our Professor not let the king's representative have his honour? It is enough that the same account says, as if purposely to rebuke such scepticism, "a deputy was king." And as to the unhistorical incident of the collected waters mistaken for blood, it must stand or fall,—it must stand, with all the other interventions of God, through the ministry of Elijah the prophet. Suffice to say, that the more narrowly the history is examined the more evident will be the traces of minute historical fidelity. But to return. Our Professor makes his frank admission, after that episode of unbelief:—

"But on the whole the narrative must be accepted as certainly correct. According to it, King Mesha of Moab, rich in flocks and herds, and on that account called in mockery 'The Shepherd,' refused his accustomed tribute. Jehoram of Israel, then, with Jehoshaphat of Judah (who stood in a certain relation of dependence on him), went against Mesha, assailing him, not from the north, but, like good tacticians who would most effectually strike the enemy, from the south. Now, as Edom depended then on Judah, this course was possible to the allies. After they had suffered great distress from lack of water, in the waste places south of the Dead Sea, they smote the Moabites with a very decisive success, laid waste their land, and shut up their king in Kirharaseth. In his dire extremity the King sought to propitiate the wrath of his divinity by offering up his son, the heir of his throne, on the wall as a sacrifice. Assuredly the siege of the city was raised, and the King and his people were seemingly assured that the fearful sacrifice had been effectual. The writer intimates this in his own way, and from his point of view changing the source of the wrath, as if 'a wrath' or 'great indignation' had come from God upon Israel: because, that is, they had reduced Israel to such straits as to offer so horrid a sacrifice. To sum up, the great end was answered, and the re-subjugation of Moab was not accomplished."

So far, Professor Nöldeke, without any such loyalty to inspiration as would make him partial, confirms by his high authority the general estimate of the high historical value of

the Moabite Stone. Reading the inscription in the light of his geographical and expository comment, we cannot but be struck by the fidelity with which King Mesha, an uninspired but true historian, has supplemented the Bible in certain passages which have been designedly left incomplete, and therefore to a certain extent in confusion. Whatever the stone says confirms the Bible, and is confirmed by the Bible. The two records, if we may so speak, agree together in the general view they give of the relations of Israel and Moab, whether historical, geographical, or religious. Were the inscription simply purged of its heathenism, and fitted into the Hebrew narrative by a few necessary changes, it might find a place in the Kings and Chronicles without any change of its facts. It would, indeed, require to have many things put in which the judicious Mesha thought fit to pass over; but even this would almost entirely depend upon the solution of the question whether or not the pillar was raised after the sacrifice on the wall.

It might be assumed, apart from evidence to the contrary, that the pillar was erected after the critical event that released Mesha from fear, and enabled him to pursue his career of national improvement. On the other hand, such a supposition would involve a considerable amount of suppression; in fact, more than can be reconciled with credibility. The stone says nothing of the confederacy, of an important siege, of the miserable mistake of the imagination which turned water into blood, of the slaughter, of the heroic but desperate and unsuccessful attempt to break through or "cleave" the investment, of the sacrifice to the god, which united in one the profoundest sorrow of the father and the king, and the highest devotion of the servant of Chemosh. We may, indeed, find plausible reasons for the omission of each fact in detail; but the omission of all, in a monument which professed to seal and commemorate for ever the deliverance of Moab, and in the form of an engraven and permanent act of worship, seems too much for hypothesis. Other monuments may yet be brought to light that shall clear up many points. Meanwhile, our Professor's judgment seems, on the whole, more trustworthy than some of the opinions which have been current:—

"As to the time of the expedition [of the three kings] we have no precise specification; for 'in that day' (2 Kings iii. 6) is not more definite than 'in those days' of the Gospels. The fall of Moab took place under Ahasiah (2 Kings i. 1; iii. 5). This expedition was certainly only one, perhaps the most remarkable event of a long series

of conflicts. We must not, indeed, resort to 2 Chron. xx. for support to our view: that romantic narrative is only another version of 2 Kings iii., which removes out of sight such stumbling-blocks as the alliance between Jehoshaphat and the kings of Israel and Edom, and the human sacrifice, while it interweaves with the narrative all kinds of edifying matter."

This indirect attack on the Chronicler of the Kings of Judah is perfectly gratuitous. He does not in the slightest degree help the argument about the stone, when he goes out of his way to throw discredit on a book of Scripture. He needed not to refer to the incidents of Moabite conflict gathered up in the later book; but if he did refer to them, such a conscientious inquirer should ask whether nothing could be said in favour of 2 Chron. xx. being an independent narrative. The observation itself has been made again and again; and again and again has it been shown by the highest authorities upon the annals of Israel and Judah that the minutiae of true history are to be observed in the chapter of Chronicles, and that the whole cast of the narrative is different from that of the Kings. In fact, we have precisely what the Professor says we have not in 2 Chron. xx.: evidence that an uninterrupted series of wars, more or less important, were going on upon all the borders of Moab down to the time when Jehovah, by the Prophet Isaiah, cried in the indignation of His holy jealousy: "It shall come to pass, when it is seen that Moab is weary on the high place, that he shall come to his sanctuary to pray, but he shall not prevail:" "on the tops of their houses, and in their streets, everyone shall howl, weeping abundantly." As to the "edifying matter" of the wonderful chapter of Chronicles, its sublimity should shield it from contempt; its pathos of devotion should shield it from scepticism. If God has anything to do with nations and their conflicts, their rise and their decline; if the honour paid to His name counts for anything in their success and in the shaping of their destiny: in other words, if there be a Providence watching the communion, in peace and in war, of the peoples and races of men, then this chapter will vindicate itself. Jehoshaphat's prayer could never have been invented. Finally, though it is hardly worth noticing, on what possible theory does the critic of inspiration find that a human sacrifice would be an offence in the Chronicles which was tolerated, and described in its terrible simplicity, in the Kings!

But to return. Professor Nöldeke's opinion is that the inscription takes us to the middle of this war, and that we

may with pretty much confidence assume that the pillar was set up before that siege, since we find no allusion to an event the consequences of which were of such importance. Before, however, he ventures to assign a probable date, he must needs suggest that the Hebrew chronology about the time of the kings is more uncertain than is generally supposed. Accordingly, disclaiming any attempt at accuracy, he contents himself with assigning the inscription to a date between the beginning of Ahaziah's reign and the expedition of Jehoram; that is, to the former half of the ninth century before Christ.

The geographical researches of Professor Nöldeke are of deep interest; they cannot, however, be referred to as such, but only as they incidentally illustrate the evidential value of the stone. One instance may stand for all:—

“The existence of a town, *Nebo*, has been strangely considered a doubtful question, even down to recent times; though in some passages, such as Numb. xxii. 38, a town of the name seems most probably to have been indicated. Now this very place, as such, is mentioned in our inscription; for it is obvious to anyone that neither the tribe of Reuben nor King Mesha would have troubled themselves so very much about a mere mountain-top. Now we may fairly take it for granted that the town *Nebo* lay not far from the Mount *Nebo*, which derived its name from it; and the position of that mountain is defined, with at least approximate precision, by the circumstance that it was opposite Jericho, and gave a wide prospect over the western region (Dent. xxiv.). Something to the east, or south-east of this mountain, the town of *Nebo* ought to be sought; and this is confirmed by Numb. xxxiii. 47, if the town is indeed meant there. Now Eusebius tells us that a deserted place, *Nabau*, was in his day pointed out eight miles from Heshbon; and as there was no religious interest attached to the town, such as was attached to the mountain (which he elsewhere notices), I hold this intimation to be beyond suspicion. [Alas for Eusebius among the critics!] Such a position, eight miles south or south-west of Heshbon, hits exactly the indication of the Old Testament and the inscription. To that place *Mesha* (coming from *Dibon*) might easily have marched in a night. For the rest, we have a strong confidence that the place should be exactly recovered, since Robinson mentions a village, *Nebo*, which is most probably identical with it. *Nebo*, according to Numb. xxii. 38, belonged to the tribe of Reuben; according to Isa. xv. 2, to the Moabites, for whom, according to our inscription, King *Mesha* won it back.”

It is not too much to say that the Moabite Stone, though having only some thirty lines engraven on it, has all the value of a new geographical companion to the Bible. So far

as that most wonderful region is concerned, it seems almost to be discovered anew. So far as we have observed as yet, criticism has not detected the slightest evidence of inconsistency between any of the Scriptural accounts and the record of this stone. Not that the guarantee of the veracity of Scripture depends upon any collateral security, whether of this or any other document of antiquity ; but it is most satisfactory to find the minutiae of Biblical geography so indisputably confirmed. We share the hope that Professor Nöldeke and many others have expressed, that the waste places of the region beyond Jordan will disclose other monuments that shall assist in the identification of many places in the Bible, and the localisation of many scenes, which at present are shrouded in mystery. Meanwhile, our Professor's geographical notes on the Moabite Stone will repay the most careful study.

There are many, both in Germany and in England, to whom the Moabite inscription will not be only an aid to faith. They will be ready enough to appeal to it as showing that there was a certain family resemblance among the Semitic cults, and that, with a few differences that may be accounted for, the tone and spirit of national devotion, such as it was, is the same. They will add to it the other monuments of the strange race-religion of which antiquity was full. Till this discovery, the Phœnician inscription on the sarcophagus of Esmunazar, King of Sidon, the longest yet known in that language, was the most important contribution of the kind. Something in its tone is very similar to the pious strain of Mesha, and equally suggestive to the student of Scripture, whether for good or for evil application. It runs thus :—

“ I am Esmunazar, King of Sidon, son of Tabnith, King of Sidon, grandson of Esmunazar, King of Sidon ; and my mother was Amaash-toreth, priestess of our lady Ashtaroth, the queen, daughter of the King Esmunazar of Sidon. We built the temple of the Alonim [the great gods] at Sidon on the seashore, and all-powerful heaven has made Ashtaroth favourable to us. We also have built on the mountain a temple to Esmun, whose hand rests on a serpent. Lastly, we also built the temples of the Alonim of Sidon at Sidon, of the Baal of Sidon, and of Ashtaroth, the glory of Baal. May the master of the kings always grant us possession of Dor, Japha, and the magnificent corn-lands in the vale of Sharon, as a recompense for the great things I have done.”

The Moabite inscription is full of devotion, which some would call abject, others humble, to Chemosh. His absolute sway over Moab is assumed. His displeasure accounts for

national humiliation ; his returning favour is the redemption of his people. He gives his oracles by his priests, or by some other method, and without them Mesha undertakes nothing. Hence critics like Professor Nöldeke think it enough to say, as he does : " It is plain that Moab felt herself in the same relation to Chemosh that Israel did to Jahve. Even the hard Semitic sentiment which thought its God was best honoured when it sacrificed the enemies of His people without mercy, is here reproduced. Change the name, and we have the religious language of the Old Testament." That there is a certain truth in this is evident from such sentences on the stone as these : " I erected to Chemosh this stone of salvation, for he saved me from those who spoiled me, and let me see my desire on all my enemies." " Omri oppressed Israel many days, for Chemosh was angry with his land." " And Chemosh had mercy in my days." To us it seems evident that Moab had transferred to its idolatrous service much of the spirit and style of the Hebrew religion, without entering into its truth. Religion, national religion, was rooted in the Semitic nature ; only one branch, however, had received the true worship of the true God, and all the rest ignorantly worshipped their false gods. The accident that the sentences we have quoted have so much of the ring of Scripture in them is easily to be accounted for. Moab had not sent Chemosh to Israel without learning much in return. But the enemies of religion too often forget the essential and ineffaceable marks of distinction between the Jewish religion, even in their exhibition of it at the lowest, and the Moabite and Phœnician religions when drawn at the best. Professor Nöldeke, to do him justice, does remember this. He goes on to say : " But an essential difference is found between the religion of Moab and the religion of Israel. The horrible sacrifice which King Mesha offered, shows us how low was the point at which the religion of Chemosh remained, while the religion of Jehovah was always raised high above this." The most refined Semitic races, without exception, *save the Israelites*, were guilty of mingling with their sacrifices this human blood ; and no comparison can be fairly drawn between the outrages of Moabite slaughter of men and pollution of women in the *worship* of their false gods, and the destruction of sinners carried out at God's *command*. Infidelity cannot allege that the Supreme ever required men to be killed and women to be dishonoured as part of His service. It will go on as heretofore to allege that He has required the extermination of innocent people ; and those who believe in

the absolute justice and love of the Governor of the world have no answer that can be expected to satisfy : they can only give the answer that should silence, if not satisfy. The Eternal does remove by other instrumentalities tens of thousands and millions annually who cannot defend themselves : and if in ancient times His unsearchable wisdom prescribed that guilty races should be swept off the face of the earth, as those believe who hold the Scriptures, His own time must be awaited for the explanation of this. Those who reject the Scriptures, but retain God, have the same kind of difficulties, and not even the shadow of a solution.

The suggestion thrown out above, that the engraver of this pillar borrowed from his neighbours, seems to be established by the opening words : " Mesha seems to have Samuel's words in view when he put up his pillar between Mizpeh and Shen, in memorial of the Divine help afforded him in defeating the Philistines." There is, as Dr. Ginsburg has observed, a similar play upon the words : " While the Hebrew prophet extends this play on words to the stone and the deliverance, by using the same root in both cases, the King of Moab goes further, and extends it to his own name also. He calls the stone *Mesha help*, in allusion to his own name, which denotes *deliverance*, and then uses the verb from the same root."

But we must take our leave of the Inscription of Mesha. It may be that extravagant things have been said concerning its importance, and a more sober estimate may be formed by its enthusiastic students. But, with every deduction, it is a most interesting and valuable contribution to the study of Hebrew, comparative theology, and Scriptural evidences. The literature already expended upon it is very considerable, quite a little library if the ephemeral essays of the periodical press are included, and even now the number is increasing. In due time the *disiecta membra* will be pieced together, a final text established, and all its lights concentrated on the chapters of Kings ; but before that time comes, we hope some other Moabite or Edomite stone will absorb the attention of Europe as this has done. Meanwhile, we are thankful to Divine Providence, who directed Tischendorf to the Mount in Arabia for a new and more perfect copy of the Bible to test and confirm the old ones, that He has sent this stone of testimony, which He preserved inviolate for ages, but man has broken. Thankful, not because additional evidences are absolutely necessary, but because they are exceedingly helpful in confirming the faith of those who believe, and in strengthening them in their attack upon those who believe not.

ART. VIII.—*The Hampshire Advertiser*, October 15th, 1870.
The Record, October 12th, 14th, and 17th, 1870. Reports
 of the Proceedings at the Church Congress at South-
 ampton.

Six years ago* we took occasion to review at some length the proceedings of the third meeting of the Church Congress, then recently held in Manchester. On a subsequent occasion,† we noticed that subsequently held in Bristol. Strange events, more or less directly affecting the fortunes of the Established Church of England, have since happened; and it will be interesting to mark how these events have modified the tone, if not, indeed, the substance, of the opinions of Churchmen. Of one thing we may fully assure ourselves. The Church (by which term we intend to speak of the Established Church) is losing none of her influence, whether over the masses of the people, or on the educated and wealthy. She holds her own with an air of assured confidence. She avows her intention to be aggressive. She is beginning to see in what but yesterday were regarded as subtle foes, or, at least, but half-hearted friends, allies, comrades, brethren. Common sense, and, in very many cases, a warmer Christian feeling, are coming to the rescue. It is true that she does not yet recognise the dangers which threaten her from the opposing action of forces within her own pale, and that, so long as separation is avoided, she tolerates internal schisms, and even fancies them to be a source of strength. Time will teach her. Looked at as a whole, for weal or woe, accordingly as she may yet develop, and whether Nonconformists accept or ignore the fact, she is, so far as externals go, the great religious power of the land. It is idle to regard all her professed adherents, on the one hand, as her true disciples, and all professed non-adherents, on the other, as her opponents. For no practical purpose can the unreclaimed multitudes be said to belong to one rather than to the other class. She is numerically stronger than any other sect,—than any group of sects which, except as to joint action against her, would consent to be grouped together. She has antiquity, rank, property, and her full share of intelligence, in her favour. Her parochial system, fully carried out, can lay a strong hand on every corner of our land. Always excepting the necessary

* See *London Quarterly Review* for January, 1864. † *Ibid.* for January 1865.

consequences of her connection with the State, she has as few obviously assailable inconsistencies as have her neighbours. Other creeds may be fuller, but they are not so precise; and precision of creed opens, quite as often as it shuts, the door of communion to those who seek rest for their souls. Other formularies may be more various and copious, may use less doubtful phraseology, may embody fewer obvious errors; but none are more simple; and, while detecting here and there teachings which we must condemn, we feel that we are guarded against them on every hand by the pervading spirituality of the whole. And what formularies, we are bound to ask, are perfect? Whether entire freedom from the control of the State would increase or diminish her existing advantages, is a problem upon which recent occurrences, and endless discussions, cast little new light. Colonial and missionary churches have always been used to walk alone. What is to be the fate of the disestablished Church of Ireland is altogether doubtful. Those members of the English Establishment who wish for a similar revolution here, look for it, generally speaking, as a season of confusion, in which all distinctively Protestant dogmas and practices are doomed to perish. The experience of the new Irish Church, so far as it can yet be adduced, and as we can hope to learn any lesson from a people hitherto, in all its aspects, quite unintelligible, does not point to this conclusion. So far as we can read what is passing, we should, in the contingency of separation, look for an enormous increase of zeal and effort,—whether directed mainly to the revival of religion, or to the perpetuation of a purely secular dominancy, we cannot guess. But, brought to bear upon English people, and commanded at all points by English institutions, we cannot bring ourselves to think that the issue would be favourable, on the whole, to priestly and sacramentarian systems. Whether this be an argument in favour of a change so momentous as to its character, concomitants, and results, we do not now seek to decide.

We are quite aware that some of the considerations to which we have thus adverted are viewed with doubt, or more than doubt, by the average Nonconformist mind. Our own, moulded after that fashion, half shrinks from admissions which are extorted from us by the barest candour, by the reading of every day's newspaper, by the most casual conversation in a railway carriage; not to say, also, by that careful pondering of the results of constant observation which, in the interests of Evangelical religion here and hence through the world, seems to us a clear, if too often neglected, duty. Far deeper down

than in the issues of war, or the schemes of statesmen, over-ruled as these are and will be to the highest end, lie the secrets of the future. Not only that religious instincts and interests give shape and colour to all the developments of our race; they are, themselves, the source of civil and social changes. To put it in a higher and truer form: The one purpose of Him who made and rules us is to gather out of every age and land a body of perfected elect ones, who, when time shall be no more, shall be the everlastingly saved of the universe. Here, through successive epochs, they are nurtured and trained in communities differing from each other in every possible respect consistent with the fact that He trains and nurtures them. What histories can they record! What lessons do they teach! In what a spirit of humility and fairness should we pursue the study! The story of the Churches will turn out to have been the story of the world; our concern in it, our own story. So it is that every inquiry into the state and prospects of any one Church, inquiry catholic in its scope and spirit, becomes of personal use to us. What, then, are the present aspects of the Church of England, as they appear in the light of the recent Congress at Southampton?

The first thing which strikes us is very difficult to comprehend. The heterogeneousness of this crowd of able, well-meaning, men puzzles, if it do not also almost appal us. The visible bond is membership with the Church; and here we have Bishop Wilberforce and Dean Hook, Mr. Garbett and Mr. Ryle, Mr. Perry and Mr. Mackonochie, Mr. Body and Mr. Twigg, all sitting most comfortably together. If Canon Kingsley went there to represent the broad section of the Church, we are delighted to say that his manly, reverent tone, on more than one occasion, was very unlike that of most of his constituents. Except in his person, they seem to have been silent, if not absent. We are not disposed to draw rigid lines of demarcation, nor to tie down individuals to all the peculiarities of their respective schools. We admit that mutual conference on an agreed common platform between good men of various thought and practice will greatly benefit them and us, and promote a kindly and intelligent piety. We will not even go so far as to say that,—the fact being that a congress of professing Churchmen was about to be held—moderate and Evangelical men ought to have absented themselves. The Church of England presents few opportunities either of wide intercommunion or of full and fearless discussion. But the wonder remains. It was a con-

ference between professed adherents of the Reformed Church of England; yet it was the unconcealed object of one set of attendants to discredit every detail of the Reformation, except, perhaps, as to the primacy of the Pope. Ritualism was with these all in all. That word designates a party, but it is a misleading one; and those to whom it fairly belongs are well content with it accordingly. Coin a word which shall detect and expose the real thing signified, and most Englishmen would hate it. The debate on this subject was very keen, and a short analysis of it, in illustration of our present point, best comes in here. Archdeacon Freeman, a man sometimes committing himself to views utterly unworthy of his ability and excellence, was very bold. In his view, "the ritual of Apostolic days was a revelation that came down from Heaven, and not only so, but, in its grand leading features, the observance of that ritual was as necessary to the scheme of salvation as the holding of sound doctrine and the practice of holiness. These were qualifications for heaven; but, if they asked for the medium of contact, the ladder of access between earth and heaven, they knew of no other than the ritual and sacramental ordinances"—(we note the level on which these are put)—"of the Gospel as once for all instituted. They alone formally, as a matter of Divine order, knitted them up in the body of Christ, and held them to it." The Archdeacon went on to search in the Acts of the Apostles for these ritual and sacramental ordinances, and discovered four:—(1) The Apostles' teaching and fellowship,—which he subsequently took for granted was "the teaching of the Holy Eucharist;" (2) the breaking of bread; (3) the prayers; and (4) "the continuing daily in the temple for the high service of psalmody." The reporters tell us that he then proceeded to explain in what way these were taught by the New Testament, but do not furnish the explanation. Some hints are given. The context of some verse, which, we gather from the *Record*, was that relating to St. Paul's cloak being left at Troas, "and the earnestness of the whole passage . . . seemed to countenance the supposition that it related to an 'officiating vestment. . . . The breaking of bread, consecrating prayers, using lights with profusion, and, in late Apostolic days, the using of mystical numbers, seemed to testify to the ritual used; and there also seemed to be a concurrence of literary and monumental evidence in favour of some kind of head-dress being worn by the apostles." In the sub-Apostolic age, these features were expanded and reduced into detail. "The great features of oblation, of a memorial sacrifice, of

reception of mysterious and sacrificial food, of effectual pleading, were discernible. . . . A vestment was put on, of more special solemnity, at the point where the ordinary service merged into the more solemn Eucharistic ones. Yet white seems to have been for a long time the only colour, fine linen the only material, except that a band, possibly coloured, but more commonly black, held exactly the position of their stole. The exact date or origin of the subsequently universal alb, stole, and chasuble, was lost in obscurity; but the retention of the vestments, linen or silken, but white, with only so much addition of colour as the varying stole and orphreys involved, would very readily bring them into harmony with early times and the whole Church. A distinctive dress for the Holy Communion they ought in any case to secure." Then the Archdeacon launched into an eloquent attack upon monthly communions, contending for weekly celebrations.

All these "strange doctrines" excited, of course, considerable disapprobation. Mr. Bassett, a Southampton layman, attempted to confute them on grounds which only a Plymouth Brother can consistently hold. "If a Christian be 'a living temple,'" he argued, "it follows that each man is a complete church in himself." He more wisely said that "the object is to revive sacerdotalism, and it was illustrated by the invention of a ritual which makes gods of priests and serfs of Christians." Mr. Perry continued the discussion by reading a paper on the other side. Chancels, altars, and the colour of vestments, were his topics. The first he ascribed to a period previous to the last four general councils to which the Church of England statutably referred as a test of heresy. The altar he attributed to a not less early period, and chancels and altars necessarily leading to the vestments worn by those ministering at the altar. An Apostolic sanction would not, perhaps, be denied them, in so far as they corresponded with the dress which those servants of Christ (not less than their Divine Master) are believed to have used in their celebration of the Lord's Supper. They had the shape of the alb in the usual short tunic, and the shape of the chasuble in the full, flowing vesture which was thrown over the close-fitting coat, at all events, as a dress of dignity, on solemn or festive occasions. If, as was solemnly held (though the point was disputed), the stole was a development of the ornamental border of the tunic, a third portion of the ecclesiastical vestments might claim this Apostolical authority." We cannot give the argument as to colour. Mr. Owen Jones is a much higher authority on such matters than

any which the speaker was minded to quote. Dr. Harrison replied, but his observations are very imperfectly reported. Mr. Sumner dealt not too severely with Mr. Elliott's attack on any separated order of ministers; whereupon both Mr. Elliott and Archdeacon Freeman complained that they had respectively been misunderstood. Then came the chief champion of the new ceremonial, Dr. Littledale. We shall not do that reviler of the Protestant Reformers the honour of quoting him. It was high time for Mr. Ryle to speak out. "He would like to know where Christian antiquity began and ended. How many centuries were covered by that vague expression? The evidence was extremely scanty. It should be received with great caution. It must never be pressed to the exclusion of the greater antiquity of the Word of God. Very little was said in the Bible about ritual. It contained nothing about altars, priests, lights, garments, &c." The feelings of the great bulk of the people of England must be remembered. "They had to do with a great number of people who knew nothing about the Fathers, and would look jealously upon what, while borrowed from Rome, was not supported by the authority of Scripture." "He respected the zeal of men like Mr. Mackonochie," but his proceedings "were calculated to alienate many from the Church, and to do more harm than good." We confess that this was not all the answer we should have expected from so famous and faithful a representative of the Evangelical party. What if the testimony of an accurately defined antiquity *were* in favour of practices whose only good or harm is that they teach sacramentarian doctrines? And what if such doctrines were generally popular? What of the fallacies and *non-sequiturs* so lavishly used on the other side? What of the necessary repugnances of the system to all that is true on any sound theory of religion, not to say to the plain teachings of Christianity? Such discussions as these, if they be not exhaustive, seem to us almost worse than worthless. Mr. Lowder, much to his own satisfaction, confuted Mr. Ryle. "Only a missionary priest, and not a learned divine," he took his stand on that platform as a ritualist simply on the Scriptural argument. "Moses was commanded to do all things after the pattern given him on the Mount. . . . And when the Temple was destroyed, the Revelation was opened to St. John, which taught us exactly the same story as to the way in which the Lord desired to be worshipped. It was most remarkable that St. John had seen, as described in the Revelation, the exact counterpart of what Moses saw on the Mount and taught in the Tabernacle; and yet they were told all this was

done away with. . . . They were doing in their Christian worship what was enjoined in the New Testament." They were carrying on God's worship "with the vestments of the priest, with the lights, and with the incense which St. John saw in the Revelation. . . . Incense, therefore, was Scriptural, their prayers ascending with the incense to God."

The Rev. F. F. Goe,—if we are not mistaken, a Lincolnshire clergyman, who has mixed much with non-conforming Christians—bore off what honours were to be won in this melancholy fight. He drew the attention of the Congress to the value attached by the Church of England herself to the evidence of Christian antiquity as to Church ritual, quoting the chapter on Ceremonies prefixed to the Common Prayer-Book. "Judged by that standard, Church ceremonies, always excepting those expressly prescribed in the celebration of the two Sacraments, are of human institution, devised by man." St. Augustine's complaint that Christians had, in this matter, become more burdened than of old the Jews, is referred to, and the preface goes on to say:—"And besides this, Christ's Gospel is not a Ceremonial Law, but it is a religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the Spirit." "As our Church freed herself at the Reformation from the corrupt doctrines which had defiled her, consistency required that she should also abandon the symbolical expression of those doctrines. The abandonment of the doctrine of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass necessitated the relinquishment of that garb which symbolised the office of a sacrificing priest." "Could they ever be thankful enough for the wisdom and the courage with which, as regarded ceremonies, they snapped asunder the so-called chain of Catholic continuity which had proved so mischievous to the Church?"

Mr. Everard, of St. Mark's, Wolverhampton, "had neither time nor inclination for the abstruse question which had been touched upon that morning." "Antiquity was silver mixed with dross. Scriptural antiquity was chiefly important because it was silver purified seven times in the fire. One single sentence of Scripture was worth hundreds and thousands of pages of other antiquity." There were two great New Testament rubrics: one with respect to the inner spirit, and the other with reference to its outward manifestation. "As regarded the latter, away with all that irreverent, slovenly, and useless worship which still prevailed, alas! in many of our churches." God was to be worshipped "reverently and holily." He could find nothing in the Acts of the Apostles "to justify the eccentricities of ritual practised in

these days. Revive the ancient faith by all means. The vestments of priests were to be the beauty of holiness; their lights Divine truth, shining in their hearts; the incense, that of devotion, love, and prayer; their prostrations those of a humble spirit." Mr. Wilson, of Rownhams, endeavoured to ascertain "the dorsal defect of portions of the previous discussion," and broke his own back in the effort. "How could the question be affected," he inquired, "by any lack of ancient evidence? Fancy an architect being sent for at any time before the ten persecutions, and being told to build a good church with a chancel." Mr. Gough, of Hull, contended that the evidence of Christian antiquity showed that corrupt doctrines and an excessive ritual crept in together. The Rev. Mayo Mayo quoted various passages of Scripture in which the term "altar" is used, and which, he thought, gave it a Christian application. Mr. Churton, chaplain to the new Bishop of Chichester, spoke in favour of religious processions and litanies, as "not merely innocent, but, under due restrictions, and at special times, cheering and edifying."

Some unreported speakers followed, and Bishop Wilberforce wound up the whole with parting compliments, all tending, however, in one direction. He was deeply thankful for the self-restraint which had been shown. The anti-Ritualistic brethren were in the right, for they were afraid of "interposing a mist, with its varying colours, between the soul of the worshipper and Christ." Their opponents were in the right too. "Those brethren who desire to carry the ritual of their churches to the highest point allowed by the Reformed Church of England,—for I have not a word to say to any one else,"—(we can almost hear the smooth-tongued, wary, prelate speak)—"equally with their brethren desire to promote the approach of the worshipper's soul to Christ alone; but they believe the soul may be aided in that approach by a more abundant use of the outward machinery than their brethren would allow. Now, if we go away with these convictions strengthened in our minds, we shall be likely, in striving each for his own view of the truth, to do so with more love and forbearance, and his brethren who, on either side, differ from him," &c. Bear, you revivers of sacerdotalism and superstition, with the men that want to see for themselves their way to the Saviour! Bear, you inheritors of the Reformed faith, with the men that seek again to corrupt and debase you! Bear with each other, and why? Because you are all professed members of the Reformed Church of England. Bishops must be "no strikers,"

even of heretics. At all events, heretic bishops, if there be such, will be the last to strike. The correspondent of the *Record*, thankful for very small mercies, reviews this discussion "with thankful congratulation." We see the laugh of a sardonic scepticism at the whole affair, and mourn.

To what these strange contrarieties will grow, it is hard to guess. We know some good and sanguine Dissenters who have gone to bed every night, since the passing of the Reform Bill, with the cheerful conviction that next day the system would crumble into ruins. We know stolid Churchmen, too, who have never yet opened their eyes to the anomalies and difficulties which increase on them on every hand. A third class prides itself on its indifference to the whole subject. We have but one clear conviction to record. The Romanising section of the clergy must leave the Church, or, established or non-established, its power as an instrument of good to the masses of the people is for ever gone. And why should they leave the Church, if petted by some bishops, if tolerated by any; if treated as brethren in the same faith, Church, and ministry by the leaders of the moderate and Evangelical parties? As for the latitudinarian clergy, their principles oblige them to a cordial approval of the evil.

We pass from this discouraging topic to notice others raised at the Congress, and take heart from most other portions of the proceedings. In the ranks of the more zealous Ritualists themselves, we shall find some happy and redeeming inconsistencies.

As has always been usual, the proceedings commenced with special services and sermons; the latter preached by the new Bishops of Salisbury and Oxford respectively. Dr. Moberley did not specially address himself to the occasion, in his clear and thoughtful discourse on the importance of the historical evidences of Christianity. Dr. Mackarness delivered his soul on the subject of Unity. Unity is the law and principle of the Church's life; but the Church is not under their operation. Rome, with its visible head, claims to possess it—"a majestic idea," said the preacher, "having almost everything to say for itself, except that it is true;" but this we fancy was mere oratory. It consists in "the unity of the spirit wrought in the hearts of the regenerate." How would the forthcoming Conference tend to attain it? "It all depended upon one condition,—that they were assembled in Christ." The Church is in peril, because of the rapid growth of divisions. "He desired no better result of the Congress than that they might learn to live with one

another in more unity." This was, in substance, all. There is an apparent innocence about it which would make us respect the speaker, if he did not sustain so grave an ecclesiastical function.

Bishop Wilberforce, the President, did himself full justice in the Inaugural Address. One of the most eloquent and popular preachers of his time, we know no man who, of late years, has presumed more upon the certainty of favourable acceptance, however loose the thought, however sensational the style. But for this occasion he had taken some trouble to prepare. We do not attempt a summary. By this time everybody knows what he was sure to say at such a time; how many true things; how many safe ones; how many with two meanings; how many with none; with what pleasant illustrations; with what edifying unction; with what facility and flow of expression; with what a Catholic charity to all the members of his Church—the Evangelicals, poor things, not excluded; with what a tender and affectionate desire for the union of his dear Dissenting friends in the one only holy and Apostolic fold of the Church of England. And all said so piously, properly, prudently, and archiepiscopally.

The first subject of discussion was, "How best to quicken and extend the foreign Missionary efforts of the Church." Our readers well remember that, at the last meeting of Convocation, a proposal to form a new Mission Board, to be under the direct control of the Church, was adopted. It is not to collect money, nor, as its promoters avow, most of them we are sure honestly, to interfere with existing societies. Its principal object in Chancellor Massingberd's view is by some means, not yet very clearly defined, to seek out young and zealous agents. Dr. Hessey suggested also that it might collect information; stimulate the bishops to a more lively interest in the work; lead to the compiling of forms of prayer about it; and promote Missionary feeling and action in the universities. Some jealousy was manifest lest, after all, the strong and successful agencies now at work should be damaged. On the whole, a wise and good spirit pervaded the discussion; and men of all sections talked in one vein. Sir Bartle Frere, who has seen much of the Church's Missions in India, and greatly served them, spoke strongly in favour of an increase of the episcopacy there. "Where the eye of a fatherly bishop was, there only did Missionary work find its full extension; and he believed it was because they had been so negligent, in this respect, that so great a share of

the glory of evangelising India rested with other bodies." Bishop Gell, of Madras, spoke in a truly Christian and Catholic vein. The Warden of the Missionary College at Canterbury urged the formation of bodies of clergymen and laymen who should find funds for the collegiate education of Missionary candidates. Of course, some eccentricities protruded themselves. The ex-Bishop of Labuan has not yet put up his sword into its sheath, and spoke vehemently in favour of fighting the Chinese, and then proceeding with the work of converting them. And a certain rector of Sopley felt much condemned on account of alleged coolness in the very diocese where they were assembled, because "St. Boniface left that town (Southampton) from the Abbey of Nutcell for Germany on a mission. When at Munich it afforded him great gratification, and did his heart good, to see that the grandest basilica was to the glory of God and St. Boniface. He hoped yet to see more Bonifaces whom they would venerate."

We do not see that very much good could come out of a conversation on such an occasion,—discussion it was not,—on "the effect of the increased cultivation of physical science and of literary and other research on Biblical customs and belief." The speakers were very much of one way of thinking, and nothing very new or striking was elicited. Everything seemed to show a frank disposition to accept all demonstrated facts, and, for present purposes, all clearly legitimate scientific conclusions. Successive difficulties must be met, or their solution delayed, as they may happen to arise; and we really cannot admit that all the narrowness and bigotry are on the side of the maintainers of the truth and inspiration of the Bible. But this is a subject in which all Christians—not one Church only—are interested. We cannot omit Canon Kingsley's deliverance. "He had held, long before he became a priest, that God's revelation in the Bible and in the Universe *could not* contradict each other, and he intreated ministers of religion, who entertained any doubt on the subject, to patiently prosecute their researches with the view of arriving at the truth." We wish the Canon had given the same advice to the other side also. "He anticipated shortly a revulsion of feeling, as regarded philosophic thought, throughout Europe, and certainly in England, when the nominalistic view would run to seed, and give place to realistic philosophy, and when there would spring up a race of natural theologians who, taking up the great but almost extinct science of natural theology, where Butler and Paley

left it, would confer great and lasting benefits on the true Church."

More space must be devoted to the proceedings of the next Session of the Congress. It was at the first evening-sitting, and there was a very large attendance. That which attracted this motley crowd of clerics and laity, Freeman, Kingsley, and Ryle, all equally interested, was a free discussion about "agencies for the kindling and revival of spiritual life." We expect to find much confusion and contrariety; for the main term has exactly opposite meanings, just as it is employed by men of different schools of thought and feeling. But we remember the "seven stages" of Wesley's course; how the one man was, successively, the regular High Churchman, the Ritualist, the Mystic, the teacher of an unfelt Gospel, the fervid preacher of an experienced faith, the evangelist whom no prejudices could restrain, no forms fetter, the wise, earnest, considerate, systematic revivalist and reformer of his epoch; and we ask ourselves,—Is this the beginning of a movement which shall issue in another great awakening of the Church, in the purging of all this dross, in the refinement of this real gold, and the fashioning of it into vessels meet for service? Will there be poured largely into this system of well-arranged and well-approved appliances the spirit of an enlightened evangelism? Will the "letter that killeth," itself die? Will old forms glow with the rekindled light within? Will exclusiveness unbar its doors, and welcome, at all events as a guest, every passing Christian? Gross ignorance, revolting vices, discontented poverty, and the worse sins of the well-to-do, social evils and miseries of all kinds, threaten and taunt us on all sides. Our large cities are so many slumbering volcanoes; large portions of our rural districts stagnant and pestiferous lakes. Methodism itself quails as it comes in view of the hordes which crowd the East of London. Is there such a blessing from our bountiful Father yet in store for our land as a real, abundant, lasting revival of the capable old Church of England? Let us see what hope this discussion gives us. It is much that there is a discussion; confession of need, some precision of idea as to the nature of the remedy.

Prebendary Humphry seems to be in John Wesley's first stage, with one foot into the second. His school is substantially sound in the faith,—a good deal to say in these times. Half a century ago, it led a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, but it did not exactly see the use of taking very much trouble, until sectaries began to take

it. Now, it is plain trouble must be taken,—but in what way? Not too much, for fear the new wine should burst the old bottle. If other people see their way to stir, watch and wait the issue. We hope we are not hard upon a really estimable clergyman; on one who, as some people believe, has in his time been just on the point of uttering that ambiguous “*nolo*,” which means a desire for the office of a bishop. But see how this thoroughly respectable prebendary, rubbing his eyes, looks at the times. “He was not one of those who looked upon the matter with a desponding eye. There was light, but the other side made the shadow look dark, especially when they looked at some of their parishes, and at densely-populated places. There were many men, too, whose religion is merely formal. Means against these things should be taken, but not by violent or spasmodic efforts, such as the revivals which took place in America and Ireland.” Then he referred to the famous Twelve Days’ Mission. He did not presume to state anything as to its success, “But the apparent results were favourable. . . . Alluding to the banners and other things, which had been introduced into the worship, and the conferring of absolution upon members received into the Church,”—we are quoting from the *Hampshire Independent*, whose reporter we pity,—“he said the new religious movement seemed to suffer at first from those who were opposed to it. It seemed to him, by the holding of the Twelve Days’ Mission, that much of the opposition against Ritualism had been done away with. (‘Hear, hear,’ and ‘No, no;’ and the marks of approbation and disapprobation were kept up for a minute or so.) At all events, they could give them credit for their zeal and self-devotion. . . . He could assure them that he differed from the Ritualists on some important points of doctrine and ritual.” “A great objection had been taken to the eccentricities in the mode of carrying out the Mission; and it had been said to him, ‘the less ceremony the better,’ by one who was experienced in Missions. However, the local clergy had acknowledged the Missions in some places, and the only question was how they should be conducted, some being of opinion that the whole work should be under the direction of one man.” Not a promising beginning this, except as it shows how very prudent clergymen, of a very orthodox type, are familiarising themselves with the idea of erratic efforts to do good, are disposed to look leniently on the agents, and, generally, are beginning to be puzzled.

“Father Benson,” by which name a notable Ritualist delights to be called, a man “in a long, black, monkish

habit, reaching down to his feet," was the next speaker, and delivered himself, we are told, in a very excited manner. His calling was to reconcile the regular parochial clergy to the bold innovation of revival-services. "Spiritual life in the souls of men could only be kindled and revived by the Holy Ghost, which spoke and worked through the Church." To say that they were not all striving for the same thing, would be to deny certain portions of the Athanasian Creed. The Missions were undertaken "in the covenanted spirit of the Almighty presence." Their object was to make the truth more visible and permanent. They must look to special results from these Missions, even though they were few in number, — quoting the promise to the "two or three." All communicants should be invited to take part in them. They should be asked to be present at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and ask the blessing of God on the Missions. People often lamented the want of success; but let them offer their prayers for it, as those at Antioch did. It was of no use to seek for the best and ablest of men, unless they had the Spirit of God with them. The Missions must appeal not only to the poor, ignorant, and despised, but also to those who were above them. "They could speak to the people in a manufactory, while they were at work, or at their meals, and thus they would be induced to attend service in the evening. The sermon must be of a stirring character, rather more than was required for an ordinary congregation, in order to rouse them, and the Missions would entirely fail, unless there was a disposition on the part of the men engaged to do thoroughly their work. They should feel that a prophet had come among them, and their speaking of the love of Christ would enable them to revive and kindle some spiritual life." There are the dawnings of light, we think, through all this hazy declamation.

It was time for the Evangelicals to be heard; and Mr. Emilius Bayley seems to have spoken, in their sense, with his accustomed moderation and ability. He deprecated a spirit of controversy. He specified the agents suitable for the work, — the clergy, laymen, city-missionaries, Bible-women, Scripture-readers, &c. He alluded to similar operations out of the Church of England, — as, for instance, among the Methodists, — "and he thought they might welcome them in their work. He fancied that means might be taken for brotherly union, and for making the link between them much stronger." He referred to occasional failures in the working of the Diocesan Home Missions. "He could not estimate too highly the

work that had been done by the men who had worked in these Missions. He knew something of the Twelve Days' Mission; but, in order to obtain for them success, three things were essential. The first was, they must have prepared soil upon which to work; in the second place, the teaching must be Evangelical, not the Gospel without the Law, nor the Law without the Gospel; and, in the third place, they wanted men who would preach earnestly, and lay themselves out for aggressive work. Great success depended upon wise and zealous pastors, and those men who were sent must be of the true mould of a Christian. What they wanted was solid preaching, with metallic weight as well as speaking power."

Mr. Bowker, a layman, again took up the question of suitable agents. Not wishing "to disparage the ordained and educated ministry, which was the greatest blessing, under God," he showed how "poor men had been the means of kindling and reviving the spiritual life, of bringing men on the side of God." He asked the clergy to allow laymen to preach the Gospel. He would not tolerate vulgar language or action. "He would allow no man to preach whose experience was collected out of the reach of the human heart. By that he meant that a man should be in earnest." The clergy should not be jealous. They should call upon old, middle-aged, and young,—upon men of every rank. Young men went over to the Nonconformists because the clergy would not remove the difficulty; their brethren in Scotland acted differently. Then he told of a gathering in a country chapel, to whom a mechanic preached with acceptance and power.

The Rev. R. Twigg, of Wednesbury, described by the *Record*,—and we take its report of his speech,—as "a very High Churchman of Mr. Aitken's school," "commenced by asserting that the Christian life began in baptism; but that it was lost in the great majority of baptized persons, and that the object of the Church's Evangelistic efforts was to revive it." He declared "in the clearest and most explicit terms" "that the great means of doing this consisted in the preaching of the Gospel,—a Gospel of free, full, and present forgiveness of sins, through faith, and by the sole atoning righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ. He urged this with great force and earnestness. When conviction was awakened and the conscience aroused, he expressed his belief that the inquirer might be dealt with in four ways,—and that God's blessing rested on them all,—private struggle with God, conference with a minister, penitent prayer-meetings (which formed his own habit), and private confession."

The Rev. D. McLagan, the new Rector of Newington, Surrey, —appointed there, it has been surmised, by Lord Chancellor Hatherley, for the purpose of setting up the true light in the immediate neighbourhood of Mr. Spurgeon's tabernacle,—has not been thought worthy of any detailed report. They ought to work together, he thought, for God's work, and not to mistrust each other. He spoke, too, of the influence of the Twelve Days' Mission upon the regular attendants at church. The general strain appears to have been,—Hear what Mr. Twigg says, and swallow Ritualism whole.

Mr. C. L. Higgins wanted a good collection of hymns. They had always played an important part in Church-revivals.

The Rev. G. Body, late of Wolverhampton, now of Kirby-Misperton, Yorkshire, was, by this time, unable to sit still. We should like to introduce him to our readers. Picture a by no means impressive-looking man, we should say not yet forty, with a good clear voice, and much power of felicitous extemporaneous speech; consecutive, striking, impassioned as Whitfield himself. We do not know much of his history, except that at the Congress he told them that Mr. Twigg was his spiritual father. We think we have formed a pretty accurate conception of his ecclesiastical and theological opinions. He is a thorough High Churchman. No extreme of Ritualistic observance would, we believe, revolt him. Put to examination, we doubt not he would hold to views of the Sacraments which Dr. Manning would consider to be substantially sound. He practices confession. Yet hear him as he speaks at this Congress, and uniformly elsewhere: "The question had been often asked with regard to the Missions, 'What had been done?' and his reply was that it had already been solved. If John Wesley could only rise up, and see them gathered together at that Conference, to consider how the masses of the people could be awakened to a knowledge of their Saviour, he would rejoice; and let them remember that Wesley did for his day what they were striving for now. He trusted to see an Evangelical spirit kindled in every heart, and that men would be induced to go forth with the spirit of truth, and to speak out what the Lord had done for their own souls. This was what they wanted to do, and they hoped no authority or party would step in to mar their work. They claimed the co-operation of every Christ-loving man in the great work of the salvation of souls. They wanted to carry out their work in a bold way. If they were to be confined to the Prayer-Book of the Church of England, he did entreat those in authority to let them speak to men in some

places,—to men who had never bent their knee before to their God,—without the prayer first. They could tell them of the truth first, and then have the prayer last." These remarkable utterances were received with cheers. The *Record* describes and supplements them: "With great earnestness, and very considerable eloquence and fervid action," he "enforced the same doctrines of grace on which Mr. Twigg had laid such emphatic stress. He pleaded with warm emphasis that they might be allowed to carry on their Mission-work with freedom, and protested that he cared little for mere attendance at church, or even attendance 'at the Lord's Supper,' but looked exclusively to the conversion of the soul to Christ by the Spirit of God."

The Common Serjeant and others wound up the discussion; but no new feature showed itself, except perhaps a reference, by the Rev. George Williams, Vicar of Ringwood, to "the blessed results" of a remarkable revival of religion, which had been "inaugurated" by the President of the Assembly, in his late Diocese of Oxford; of which we had not previously heard. We gather from the reports that, when Mr. Body had concluded, all, except intending speakers, thought it better to go home.

The *Record* says that "the discussion has left many interesting, and some perplexing, questions to be solved by the prayerful consideration of the Evangelical members present." We devoutly hope they will solve them wisely.

We do not propose to review at any length the discussion as to the "Duty of the Church in the present phase of the Education question, as affected by the Bill on Elementary Education." Its tone was decided and clear. In cases where the Church of England can, by speedy and extraordinary exertions, supply in whole or in part existing destitution, it will supply it accordingly. The die is cast, and honest statesmen could not cast it otherwise. Nonconformists proper must pay the penalty of long inaction; Wesleyans, of their recent "unhappy divisions." The Church of England, whatever that may turn out to mean, will, in our opinion, continue to be the chief educators of the people. In so far as it may fail to secure this object,—and we believe that the united efforts of all the religious denominations will be inadequate to the necessities of London and other very populous districts, it will try,—while we write, it is very successfully trying to make itself felt in the constitution of the School Boards. Again we find ourselves driven to the conclusion that upon the future character and action of this same Church, established

or non-established, will depend very much the religious condition of the people of England.

It is an axiom, sustained by all ecclesiastical history, that, as religious life is rekindled and spread, sacerdotalism, and all that savours of it, are gradually extinguished. The Evangelist proclaims his message. The people hear it gladly. Churches are formed. Church life is developed, and Church action commences. The pastoral office comes earliest; but its functions necessarily limit the scope of its exercise. More Evangelists and more pastors are demanded. But these alone cannot carry on the work of aggression and establishment. If they could, it were not desirable, for each individual convert must seek to make others, else his own piety languishes. There are subordinate duties also, from which, if we would follow New Testament principles and precedents, the pastor, at all events, must be relieved. The Evangelist may "serve tables," for, in the first instance, he must do everything. But he who has to study and minister the Word, to feed the flock he has folded, and, as the main qualification for this, to give himself to prayer, must be excused from all absorbing concern as to temporalities, whether his own or those of the Church. It is a sign of feebleness and decay when the laity, just interested enough in religion to wish it well, are content to shirk their responsibilities, and to throw them upon some rector or superintendent of administrative talents and general activity of habit. Now and then, there turns up an ecclesiastic with a passion and a power for work of all kinds; but it happens too often that self-estimate is mistaken, and that, in attempting everything, the main thing,—comparatively speaking, the only thing,—is more or less neglected. We insist that the co-operation of the laity with the clergy in the spiritual and secular labours of the Church is a sign of the revival of religion, and an important agency in conducing to it. We are much gratified, therefore, to read that the Congress directed its attention to this subject in a discussion on "Lay Representation in Church Synods and Conferences," which led to a very interesting, though desultory and incomplete, treatment of it.

Bishop Moberly began with reading a carefully prepared paper. "Briefly, he held that the laity ought to have a proportionate part in such assemblies as those referred to." The Church inherited the powers of the Pentecost, and no class of the Church should be absolutely precluded from their exercise. This principle, however, did not exclude the existence of a body of men Divinely inspired to discharge the func-

tions of the priesthood. The story of the first Apostles' council led him to the conclusion that, in those times, there was additional recognition of an authority diffused among all classes. He did not pretend to urge that this precedent had been followed in subsequent councils. Opponents admitted the presence of the laity as consenting parties, refusing them any consultative voice. But consent involved the power of dissent, a thing differing little from the right of consultation, though it might exclude the right of origination. Exclusion from acknowledged power had led to indirect and illegitimate power. The union of Church and State had divided the clerical from the lay element, and there had been conflicts of authority, which, however, need not have been. Assuming, then, that the laity ought to have some place, what should it be? America, Ireland, the colonies, and various recent conferences of Churchmen in England, threw lights on the question. Synods must be representative. What were to be the qualifications of an elector, and of a representative, respectively? A better state of Church discipline was essential to an adequate representation. The qualification for electors should be *bonâ fide* membership of the Church; and, for representatives, they should be communicants. Two objections were urged on the other side. It was a new thing, but he gave up the controversy if the mediæval system were conclusive. Next, it was argued that the laity would not condemn unsound teaching; but the body of Christ—the Church of God—must be trusted. The Rev. Wayland Joyce followed. A synod was one thing, a convention another. The former was an assembly of men in holy orders; the other, a mixed body. Lay representation was inconsistent with neither the principles of the Church of England nor with the example or precedents of the universal Church. Such a revolution in ecclesiastical results might be mischievous. Faith should be taught from above. The sheep should not teach the shepherds. All that was said about the Council at Jerusalem was that "the brethren kept silence." A local Church must not act against the authority of the universal Church. Archdeacon Utterton, an experienced member of the Evangelical party, pointed out the dangers which now beset the Church, and its want of unity and wisdom. He knew no better means of securing these than by brotherly conferences of clergymen and laymen. The bishops had been isolated from the clergy, the clergy from the people. There were certain things for which the laity had a certain aptitude; indeed, work, be it what it might, was

not so well or so readily done as when there was some share in the management. No ruling power ever could last which did not carry the goodwill of the governed. It was altogether unnecessary to show, as might easily be done from the Acts of the Apostles, the Fathers, and the practice of the Church of Rome in her former days, and from that of the Church of England, that laymen of good repute should take part in these councils. What they wanted was a revival of ancient custom, modified as altered circumstances required. Some organisation was necessary, not interfering with the union of Church and State, nor with the clerical character of Convocation. Sir Antonio Brady read a paper on the same side. Laymen must have a legal and recognised position in the Church. It must not be a matter of the pastor's favour. He disliked the tyranny both of congregations and priests. He wished to see in the hands of lay Churchmen a control over the repeated authorised changes in the conduct of public worship in our churches. Owing to the absence of joint action, the parochial system was breaking down. Incompetent, and, sometimes, immoral clergymen held pulpits and emoluments. Above all, he would make the churches free. He would give parishioners some voice, if not a vote, on the appointment of parochial clergy. Patronage must no longer be bought or sold. Discipline must be enforced by competent authority, and not left to individuals, bishops or laity. In each diocese he would have a council of clergy and laity. We must pass over many subsequent speakers. The Rev. James Moorhouse and the Common Serjeant spoke of the success which has attended the establishment in a metropolitan parish of a lay-council, composed of twenty-five parishioners, elected by the whole number who chose to declare themselves members of the Church. Mr. Beresford Hope was most anxious for the increase of Church councils, but not by virtue of Acts of Parliament. Such an Act must define what a Churchman was, and how many of them would like that? Then the question of the offertory would be gone into, as also the question of worship, and that of necessity would lead to the question of doctrine. They must organise Church councils for themselves, not upon an absolutely rigid rule, for nothing was so deceptive as uniformity for uniformity's sake. The Rev. William Pound, Appuldurcombe, Isle of Wight, and the principal, we believe, of a large school there, wound up the whole by contending that the English Church was never intended to be governed otherwise than by the clergy.

"Christian Unity" was the last subject which engaged the attention of the Congress, and, except that on the revival of religion, by far the most interesting. A very brief summary of the discussion is all we can now attempt. The first paper was read by Earl Nelson, and is all the more remarkable as coming from so pronounced and earnest a Churchman. He commenced by maintaining that there *was* a unity, despite their outward divisions, invisible, but nevertheless real, amongst all true Christians, which, like that unseen communion between the saints on earth and the saints in heaven, was ever present to the all-seeing eye of God, "and felt as a blessed reality by each true follower of our dear Lord." Even ultra-Calvinists and Romanists admitted this truth. To this essential unity, and the few outward proofs of it seen in a general teaching of some truths by all, the growth of the Church must be attributed. But this was not enough. It was not that unity in the strength of which the Church had attained her two great victories, against ancient heathenism and more modern barbarism. Another contest was impending. A more perfect civilisation, based upon and strengthened by that very Christianity which it sought to ignore, was presenting infidelity in a more subtle form to the Church in these latter days. We must be prepared; and all parts of Christendom yearned for outward union. In what did it consist? Rome had tried to force it; "and they all had been in this too faithful followers of Rome's system." It had "been acted upon in their own penal laws against Nonconformists, and in the narrow-minded dogmatism of their own religious life." They of the Church of England were bound to stand by the Eastern Churches; for, though their practice had been somewhat different, they had ever appealed to the Undivided Church as the charter of their liberties. So long as Rome maintained its system, all union with her was impossible. With the Greek Church it was different, for, though she had practices they must condemn, she was not formally committed to them, nor did she seek to bind them on others as terms of union. (We do not stop to question this.) But while they looked for union with other Churches, their own internal divisions must be healed. In treating with their Nonconformist brethren, he would explain the creeds, rather than do away with them. And, in all points, even where they may have gone from the faith, remembering their own share of blame in the matter, he would seek rather for points of agreement than of difference, more carefully explaining their formularies, in love try-

ing to convince them. He would try to bring them back to Wesley's rule of taking the sacraments in church, ready to give greater liberty to their different forms of worship, not seeking to bind them of necessity to strict uniformity, knowing that it was their duty, as the National Church of this land, whether established or not, to embrace, within their fold, all the true Christians of the nation "*who, by that unrepented law of the Universal Church, cannot be cast out of Christ's body.*"

The Rev. F. S. May discussed the possibility of union with the Reformed Churches abroad. With him episcopacy must still be the bond, and his hope seems to lie in modifying that. We almost think that a Wesleyan superintendency would satisfy him. Archdeacon Churton is very imperfectly and altogether obscurely reported; but he seems to have discoursed mainly on the Greek Church. Mr. Pearson, Q.C., ascribed past and present want of uniformity to the fact that in every age the very earnestness of Christian men made them exclusive. They were eager to shut out those disagreeing with them. The Rev. George Williams agreed that union with the Greek Church was impossible. Never was the prospect of it so faint and distant. Bishop Ryan urged caution. They should present a positive front to other Churches. It was not their duty to ask any Church under the sun to admit them. The Word of God should be their invitation to other Churches. The Rev. R. Randall urged generosity, but not in parting with one fragment of God's Word, and humility, for they themselves had weak points. Canon Freemantle spoke from personal knowledge of the illiteracy, ignorance, and degraded morality of the Greek clergy. He reminded the Congress of the existence of such a Church as that of the Vaudois; and he insisted on the difference between true unity and outward uniformity. Dr. Littledale then appeared on behalf of the extremest section of the Church, and was bold, flippant, and inaccurate as his wont. We only quote, that we may gibbet, him. A dogma, he asserted, was a thing of human origin; an ordinance a thing of Divine institution. Therefore, &c. Bishop McDougall suggested Missions as a basis of union. He could testify to this from personal experience at Labuan, where he had worked in harmony with the Roman Catholics. Let them have a board of Missions, communicate with the directors of Missions in the Latin and Greek Churches, and say they were ready to co-operate. He seems to have thought, also, that they could make terms with their Nonconformist brethren. The Church of England

might become "the unifier and peacemaker" of the Churches. The Rev. J. S. Jenkinson, Vicar of Battersea, protested vigorously against union with the Oriental Churches. "Would they allow their Communion Service to be altered? Would they give up the Thirty-Nine Articles? ('Yes,' and 'No, no.')

And should they give up the word Protestant? ('Yes,' and 'No, no.')

Never." The Rev. W. Wyndham Malet saw some signs of coming union. He had been among the sick and wounded in the American War: he had also been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, wearing the cross as a pilgrim. He celebrated the Holy Eucharist on Olivet and Sinai, after some fashion not reported. "Was not that," he asked, "a sign of unity?" The Greek Patriarchs also had expressed to him their wish for union. Others followed, at whose opinions we cannot even glance. Mr. Ryle was as outspoken as we could wish him to be. Mr. Forbes, of Paris, got the last word, by declaring that union was to be sought for in identity of doctrine rather than of government; and the bland President pronounced the benediction.

We must conclude; else we should epitomise the proceedings of the meeting of working-men, so called, and tell of Bishop Wilberforce's dexterous management of its unruly members, of the triumphs of the calm, godly, good-sense of Canon Kingsley, and of the eloquence of Bishop Magee. It was our intention, when we commenced this article, to look at the phenomena before us, and to attempt some explanation of them; to gather from them, if we could, some certain indications of the probable future. We have failed to do this. So many facts have suggested so many topics of consideration, that we have but here and there allowed ourselves to indulge in comment. Perhaps it is better that we have not been able to do more, and have been at the pains to let what, for this purpose, we may regard as the leaders of the Church, speak for themselves, leaving our readers to form their own conclusions. We testify to our own perplexity, and almost bewilderment. But such discussions as took place at the Congress are comparatively new: as the position of the Church is changed and changing; her members are grievously divided, each section from all others. The clergy, until recently, have been imperfectly educated for their profession: truth is cautious; heresy very rash and impudent. In those special interests of general Christianity which we have throughout kept in view, can we regard the horoscope as favourable? On the whole, we answer affirmatively. There are so much honest inquiry, so much intrepidity and fearless-

ness, such candid confessions of infirmities and past mistakes, so true a grieving after brethren long estranged, and of late, to a large extent, actively hostile ; so anxious a desire for the spiritual life,—the only life of Churches. Can a bald ritualism, with all its luxuriance of borrowed tresses, can a cold orthodoxy, shivering idly before fireless grates, can a reckless scepticism, impatient of ancient creeds, too weak or too impatient to shape even the outlines of new ones,—destroying the temple itself in the vain attempt to widen its doors,—can any of these, can all put together, in the long run cope successfully with truth, zeal, and charity ? And surely these are making themselves both heard and felt as never they were heard and felt before in the Reformed Church of England.

ART. IX.—1. *An Act to Provide for Public Elementary Education in England and Wales.* August 9th, 1870.

2. *Report of the Adjourned Meeting of the United Committees on Primary Education.* London: Wesleyan Conference Office. Sold at 66, Paternoster-row.

THE Elementary Education Bill received the Royal Assent on the 9th of last August. Already it has filled the country with a busy ferment of discussion and enterprise. Already hundreds of new schools have been set up; and hundreds more have been undertaken, which will be brought into operation, some of them within the next three months; but many more in twelve months' time, and yet more, in all likelihood, not until the year 1872 is well on its course. Already school boards have been established for the metropolis, and for nearly all the large towns of the country. The next twelve months will see school boards constituted in a large number of second and third rate towns, and of manufacturing villages, and in a considerable number of agricultural school districts. A movement has been set on foot of the highest possible importance, perhaps, indeed, more fraught with beneficial influence, and high and grand revolutionary result, than any national undertaking known in our annals. It will, however, take some time, not less than two or three years, to get through the preliminary work of inquiry and construction. Not till two or three years have been completed will the requisite number of school-houses have been built. Whether competent teachers will, by that time, be forthcoming for these schools, is very doubtful. What is certain is, that the supply of efficient teachers, at this moment, when only a very few of these schools have been opened, is really below the demand. Whether, when the schools are opened, they can be filled, or nearly filled, with scholars, by any compulsory powers or agencies which will be at the command of the school boards is also very doubtful. What may safely be predicted is, that school boards will find their difficulties multiply as they proceed with their work; that supplementary legislation, in regard to the relation of children's education to children's labour, will be necessary, on the part of the Home Secretary, if Mr. Forster's measure is to have a fair chance; that the Revised Code will have to be thoroughly revised

again, partly for general and anterior reasons, and partly in order to provide for a supply of teachers to meet the initial emergency—teachers such as, although deficient in training, may yet, with the test and safeguard of examination by results, be used in default of better, to do some part of the rudimentary work which must be done. It is further certain that, for years to come, many of the schools which are about to be built will be only half filled with scholars; and that, as men are now greatly over-sanguine as to the immediate result of Mr. Forster's measure, so, in three years' time, there will be a general disappointment to find things so much less improved than was expected, and as great a disposition to underrate and disparage, as there is now to overrate the efficacy and virtue of the Act. After ten years have passed away, however, the ultimate efficiency of the measure will have begun to make itself felt, and its far-reaching importance will begin to be appreciated. It will prove to be a lever by which beneficent revolutions, in the relations of class to class, and of the population to the territory of this country, will be effected. These revolutions will be peaceful, happy, and welcome when they arrive to men of every class; yet, if in the mere verbal definition of them, they could be now foreseen, they would be as alarming to many sincere friends of the people's education as free-trade foreseen would have been hateful and horrible to a protectionist of forty years ago.

In saying what appears to us to be needful to be said at the present hour, by way of information and suggestion with regard to the initial operation of the Act, and the conditions necessary, especially in the way of further immediate legislation, to insure its efficiency, we propose, in the first place, to show how and in what order of results the Act will come into operation; and, in the next place, to consider in what respects the present Educational Code must be relaxed or amended by the wisdom of the Department and the authority of Parliament, so as to furnish a compendium of regulations, clear, consistent, and equitable in principle, based on true science and proved experience, and at the same time sufficiently elastic to admit of their being adapted, in actual application, to cases of an exceptional character and to immediate emergencies.

I. The first effect of the Act was to challenge voluntary organisations to a final effort in the way of systematic and extensive *school-building* within a very limited period. The limits of this effort are already determined, because with the

last day of the year which is now closed the period and opportunity for undertaking such an effort has come to an end. Henceforth no more building grants towards the erection of schools will be made by the Education Department at Whitehall. The provision to this effect was inserted in the Bill, at a late period in the discussion, apparently in consequence of, at all events in conformity with, a suggestion from the Wesleyan United Committees on Primary Education. From no other quarter, so far as we are aware, was any such suggestion pressed upon the acceptance of the Government. The Congregational Union passed a vague resolution, the utmost efficacy of which could not rise higher than to "damn" the Bill with "faint praise" and hesitating hints of dislike; the Nonconformist Committee at Birmingham condemned the Bill in general, and protested much and unadvisedly in regard to the Conscience Clause: but neither authority ever bethought themselves of insisting on a point so practical, and so vitally important, as that Government building grants to voluntary schools should at once be brought to an end. The Wesleyans were studying the substantial equities of the question; the violent and extreme voluntaries, not taught wisdom by their former fatal errors and irreparable losses in connection with the controversies on education, were lost among shadowy phrases, and confused by the sound of their own voices, the echoes of which they mistook for the acclaim of the people of England. In the interesting "Report of the Adjourned Meeting of the United Committees on Primary Education," it may be seen fully stated on what grounds those Committees based their demand for the cessation of building grants.*

The following is Dr. Rigg's brief summary of the reasons which influenced the Wesleyan Commissioners, as given in a statement to Mr. Gladstone, in the interview which a deputation from those committees had with the Premier on the 25th of May last:—"It was also the conviction of the Wesleyan Committee that building grants from the Government to denominational schools ought immediately to come to an end. By discontinuing grants to aid in building denominational

* The resolution in which this point was embodied was to the following effect:—"That this meeting is of opinion that the existing voluntary schools should not be interfered with, except so far as to require the adoption of a satisfactory Conscience Clause; but that, in the case of all rate-aided schools, denominational formularies should be excluded; and that from the time at which the Act shall come into operation, the present system of building grants from the Education Department should be discontinued." Mr. McArthur, M.P., moved, and Dr. Rigg seconded this resolution.

schoolrooms, the objection on the ground of concurrent endowment would be largely met. The function of the Government would be reduced, and limited to that of testing and appraising and rewarding the purely secular results of education."* No Member of Parliament had proposed any amendment to effect what the Wesleyans thus suggested, nor had the suggestion been made in any other quarter. Before many days, however, had passed, the Government adopted the suggestion, and, with very little opposition, it was incorporated in the Bill.

The immediate effect was to produce, as a final and consummate effort, a prodigious spasm of school-building energy and enterprise on the part of the Church of England. Practically, the Church of England had enjoyed almost a monopoly of building grants ever since the Lowe and Lingen régime at the Council Office succeeded to that of Sir J. P. Kay Shuttleworth. The large-minded administrator who, under the Minutes of 1846, organised the modern movement of combined and correlated voluntary forces for the education of the people, made his appeal for the education of the neglected and benighted classes impartially to all denominations. But what Messrs. Lowe and Lingen combined to do, when they were placed in conjunction over the Department, the one as vice-president, the other as chief secretary, was without any warning, by a mere turn of the hand in administration, to reverse the policy and abrogate the principle of Sir James Shuttleworth. It was not, however, a mere reversal. Whilst the Nonconformist congregation was only at liberty, with Government help, to set up a school in proportion to the actual number of its adherents, and to the size of its gathered Sunday-school, the Church of England was encouraged, as of right, and with unfailing assurance of help, to build a schoolroom wherever there was a need of one, and to use it, not only for the school, but as a church, until a church proper could be built. We should be ashamed to complain of the liberty and aid thus granted to the Church of England, but the embargo laid upon the charitable undertakings of other denominations was very unfair and injurious. It is plain that just where there was already neither Christian church nor Sunday-school, a Christian day-school would be likely to be the most woefully needed. Even in the East of London, this hard and inequitable rule was applied. And when a grant was allowed, it was usually

* *Report, &c.*, p. 173.

coupled with such conditions as would have "cribbed and confined" both Sunday and day school within absurdly small limits, and so have crippled energy and repressed extension in future. Under such circumstances the Wesleyan Methodists had almost entirely ceased to ask for Government grants. In the year 1867, for example, while the building grants to Church of England schools amounted to £19,000, to Methodist schools there were granted £300; in 1868, the amounts respectively were £30,000 and £188; in 1869 they were £27,000 and £50.

In the thirty years closing twelve months ago, the Church of England had received from the State £1,200,000, and expended on inspected schools as nearly as possible £4,300,000. The amounts suggest that a magnificent work has been accomplished. In that work we greatly rejoice. It is the best vindication of the style and title of the National Church of England which the Church as by law established can show. It is a surpassing proof of the patriotism and the living energy, as well as the denominational zeal, which are diffused through that Church. It is an honour, above all, to the clergy, by whose self-denying efforts mainly such amazing results have been accomplished. During the same period nearly £77,500 have been granted by Government towards the building of Wesleyan schools, of which the total cost is put down at £217,400. The Methodists, however, have, during the same period, expended many times as much as is here set down to their credit in Sunday-school rooms and in day-school buildings, towards which no Government aid has been obtained. Their day-schools are attended by 120,000 children, and supposing that, if they were all full, they might accommodate 160,000 children, they cannot have cost, including land and school outfit, less than three-quarters of a million of money. Their Sunday-schools are attended by half a million of scholars. Roman Catholic schools have received building grants to the amount of some £40,000, and British Schools to the amount of nearly £100,000.

By these building grants, during the last generation, an immense impulse has been given to school extension throughout the kingdom. The foundation has been laid of a virtually national provision for education. What remains to be done in building public elementary schools must be provided in future, either by means of purely voluntary efforts, or of school board school-extension out of purely public funds for purely public purposes. The composite action which has been in the past the only means of providing effectually, and

with any approach to adequacy, for educational extension, has now come to an end so far as school-building is concerned. The Church of England has had her share of help, and has done more than her share of the great work. When her present extraordinary efforts are added to all that have gone before, she will be found to have all but covered the country parishes with her schools, and to have planted them thickly over all the towns. The Methodists and other Nonconformist communities, who desire to bear still a share in the great work of education, must utilise their Sunday-school-rooms, of which there are many hundreds which might, with the least possible expense, not only be used as Sunday-schools, but be adapted for use as capital day-schools. What besides is required to fill up the educational deficiencies of the country will be created by the school boards.

The Church of England, however, was determined to take over with it into the new educational dispensation as large a dowry as possible from the old. And, certainly, her gallant and strenuous exertions have been rewarded with a splendid success. She will go into the wilderness of school-building voluntarism, carrying her with *spolia opima*. As much money has been promised by Government to the Church of England, during the last four months, as during a dozen years before. If all the schemes are carried out which have been sanctioned, and to which grants have been promised, more than two millions of money will be expended, and not less than three thousand schools will be built by the Church of England during the next two years.

Methodists have done but little in the way of building new schools, still less in asking for grants; they have chiefly contented themselves with utilising existing school and classrooms, now used for Sunday-school purposes. They will, however, open a hundred and thirty new day-schools, for the most part in such rooms, as soon as the brief Christmas holiday is over. And it is not at all unlikely that a hundred and fifty more new schools will be opened during the next thirteen months. What the Roman Catholics are doing in the way of opening new schools, we have no means of knowing. A large fund, however, is in course of being raised to provide means for building new schools, and there can be no doubt that scores of new building enterprises have been undertaken with the promise of help from Government. On no denomination will the new Act press hardly, except the Roman Catholics. They are not likely, we fear, to avail themselves largely of the school-board schools, because what the Bible is to a Pro-

testant his catechism is to a Romanist; and, while the Bible may be used, and in the vast majority of cases will be used, in school-board schools, the Act forbids any use of catechisms or denominational formularies. At the same time, the general poverty of the Irish population, in the towns of England, will make it hard for them to build day-schools, especially without any Government help. They have, however, resources from abroad, and from the wealthier members of their zealous community which will be laid largely under contribution for school-building purposes. Very few new British schools, we imagine, are being built, or undertaken. The school-board schools will themselves strongly resemble British schools, and will, therefore, supersede the need of many new ones. Indeed, it may be anticipated that not a few British schools will be transferred to school boards. But teachers trained at the British and Foreign Training Colleges at Borough-road and Stockwell are likely, we imagine, to be in increased and very extensive demand, in demand extensively for school-board schools.

II. The Act allows an interval of varying length, but which can hardly, in any case, come to an end before next winter, and which must, in many cases, extend till the close of 1871, during which there will be free opportunity for the establishment of voluntary schools, without, indeed, any Government help in the way of *building grants*, but which will not the less be entitled to receive *annual grants*. On an average the denominations may calculate upon fifteen or eighteen months from the present time during which to complete, as far as may be, their provision of day-schools.

The following process of inquiry and preparation must have been fulfilled before voluntary enterprise in the establishment of elementary day-schools, entitled to Government inspection and Government annual grants, will find itself confronted by any barrier; whilst the preliminary process is unfolding its parts and sections, the way will be entirely clear.

(1) *Where no request is made in advance to the Education Department for the establishment of a School Board.* Under this head will be included the great majority of school parishes or districts in the agricultural parts of the kingdom, and many of the minor towns; that is to say, not less than two-thirds of the population of England will come under this head. The following, in this case, will be the order according to which the Act will operate. Already forms have been issued—three months or more ago—by the

Education Department, to be filled up by parish overseers, or persons specially appointed, in which are entered the number and description of elementary schools already in existence, or which are in the way of being provided, and in this return are included private as well as public elementary schools. The next thing, which the Education Department are now beginning to do, with the beginning of this new year, is to consider these returns, with a view to dividing the country broadly into educational provinces, to be visited and examined by special inspectors. After this is done, inspectors will be appointed to visit the districts, and to inquire into the accuracy and completeness of these returns, and into the character of the schools included in the various parishes or boroughs, especially in regard to their suitability and efficiency. The suitability of a school will depend not only on the style and character of the elementary instruction given, but on the availableness of the school for the Christian denominations in the neighbourhood. Solitary schools, conducted on intolerant religious principles, can hardly in any case—we trust will in no case whatever—be allowed to pass as “suitable” schools. The inspectors appointed to this work, chiefly, we believe, laymen, will not, so far as we can learn, enter upon their work for some weeks to come. How long this inspection and inquiry as to existing schools and their sufficiency and suitableness may occupy, is evidently an indeterminate question to which no sort of answer can be given. There will be thousands of parishes and small towns in which to make inquiry; there can hardly be more than a score of competent chief inspectors to do the work of inquiring and reporting, although these, no doubt, will have the help of many paid assistants. In some districts the work of inquiry will be entered upon early; in some it will not begin for months to come. The Education Department having received their inspectors’ report, will have to consider it. To examine and form a judgment upon the reports of all the districts in the country will be a tedious operation for the Department. A considerable time must be allowed for the digest of these numerous and voluminous reports. When the Department has examined and decided upon the report, they will communicate their decisions to the various parishes and boroughs concerned. In this decision it will be stated what and where are the educational deficiencies of the locality. In connection with their determination on this point, the Department are also to describe and enumerate the schools which they have taken into account as pro-

viding sufficient and suitable instruction. One month is to be allowed after the publication of the decision of the Department, during which parties who conceive themselves aggrieved by it may appeal against it. If an appeal is duly made, a new and special inquiry into the educational condition and wants of the locality must be made. The month's interval having expired, and the determination of the Department as to that which needs to be done in any locality having been finally settled, the Education Department may at any time thereafter issue a final notice, requiring that the deficient school provision shall be supplied within a definite period, not to exceed six months. If during this period the deficient accommodation is not in the way of being supplied with due despatch, the Education Department are to cause a school board to be formed to do the work.

It will be evident, on a consideration of these particulars, that in few of the cases which we are now considering will it be possible to get as far as the point of setting up a school board before next winter, while in a large proportion eighteen months must elapse before a school board can be established. Meantime if, during this very considerable interval, voluntary effort can supply the needs of the respective localities, no school board will be imposed on the district by the Education Department. Only it must be borne in mind that, in supplying the educational necessities of the country, voluntary effort can henceforth be no longer supplemented by Government aid *for building purposes*. New schools must either be opened in premises already existing, or the new rooms and buildings in which they are to be held must be erected wholly without Government aid. The cases which we have been considering are probably co-extensive, as we have said, with two-thirds of the population of England. Over nearly the whole of this breadth it is not improbable that there will be an absence of school boards. The wants of the population as to school accommodation will be met entirely by voluntary zeal. The cases in which a school board will be imposed by the Education Department, in default of adequate voluntary exertion and provision of schools, will be very few. The imposition of a school board, with its free and various elements, its independent authority, and its rating power, is a rod *in terrorem* over the heads of parsons, squires, farmers, and shopkeepers; but in the cases which are now under our attention it will seldom be inflicted. A vast breadth of the territory over which an hereditary aristocracy and a territorial Church have held conjoint sway, or have at least

exercised a paramount influence, will be left pure from the intrusion of a school board, unless, after a while, the obnoxious institution should be found needful, and should be introduced and naturalised, merely for the purpose of exercising powers of compulsion, in order to enforce the attendance of children at the schools which have been provided for them.

(2) *Where a request is made in advance to the Education Department for the establishment of a school board*, as in the case of those boroughs in various parts of the country, but chiefly in the northern and north midland districts, in which school boards have already been established, although the official inquiry of the Education Department has not yet begun; and as in the case of any other boroughs or parishes from which a requisition, in due form and of legal validity, may be sent to the Department for the establishment of a school board before the official inquiry has yet terminated, or at least before its results have been under the consideration of the Department. In this case the limitation upon the outgoings of voluntary zeal will practically amount to this. Voluntary State-aided schools may freely be established, *without building grants*, until such time as the school board has itself begun to undertake the erection of schools. After that period has arrived, which cannot well be until after an official inquiry has been carried out, and the school board has had time to digest its results, the school board must be consulted in any case in which a voluntary school is set up. The school board will not indeed have power of itself to prohibit the establishment of a voluntary school. But it is evident that it ought to be and must be consulted; or the rate-built and rate-aided schools might be ruined by the competition in their own neighbourhood of State-aided voluntary schools. At the same time, the determination as to each case, the final permission or prohibition to establish an inspected school, will be in the hands, not of the school board, but of the Education Department, the Department communicating with the board before it forms its decision. It must, moreover, be remembered that, as the voluntary school can bring no charge upon the local rates, while every school-board school must bring a charge upon the rates, at least for its establishment, and probably also for its maintenance, it will evidently be the interest of the board to encourage the formation of really efficient and liberal voluntary schools. A school board will, therefore, not by any means be fatal or of necessity unfriendly to voluntary effort. Bigotry will hardly be able to work in harmony with a

worthy and efficient school board; but there is no reason why voluntary Christian educationists of a genuinely liberal spirit should not flourish in their zeal and undertakings side by side with a board. Nor is there, in our opinion, any reason to fear, as a rule, that the voluntary schools will not be able to hold their own by the side of the rate-aided schools. If they are thoroughly efficient schools, thoroughly liberal schools, and well worked by their voluntary committees, they will have many points of advantage over the rate-aided schools. If the fees of the rate-built schools are lower, this will be found to afford them no advantage, but rather the contrary, over the voluntary schools, as respects the class of self-respecting and superior working men, and the small shopkeepers, who send their children to the best of the voluntary schools.

(3) *In the case of London, where the formation of a school board was prescribed by the Act.* The Metropolitan School Board of forty-nine members was elected on the 29th of November; its first meeting was held on the 15th of December; Lord Lawrence was then chosen the chairman. Now in this case it is evident that the remarks which have been made under the last head apply yet more strongly. The first enumeration of existing schools and *prima facie* estimate of existing educational deficiencies for London could only be made by the new board, there being no collective council or board exercising municipal authority over the whole metropolis, like a town council in a borough, to which the task of making such an inquiry and estimate could be intrusted. The work, accordingly, has hardly yet been entered upon. It is not likely to be complete much before the date at which the Act requires it to be completed, and the results reported to the Educational Department, viz. four months from the day of the first meeting of the Board, i.e. April 15th, and assuredly all voluntary zeal for many months to come may well be left unfettered scope; may find "ample room and verge enough" for all that it can accomplish before there is the slightest danger of interference with any enterprise of school establishment to which the London School Board is specially pledged. It is not at all an improbable estimate that, including industrial and free schools for the most neglected classes, not less than a thousand additional schools may be needed in London. There cannot be a doubt that the London School Board, no less than the Education Department, will welcome into co-operation with itself in the very onerous, the vast, the costly work of providing the needful schools, all

genuinely liberal and truly efficient co-operation in the way of voluntary zeal and liberality, from whatever quarter.

The result of this survey of the field of opportunity, which will be left to the voluntary communities in the future, is that they need be under no apprehension that their occupation will be gone. Their efforts will still be greatly needed. Indeed, we are convinced that much of the work which most needs to be done, especially in London and the large towns, is such as can only be accomplished by the large and generous co-operation of voluntary zeal. Notwithstanding the common schools of America, voluntary zeal alone has proved itself competent to grapple, in any measure, with the case of the city Arabs of New York. Notwithstanding the complete State-system and the direct and universal compulsion of Prussia, and of other German States, the voluntary zeal of the "Inner Mission," of such men as Wichern and Fliehdner, has been found the only effectual means, at Berlin no less than at Hamburg, and in the manufacturing towns of the Rhine Provinces, to grapple with child-vagrancy and incipient pauperism. We cannot, therefore, expect that any mere board will be able, of itself, to solve the pressing problems of the juvenile Arab and criminal population of London, or Liverpool, or Manchester. Besides which, voluntary benevolence, high and spontaneous Christian philanthropy, has been the source from which all the highest and truest ideas, and the best and most potent forces involved in the noble educational movement and progress of the last fifty years in this country, have been derived; and, on the Christian training colleges which have been established, mainly by voluntary Christian zeal, the country must, so far as we can see, for years to come, at least, be dependent for its supply of trained and real teachers and trainers. We trust the directly national and the entirely unsectarian element in the elementary education of the country, mingling and co-operating with the denominational and voluntary, will tend to enlarge, liberalise, and nationalise the denominational work and spirit. We are confident that the denominational and voluntary devotion and spirit will be the salt to preserve from degeneracy and the life to feed and sustain the energy of the directly national organisation.

III. We are met here, however, by the inquiry, Whence are to be obtained the teachers to supply the immense number of schools that are to be established? At the Council Office, if common report be true, sanction has been given to the erection of some 5,000 new voluntary schools. Of these, probably,

a thousand or even more may fall through, when conception has to be exchanged for inception of the projects. But still, taking into account the many hundreds of new schools which have been or during the next two years will be opened in existing rooms, we may safely assume that there will be an increase of at least 4,000 voluntary schools. To meet the needs of London and the other large school-board towns, with their five or six millions of inhabitants, at least 1,500 new schools of considerable dimensions will be required. Altogether not fewer certainly than 6,000 new schools will be opened in the next two or three years, and therefore not fewer than 6,000 additional teachers will be required. Now all the training colleges in England taken together cannot train at the same time more than 2,500 teachers, and can only furnish about 1,300 per year, the general term of training being two years.

For a year or two, no doubt, the training colleges might, in such an emergency, send out their teachers, after only one year's training. But, at present, the Government insists on two years' training, or else refuses any grant to the college, on behalf of the student trained in it. Is it not evident that, for two or three years, until the present period of transition is over, the Government ought to relax that rule? We trust the Education Department will see the necessity of this. At the same time nothing but dire necessity could bring us to favour any relaxation of the principle of requiring two years' training, and we hope that the present requirement will be returned to at the very earliest possible period.

Even, however, if this restriction were removed, and all except such a minimum number of students as must be retained a second year for purposes of school supply and discipline, were to be sent into schools at the end of one year's training, it is evident that the number of teachers available would still fall very far indeed below the requirements of the present crisis.

Under these circumstances it appears to us that there is no alternative but, *for the present only*, to relax the Code in a direction which has often been insisted upon in Parliament by Mr. Walter, and in the press by that great newspaper of which Mr. Walter is a proprietor. There must be liberty for small inspected schools, under certain conditions, to employ uncertificated teachers, who ought, however, to have undergone some examination, or to have been apprenticed, or more or less trained, and whose work must be tested by the examination of their scholars. Such teachers would, of

course, command lower salaries than certificated teachers ; and the grant made to them should be limited to what can be earned by the direct result of the school examination.

IV. We have said nothing thus far of the work of defining school districts, which, however, must, in every case, have been done before a school board can be set up. Where there are no school boards, there is no need to define school districts. The parish is, according to the Act, the ordinary unit of organisation, except where the borough comes in. But, when necessary for the sake of constituting a convenient school district, and of forming an efficient and independent school board, the Act gives power to the Education Department to unite two or more parishes into a school district. It is evident that such a step can only be taken after the special local inquiry and report has been completed, and considered by the Education Department. This will be an additional element in the problem to be studied by the authorities at Whitehall before the order is issued in the case of country parishes for the election of a school board.

It is highly important, where school boards are set up in agricultural districts, that, except in the case of a large and populous parish, several parishes, including a population of some thousands, should be united into one school district. Reasons founded on considerations of economy, efficiency, and the free and fair representation of different classes and parties, concur to render such an arrangement desirable, if not absolutely necessary. The work of defining school districts will be gradually going forward for many months to come. How far it may go it is impossible to foresee. It is clear, however, that where there are no school boards, there will be no new school districts.

V. In boroughs, the work of forming school boards is proceeding rapidly. At first it appeared as if, south of Coventry, scarcely any boroughs were disposed to adopt school boards. Even so large a city as Bristol has held aloof. Bridgewater was almost alone in determining to have a board. Now, however, other towns are coming forward one after another. The West has begun to move, and Kent is doing the same. The unanimous action of the large towns of the North will, we have no doubt, be followed in fair measure by the Southern and Western towns. There is not, however, the same pressing need for additional schools, for industrial and free schools, and for direct compulsion, in the case of the Southern towns generally as in that of the great seats of Northern labour and population.

One thing is proved equally by all the school-board elections, and that is, that the principles for which in this Journal we have steadily contended are safe. The secularist party is nowhere; even in Birmingham their official leaders and sonorous representatives were left in a minority at the school-board election. Of course Mr. Dale was elected—his independent merits and his large congregation made that sure; of course Mr. George Dawson was elected; of course Mr. Dixon, M.P., was elected. But Mr. Jesse Collings and Mr. Chamberlain were ignominiously defeated; whilst the friends of religious education carried triumphantly all their eight candidates. In Manchester, the triumph of unsectarian Christianity over secular negativism was yet more remarkable, was complete and overwhelming. In all the other towns, and signally in London, the results were similar.

Another remarkable result has been that the gentlemen chosen have been, for the most part, members of those denominations which have already taken a leading part in popular education. More than half are Churchmen; next come the Methodists; then the Roman Catholics. The number of Congregationalists, whether Baptists or Independents, is small. In some large school boards and large towns scarcely one has been returned. The reason of this is evident. The Congregationalists generally have been opposed or indifferent to organised national education; they have been extreme and impracticable voluntaries. Hence they are destitute of educational reputation or experience. In London, indeed, they make a fair and not unworthy show; but the Congregationalism of London, on the whole, is less sectarian than that of the provinces. It is remarkable that whilst the Congregationalist organs in the newspaper press have been denouncing the cumulative vote, and calumniating, after their manner, some of their co-religionists as "narrow," "sectarian," and much more, merely because it was believed that they were relying upon the cumulative vote, there have been no candidates, whether in London or the provinces, who have relied more frankly and entirely on the cumulative vote than the Congregationalist candidates, or have been more largely indebted to it for what success they have obtained.

On the whole, the cumulative vote seems to have worked well, and as it was meant to do. It does not avail so far as to bring in the *mere* nominees of a sect as such. But an able and suitable man, even though he may belong to a minor sect, can, by the cumulative vote, have a seat secured to him and his denomination on the board. But this vote is

an element of sore perplexity in the prosecution of a canvas and the management of an election.

• The school boards will have an immense and most difficult work to perform, in providing education for the town population of this country. Six or eight millions of people will be under their administration. They will be called upon to grapple with the case of the semi-pauper and semi-criminal classes, the Arabs and the ragged children of our modern England. Industrial and free schools will be an important part of their care. The compulsory clauses of the Act, it will be their duty, as best they may, to administer. No greater, more needful, or more difficult work has ever devolved upon public administrators.*

We cannot but fear, according to present prospects, that, before long, it will be found that the number of schools in course of being provided is much too large.

The standard of provision (one in six of the population) implies that all the children remain continuously at school for seven years together. It further proceeds upon the supposition that the average attendance will not be materially lower than the registered attendance. But for many years attendance will neither be regular day by day, nor continuous from month to month and year to year. An effective and universal compulsion cannot be applied for a long time to come. In many districts there will be no school boards. And where there are, the problem of applying an effective compulsion to the lowest and ever shifting classes of the operative population will be found one of the greatest difficulty, and which will, at most, only admit of a rudely approximate solution.

VI. The last consideration to which we have adverted suggests the necessity of a combination of supplementary measures, which ought to be brought into Parliament during the coming Session, with the object, by all appropriate means of indirect compulsion, of assisting the operation of Mr. Forster's great measure. These measures all belong to the Home Secretary's Department. The nation has a right now to look to Mr. Bruce to prove himself an

* The fact that scarcely any of the working-man candidates have been elected has been matter of universal remark. There can be no doubt that a large proportion might easily have been carried if their own order had cared to carry them. We cannot but conclude that there is not a strong feeling in this direction. At the same time, we have no doubt that more would have been carried but for the fact that a working-man on a school board must be paid for his loss of time. The scale on which to pay, the parties to be relied upon to pay, the manner of raising the sum which would need to be raised, are perplexing points.

effective auxiliary to Mr. Forster, by a thorough and pervasive regulation of the relations of children's education to the demands of children's labour. Much that has been imperfectly and tentatively done needs to be completed and made firm and permanent. Regulations on paper need, by due inspection and enforcement, to be rendered real and effective. It is some satisfaction to find that Birmingham, so eminent now for the "strange fire" of its suddenly kindled educational fervour, as, a generation since, it was for its peculiar currency doctrines, has condescended to the practical and incipiently virtuous course of enforcing within the borough the "Workshops Act," and appointing two inspectors to see it carried out. But that and similar measures need to be made imperative and really operative everywhere. The question of child-labour, of some sort of half-time in labour and in education, must, without longer delay, be solved and settled for agricultural districts: the measures relating to the employment of children in collieries must no longer be allowed to be systematically and in the most unprincipled way evaded; in a word, the whole ground of the labour-market for children must be thoroughly surveyed and comprehensively dealt with. Not till this is done will Mr. Forster's measure have a fair chance; and we hope that 1871 will not pass without a large instalment of the needful work having been accomplished.

VII. The operation of the present Code ceases and determines on the 31st of March. After that date the dispensation of another Code will begin. As to the amendments and additions which are needed in the existing (the "Revised") Code, we must offer a few suggestions, on main points, before we conclude.

(1) Almost all that we know about the Code, that is to be, is that Mr. Gladstone promised to increase the existing grants to schools by fifty per cent., guarded by a double maximum limit, viz. that the total amount granted must neither exceed fifteen shillings per child in average attendance, nor the sum-total of children's pence and of subscriptions and collections. The yearly amount of children's pence has rarely, even in superior schools, exceeded a sum equal to 10s. per child in average attendance, although it may occasionally have reached 11s. Much more frequently it has fallen short of 8s., except in Wesleyan and the better British schools. From children's pence and subscriptions or collections together, very few schools, indeed, can realise more than 13s. per child, although possibly some few in large and well-to-do operative populations will realise from these sources together

the full amount of 15s. It follows that the maximum limit of the total Government grant, even for schools of a superior class, will be from 12s. to 15s. per child in average attendance. Now, for years past, many of the best schools have earned, in Government grants, from 12s. to 14s. per child, a very few having even reached 15s. It follows that the best schools in the kingdom will, many of them, not profit at all by the augmentation of grants, the "50 per cent." increase of which so much was said last year. Nor, indeed, was it desirable that they should so profit, as they have already fully as much Government aid as they need, or as, in some cases, can be duly and beneficially expended.

The *average* grant hitherto earned by Wesleyan schools has been about 10s. 6d. In future, at 50 per cent. increase, their *average* earning on the same standard would be 15s. 9d., that is, the grants *earned* would vary from about 12s. to 19s. But the grant actually made would in no case be allowed to exceed 15s., and would not average more than 12s. or 18s. The average grants earned by schools of an inferior sort, and of which the fees have generally been not more than 2d. a week, have probably not heretofore exceeded 7s. or 8s. a child. These will be raised by the 50 per cent. increase to 11s. or 12s. But then, in order to obtain actually such a grant from the Government, the school pence and the subscriptions (or collections) together must amount to a sum equal to the average of 11s. or 12s. per child; that is to say, the subscriptions and collections together must amount to not less than 5s. or 6s. per child in average attendance, or £25 to £30 per year for a school of 100 children. Such will be the operation of the augmented scale in the case of inferior schools in villages and very poor town populations. Briefly stated, the benefit will be this: that every pound subscribed to the funds of the school will earn a pound additional of grant from the Government up to the total amount of the nominal grant as earned, provided this does not, and in inferior schools it never could, exceed 15s. per child in average attendance. If there is no part of the school income contributed from subscriptions or collections, the Government grant will be cut down to the level of the amount of children's pence.

The excessive amounts obtained in the way of Government grants by some of the existing elementary and inspected schools was, in the last Session, made the subject of emphatic, though not offensive, remark by several speakers in the House of Commons, especially Mr. Mundella and Mr. Hibbert. Certainly it is not to be desired that, by means mainly of

Government bounty, an elementary schoolmaster should be enabled to earn from £350 to £500 a year. There are, however, such cases, although of course they are rare and exceptional. A certificated master has been known to make his £700 a year, and to keep his pretty little yacht on a northern river. He is to be congratulated and applauded, if he is prudent and thrifty withal. But the grants, nevertheless, should not be allowed to rise to such a mark as this implies. We would have the way opened for high-class certificated masters to ascend to the conduct of renovated endowed schools, and to school inspectorships, but we would not have it possible, through Government aid, for incomes greatly in excess of £250 a year to be made in the ordinary conduct of a public elementary school.*

(2) We would expunge from the Code what is known as the "manual labour" clause, by which the children of parents who do not belong to the manual operative classes are not allowed to bring any capitation or examination grant to the school. The application of the "manual labour" distinction and test must, of necessity, press unequally and unfairly in many cases; it is often very difficult, sometimes impossible, to determine who are to be included or excluded, according to the Government definition; a perpetual temptation is offered to the teacher to evade a regulation which is directly prejudicial to his own pecuniary interests, and which is, at the same time, eminently inconvenient and undeniably unjust in its operation; the regulation is at variance with the true principles both of political economy and social science; it tends to stereotype social distinctions, which it should be the object of national legislation to mitigate or efface; and it is altogether opposed, in particular, to the ideas which underlie a great measure of national education.

(3) Since the Revised Code was introduced, the amount of the grant to any school has been made to depend on the number of attendances, and the teacher has to mark the attendances. No child can be presented for examination who has not attended 200 times. If he has attended 198 or 199 times, he cannot be presented; and yet if he could be presented, and were to pass, he would bring 8s. to the school funds. One attendance more or less may make a difference

* One way in which this might be effected would be by returning to the principle of the old Code, and requiring that no school should have more than four pupil teachers; that instead of a fifth, an assistant certificated teacher must be employed. The effect of this would be that no unassisted teacher would have a school of more than 240 children.

of 8s. to the teacher when he receives all the grant, and of a proportionate part of 8s. when he receives a certain share of the grant on examination. So, also, a certain grant per head is paid on average attendance; but the average attendance must, of course, depend on the registered attendances. The more attendances are registered, the larger will be the average. A dot opposite the child's name marks an attendance; one more dot means one more attendance. And the teacher keeps his own register; day by day, twice each day, he makes his dots, and marks attendances. The more dots he puts down, the more money he will receive. Let our readers realise what this means, and the perpetual presence of temptation which is thus put continually in the way of every teacher.

(4.) The effect of these two regulations in demoralising the inspected schoolmasters would have been enormous if they had not generally been men of true Christian character and of sterling principle. That it has actually been most pernicious cannot be doubted. The income tax has done inestimable evil in corrupting the consciences of the commercial world. If the schoolmasters had not, as a class, been men of higher average principle than traders, they would have suffered yet worse demoralisation, through the operation of temptations, the recurrence of which is perpetual, and the force of which, to men in their circumstances, cannot but be very great.

It is sufficient for us here to have pointed out the evil itself as one for which a remedy must, at any hazard, be found and applied. A moral solvent, or, rather, a moral corrosive, of such terrible potency cannot be tolerated in a national system of education. Otherwise education becomes, *pro tanto*, demoralisation.

(5) Other points, not so cardinal, we must leave, or can but barely touch. We doubt not that between the various training colleges and the Government, or the teachers and the Government, they will be satisfactorily arranged. The mode of payment to training colleges ought, in our judgment, to be altered—at present it leaves the colleges too much under bondage to the students. A sufficient fine might be left for the college to bear if the teacher does not continue in his profession, and, within a few years, earn his certificate parchment, without making the whole contribution to the college for each student dependent on his two or three years' continuance and his success in his profession. The arbitrary limit to the enlargement or expansion of the training colleges, to their

increase of the number of students—imposed by Mr. Lowe of blessed memory—must certainly now be removed, when the nation at large will have to draw upon these training colleges for its supply of teachers. The colleges must be allowed, for two or three years to come, and in order to meet the present tremendous pressure, to send out students after one year's training, without thereby forfeiting all share in Government grants for such students. For the present, and during the transition period, a half contribution ought to be made on behalf of such first year's students. The number of standards for the examination of elementary schools should be increased, so as to allow of a more easy and gentle graduation in the ascent of standards; at the same time the two higher standards ought to include additional subjects, beyond the "three R's," and the payments, as the scale is ascended, ought to be proportionately increased, so as to afford a high premium on bringing forward the children from the lower grades to the higher. If this were done, many good objects would be gained, the whole tone of school instruction would be raised, and the awfully complex Minutes which now surround what is spoken of as the extra subject, might be done away.

Our views, it will be seen from what we have written, are strong in hope, but hardly sanguine, as to the operation of Mr. Forster's measure. Its effects will be much more gradual than most anticipate. It will neither work desolation, as not a few shudderingly apprehend, nor will it turn the howling wastes of English heathenism suddenly into cultivated inclosures. It will need to be supplemented by broad and deep legislation affecting labour, and the purchase and tenure of land, and to be accompanied by effective police regulation and borough administration. It will but furnish one potent element towards the grand result in the Christian elevation of our nation, which is so woefully needed. But it is a noble measure, enough of itself to make the just fame of a statesman, and long posterities will have reason to bless the memory of its author.

LITERARY NOTICES.

THEOLOGY : CONTINENTAL.

Theologische Ethik. Von Dr. Richard Rothe. Vierter Band : Wittenberg, Koelling.

THIS great work rapidly approaches completion in the best edition of the original. It is, as our readers know, a body of Evangelical divinity, profound, exhaustive, but in some parts very obscure. The prefatory matter of the present volume includes a collection of miscellaneous jottings, more or less valuable, which are inserted under the name of *Ethica*. As these are independent of each other, we shall translate a few which have special interest. The first deals with a subject which has considerable prominence in Rothe's ethical system—Individuality of character.

"In Christian ethics much importance must be attached to the accurate statement of the relation in which the development of our universal human personality stands to our particular individuality through Divine grace. Must the latter be altogether swallowed up in the former? The latter also has its conditions of development which in the nature of the case seem of necessity to lie in the circle of the earthly temporal life and its relations. The individuality which is most naturally and perfectly developed is that which is assuredly most susceptible of Divine grace. The man may therefore, by a false position (that is, by one self-willed and opposed to the Commandments or voice of God) in the elements and relations of the earthly life, make for himself an actual hindrance of spiritual progress. But God's grace is here also greater than every human individuality. No man stands in view of his characteristics under an unchangeable predestination. As in every man the materials for every imaginable human individuality are provided, and only *one* of the general elements by nature preponderates, so God can, if man has rendered abortive the happy development of his original character, assign the preponderance to another of those elements by providential dispensation, and so organise the man into a new individuality. Sorrows—many sorrows—are the only punishment of his disobedience, as necessarily bound up with a new organisation of the individual life. Through

many more tribulations than in themselves had been necessary, must he enter into the kingdom of God. Such transitions of one and the same man from one individuality into the other may often take place if he long persists in unfaithfulness to the Saviour." "The domain of Christian ethics, where they are separated from dogmatics, is, on the whole, very limited. Their proper problem is only to exhibit scientifically the relation of Divine grace to human individualities; that is, the development of the Christian character." "Christian character is the result of the mutual and mutually influencing relation of Divine grace and human individualities." "Christian ethics everywhere presuppose, not Christian dogmatics, but Christian faith." "Christian ethics, in the proper sense of the word, is the history, statistics, and political economy of the kingdom of God. By means of characters the internal kingdom of God becomes at the same time an external."

Leaving this dim question, the following is on conscience:—"The fall of man had for its consequence the knowledge of good and evil, and at the same time the entrance of conscience. Here we may determine the depth of that fall in itself, and in its comparison with the fall of the angels. The conscience, that is, is not something which man after the fall received at God's hands from without, but a stage, immanent in him, of his personal and purely human consciousness (no further development of it but its obscuration), into which by the fall he sank down, but which again is only the point of departure for a series of inner unfoldings after other laws and in the sphere of freedom." "The knowledge of conscience, of its nature and of its relation to the collective spiritual organisation of man, must be the key to a true anthropology."

"How far is *virtue* a Christian ethical idea? Does it suit man? In 1 Pet. ii. 9 the word *arete* is used appropriately of Christ. Of man it is used only in Phil. iv. 8 and 2 Pet. i. 5. If the *present* idea of virtue generally has grown up in the Christian domain, it can have been only in *mysticism*, where the doctrine of faith has been obscured. Pelagianism is outside Christianity." "May virtue in its very nature be a *conflict*? and does *human* virtue hence derive its name?" "The passage, Jas. ii. 10, 11, has for its foundation the view according to which *the will of God* is the supreme and sole moral law: in the words, that is, *For He who said—also said.*" A world of meaning lies in these last sentences; and they suggest points that are worked out at considerable length in some of the chapters of this great work. Now for another topic.

"A great perversion is current in our day, that of the principle that the *ethical* ideas of the Old Testament are imperfect, and have received their true and pure exhibition only in the New Testament. This axiom is false in itself. So far as ethics are concerned, the two Testaments are on a level of clearness. The Holy Ghost may indeed speak in various tongues; but when He speaks, as in the *entire* canonical Bible, purely and serenely through the human spirit

(the medium being a specific human individuality does not affect the matter), then His principles and ideas must be everywhere the same. The entire Old Testament could have existence only on the presupposition of the New. This can be said, however, not of the individual saints of the Old Covenant, but of the Divine revelation of the Old Covenant in relation to ethics."

"A very important element of Christian ethics is prayer; that is, in the particular regard in which, as the act of communication between the human *individuality* and God, it is a means of the Christian development of the individual. *Prayer to the Saviour* (to God, who for our good has individualised Himself) gains, when viewed under this aspect, a special significance." "External Divine worship falls under the commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' Common prayer is the highest, truest fulfilment of this commandment." "Every man may be said to have, in addition to the common medium, an individual medium also for the Divine life in Christ. By this fact alone does the idea '*vocation*' receive its Christian meaning. The more decidedly any element of the earthly life becomes such an exclusive medium, the more perfectly does he fulfil his *individual* destination, the more perfectly he develops his character, and so much the more *entire* is he as a man and as a Christian." "The most excellent thing that can be said in praise of the greatness of a human character is this—that his life and work is *specifically personal*." Here our annotator rolls round again to his favourite idea: a man of marked individuality himself, he has studied out beyond most men the influence of Christianity in educating individual personalities. Much of the present volume is occupied with this.

"The *trichotomy* so current in man's relations to God, to self, and to the neighbour, is a sad token of his moral depravation. According to the original order it should be only a *dichotomy*,—to God and to man,—without entertaining, in the moral aspect, any *principium divisionis* between man as *I* and as *not I*. It is said: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. In the love of the neighbour we should learn the love of self, not conversely." But why is not the dichotomy not further reduced? Why is it not a sign of moral depravation that a man is taught to love his God and his own soul, and not his own soul in God? But the trichotomy is not referred to as being in Scripture: and our ethical philosopher is writing. The supremely holy *I* is one with God and man, but not separated or distinguished from God and man as the centre of duty, and love, and care.

"The passage, John i. 13, is very important in ethics. A will of the flesh is there spoken of. Must we suppose that there was in man, from the beginning of his temporal existence, a flesh which, though a substance in itself without will, obtained a will,—that is, became conscious of itself? To such self-consciousness the fleshly nature was in God's counsel to be raised; but this took place con-

trary to God's ordinance, when it was not yet clothed with earthly matter; yea, it took place under the influence, and consequently as the work, of the devil. Thus the flesh obtained a *natural soul* (what we now call soul in contradistinction to spirit); it became *psychical*. Hence came into man the lower freedom of arbitrary choice. The transmission of evil becomes thus intelligible; while this animal soul, which of itself does not belong to the nature of man, but like all else belonging to Adam after the fall, must be continued by ordinary generation. But how can we account on this view for the imputability of original sin? An expression of Stilling's is very remarkable in this relation: it was spoken to an old friend, and his second daughter, just before his departure. 'Hear,' he said, 'I have something important to tell you about the soul: I have altogether the feeling as if I had a double I, a spiritual and a bodily. The spiritual I moves and hovers over the animal. The two are at war in a man; and only by the mortification and death of every sensual or sensely desire can man attain to the ceasing of that connection and conflict between the two. This cannot be by our own strength, but by self-denial and the help of God.' Viewed thus, such an assumption is liable to dangerous deductions, which, however, a careful discrimination might obviate. That the sensitive *soul* became an *I*—that is, received a sensible *will*—is the *evil* element in the matter." This is not quoted as throwing much light upon the subject; rather as showing how much danger there is in taking the trichotomy of man's nature into a theological region where it has no place. The *soul*, as distinct from the spirit, is very different from the *flesh*, as standing for the entire corrupt nature of man, including his spirit. Stilling's dying allusions find a better commentary in Rom. vii. and Gal. v. Another quotation from the ethical notes deserves pondering:—

"Nothing is more vapid than the *virtue-idol* of modern Illusionists. 'Innocence,' writes one of them, Parisius, 'without tendency and inclination to evil is not yet virtue. Only by discipline can a man learn to be virtuous; that is, *against his bias* to do what is good and avoid what is evil.' Thus it is precisely in its internal untruthfulness that the *specific* excellence of virtue consists! As if it were generally possible to do anything really against one's inclination without its becoming thereby the reverse of against it! The *doing* anything against the inclination must be preceded by a *willing against the inclination* (that is, against the will); and this, as every one sees, is a palpable unreality." It might seem easy to defend Parisius and the virtue devotees against Rothe; but the more his last words are pondered, the more fully will they approve themselves. Once more, as to casuistry.

"Casuistry, the foundation of which is the assumption of a collision of duties, does not belong to Christian morals, because it does not belong to Christianity, which disowns that assumption. It is the specific element of the moral condition of the regenerate that there is no longer in his moral consciousness the possibility of such a collision

of duties. Such a collision could enter only through a blunting or interruption of his spiritual life. All that Christian morality has to do in that case is to offer the spiritual dietary of the Christian life: soundness restored, those interruptions cease." "The special necessity of Christian ethical treatment is that it should not (as has been too much the case) lead back the Christian from the Evangelical freedom of Christianity into the legal element (by directories, disciplines, guides, &c.). Generally this is regarded, however, as the chief excellence of a system of moral instruction."

It is the wisdom, however, of the Christian teacher to avoid extremes, both as to the theory and the practice of morality. "Exercise thyself unto godliness" was the commandment or exhortation of one who himself said, "I exercise myself to have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men." Love is not only capable of keeping all the commandments, and fulfilling all the law; it is able also to diffuse its glow and freedom over a life governed by innumerable rules, and brought under the regimen of a strict order of duty. Not a syllable can be said against the high ideal of a "*law of liberty*;" but while that is the theory, the too common practice is to disown "*the law of liberty*."

A Profession of Faith. By C. Weizsäcker, of Tübingen.

THE following paragraphs are translated from a letter published by one of the foremost divines of the Tübingen School in friendly reply to a professor of Geneva. It will serve two purposes: first, that of showing what the tendencies of the modern destructive school of theology in Germany and Switzerland are; and, secondly, that of indicating certain manifest signs of improvement which those who have read Weizsäcker's writings will at once perceive. The two professors find themselves at one in regard to modern orthodoxy, and they strengthen one another in the maintenance of their independence.

"Permit me, before all, to offer you my best thanks for the pamphlets which you have sent me. I have felt all the more interest in them because I am in a position very similar to your own. . . . The church of Württemberg, my country, is certainly not without life, and, therefore, is not without controversies. The faculty of theology to which I belong is composed of men holding very different opinions; but we live in peace, and work side by side harmoniously. One of our predecessors, now deceased, Schmidt, said twenty years ago: 'There are now only two parties—those who want Christianity, and those who want it not.' We all belong to the former class; but each lets his neighbour take his own course.

"If I throw my glance over the German Church generally, I admit that we all are, like yourselves, engaged in a struggle. To your Liberals correspond the Protestant Alliance (*der Protestanten-Verein*). The orthodox in Germany are not altogether homogeneous; there is

a powerful party which is intolerant in the highest degree—the confessional Lutherans. The antagonism of principles is, nevertheless, the same as with you. The question that presses upon every theologian is to know what position he will take. If our orthodox were the only representatives of Evangelical Christianity, I, for my part, should be excluded. I cannot bind myself to the letter of the symbolical books, notwithstanding that they are to me a sacred thing because of the faith that gave them birth. . . I no longer believe in the letter of the Bible, although I remain convinced that humanity will never go beyond it; and that mankind will ever draw anew life and redemption from the revelation that the Bible contains. I cannot satisfy myself with the dogmas in their old form, because they are the work of human philosophising, and because they are constructed on notions from which we have become estranged. And I cannot see that this faith according to the symbols, that this authority of dogma, which they proclaim anew, is capable of producing the Christian life.

"I cannot, however, any longer consent to go along with those who see in Christianity only a product of the human mind. I believe in a revelation of God in Christ; in a commencement of life, or, rather, in the advent in Him of a new life, on the earth, a life which I cannot explain by history; in a miracle of existence equal to that of the creation—a miracle, not only because of the effects of this life (such an argument would be strong without being absolutely conclusive), but because of the very character of the life of Jesus, which has numerous uncertainties, raised by questions of Evangelical criticism, cannot obscure. When I seek to explain, after a human fashion, the appearance of Christ, His plan, and His declarations concerning Himself, all this still continues to me a pure moral enigma. This life cannot be understood, cannot even be conceived, according to the mere laws of human nature, unless we recognise, at the foundation of it, a consciousness of a communion with God unique in its kind, which constitutes the entire Person of Christ, which belongs to His original, and which, consequently, is not the result of development and of experiences. Hence I feel justified in using the expression—'*Divine humanity*,' as referred to Christ, although I regard the doctrine of the two natures as obsolete and unsustainable. I understand, in a similar way, the truths of original sin, of reconciliation and justification, although I do not admit the notions of juridical imputation. The profound psychological truths, by the aid of which the doctrine of the New Testament enriches and explains interior experience, are not on that account less firm in my eyes.

"You see that I am in a fair way to make a full confession, under the lively impression of your tract. I should like to thank you, and I cannot do so better than by relating to you the analogous experiences through which I have passed.

"In Germany, for some time, the expression *Vermittlungs-theologie* (theology of conciliation), has been used in scorn or satire. But the reproach involved in this does not affect me. Undoubtedly, a middle

term obtained by concessions on both sides is empty and valueless. But I think that we have another end in view ; and I am particularly rejoiced that you have said the same thing in a manner so energetic. We aim at a position which is not a medium between the ancient parties, but one which is new, a new conception, more pure and more simple, of the Gospel itself ; and, to arrive at that, we want a new method of thinking in theology.

"Schleiermacher, in Germany, showed us the way ; his elaboration was imperfect ; but the end he aimed at was just, and future time will reach it better than he did. I think that we ought to banish from theology the old metaphysics. These are errors which throw our science into conflict with the progress of true philosophy, with the results of the exact sciences, with all the fine spiritual culture of the present. Our dogmatic ought to become very much more an experimental science, the experimental science of our inner life, of the Bible, and of the great facts of the life of Christ. Thus understood, it has its own autonomy, its own principles, and needs not to beg its subsistence from philosophy. It can walk in its own path. It has a perfect right, like chemistry or any other exact science, to demand that philosophy should take account of and fairly estimate the realities which it attests, and should be regulated and governed by these realities. Thus determined, Christian doctrine is no longer the privilege of theologians alone ; reduced to this simplicity, it is identified with the simple faith of the community, that is to say, with the real and living experiences of that faith. It is with new theology that the present time is in travail : everywhere, that is, where there is onward movement at all. For the solution of the problem laid down by Schleiermacher, we find a great help in the progress of Biblical theology. What has not been done in this way during the last forty years ! What profound and clear views, what ideas fruitful of rich suggestion, have, in that time, become the common heritage !

"I will not weary you any longer. I had no other thought than to respond to your frank declaration. No doubt, on many points, I shall say No where you say Yes ; nevertheless, I have no disposition to attach myself to the so-called liberal party. The principle of Liberalism is not a theological principle. It is infertile and dead, so long as it is not allied with a positive faith."

Our readers will not think their time wasted on this translation. It gives a clear, though a sad, view of the conflict between the ancient faith and modern tendencies ; and of the difficulties which devout minds experience in reconciling their religious conservatism with their philosophical liberalism. It is affecting to hear the writer's pathetic appeal to philosophy to accept the registered facts of experience, and admit their validity. With this appeal we sympathise ; and, indeed, feel its inexpressible pathos. But, we cannot but ask, why are the intangible and spiritual records of personal experience to be honoured, whilst the ancient facts of literary records, accepted by

generations and ages, are to be ignored? There is no phenomenon more plain, and which more energetically demands to be taken account of, than the history of the gradual growth of Scripture, with its assertion of inspiration, its confirmation by signs following, and the lives and deaths of multitudes sealing their truth.

We have read Professor Weizsäcker's Essays; we have heard his thoughtful and graceful preaching, and we feel assured of his profound devotion to the name of Jesus. But we can hardly understand how he can accept so much in the narrative, and decline to receive the remainder, when the same faith only is demanded. He would accept the Divine humanity of the Person of Christ, but declines to touch the hem of His garment. The *Via Media* is not the best way. And this letter shows that Dr. Weizsäcker, in his deepest heart, thinks so. May his mind be fully enlightened.

System der Christlichen Apologie. Von Franz Delitzsch. 1869. [System of Apologetics.]

THE indefatigable author of this volume lives only to labour in the cause of Christianity. Every department of theology owes to him contributions of great value, some of them unrivalled in their kind. His writings have dealt extensively, in an indirect manner, with the defences of the Faith; but now he girds himself to the task of confronting the host of infidels and semi-infidels whose writings, German, Dutch, French, and English, are crowding upon us with unexampled urgency. None of any note are forgotten in this ponderous volume.

"Above all," says the writer, "it is the general character of Christianity that it is important to defend against its adversaries. There exists a common faith which all true Christians partake, and in which they are one to the last gasp. The opponents against whom our Apologetic is directed are not heretics whom their private opinions on such or such a dogma do not hinder from remaining in the communion of the Church; they are men who reject, together with the facts of salvation, the bases on which these facts repose."

The design of a scientific Apologetic, according to Dr. Delitzsch, should be to establish the relations of man with God in Jesus Christ through the instrumentality of the Church, at the same time that it seeks to spread Christianity among those who have not yet learned to understand it. It should be a scientific exhibition of the truth, as much so as that of polemics or controversial theology. This is the outline of the work. Part the First takes up the great general conception of the Christian religion.

1. The essence of Christianity, which makes it *the religion*, involves at the outset the personal character of the relation of God with man.

Hence, the personality of God is a necessary foundation of Christianity, an impersonal being being incapable of love. Love can be attributed only to a free being, conscious of self, distinguishing self from the object of love, and who, while giving up self, remains self

still. On the other hand, Christianity illustrates, confirms, and develops the consciousness of personality in man. Pantheism and materialism are thus swept out of the way as opposed to all religion. The religions of the world illustrate this. As Cicero says, that which is true for all has more right to be called truth than that which some oppose to the universal faith. In the religion of the Chinese, apart from its philosophy, faith in the personality of God glimmers through. So also, in the naturalistic religion of the Vedas, the hymns addressed to the gods suppose that these are persons—an impersonal being would be below man. Buddhism in itself has not been able to destroy entirely the need of the instinct to adore the personal being. Everywhere the ideas into which speculation issues tend to clothe themselves with personality as soon as they are looked at practically and religiously.

The individual human consciousness establishes the idea of personality. Here pass in review philosophical definitions of reason. Reason, as a free principle, may rise at once above the exterior world and above its own interior world; but it is incapable of understanding Christianity without the concurrence of the will and of the heart. Adhesion to Christianity is not the work of a conviction purely natural, but that of a faith inwrought by God. Notwithstanding no rational conviction of Christianity would be possible if it were not established before reason. Man has consciousness of himself as of a personal being, personal and finite, and hence he must recognise also the absolute personality of God. Faith in God is an instinct, say some.

2. The second fundamental truth which must be established as against the double error of an uncreated matter and of an eternal creator is that of *creation in time*—the contingent creation of man first, and then that of the world which surrounds him. . . . God, who is eternal love, has in Himself the object of His love; for He is the infinite plenitude of life, at once individualised and essentially concentrated in Him. It was only by an effort of His free love that He realised the thought of a finite world. The decree of this realisation is eternal—its execution took place in time; to accord to an existence an eternal origin is to deny that it commenced in time.

3. The Apology then passes to the demonstration of the *guilt and punishment of sin*—double fact on which Christianity rests, in announcing a new economy in the communion of God and man. The death of the Saviour on the cross shows that sin was an infinite evil, while His resurrection is the guarantee to us that the punishment of sin shall be taken away. This is what Apologetics must establish against Deistic Rationalism, as well as against Speculative Pantheism. "With the consciousness of my existence, I have the consciousness of my liberty, even with regard to God. On the other side, whatever I may do, I place myself over against God in a certain relation, because my action, whatever it may be, has a moral character: whatever is contrary to the duty of obedience and love is a sin, an objective

fault—in other terms, a crime against God, and, as such, falls under the stroke of a just condemnation. For the more grace abounds, the more abounds also culpability."

The universality of sin is proved against those who contest its malediction and power—proved by arguments which are drawn partly from the general condition of mankind, partly from the traditions of the moral consciousness of various nations. The hereditary transmission of sin is also demonstrated; for if it were admitted that future generations might dispense with Christianity, we should be forced to refuse to this religion the character of universality and perfection. The transmission of sin is proved by Scripture, and also by the experience of man. Although he compares sin to a sort of umbilical cord which binds together all human generations, and therefore makes it rather a natural disorder than a fault voluntarily committed, yet the author expressly rejects Traducianism, and pronounces in favour of Creationism. Essentially different from the order of nature, the spirit of man is not propagated like a natural being. What determines at birth the spiritual and moral character is a mystery known to God alone. The Pagans, doubtless, admitted in man an innate propensity to evil, as well as Kant, Schelling, Julius Müller. But these latter, instead of seeking its origin in an act of the first man, have thought to find it in an anterior existence. The verdict of culpability which man's conscience pronounces does not address itself only to the sin actually committed by him, but also to that which it finds existing in him.

The process of the Apology then passes to the tremendous question of *death as the wages of sin*. Death must be a consequence of original sin, since it spares not infants, or those even who have not reached the birth. The effect of death on a being compounded of body and soul is to dissolve the organism, and decompose that portion of man which is physical. However, the direct impression produced on us, and the instinctive feeling of the mind, is that this manner of ending upon earth was not God's original design for man. This point is in Apologetics one of supreme importance, and ought to be handled more comprehensively than we find it handled here, and with more reference to the theories and objections of science. The "Christian naturally in the soul" will agree with Delitzsch, that Christ's horror of death sprang from His beholding in it the last depths of God's judgment, the disorder and misery and ruin of which sin has been the cause. Even in the nature which surrounds us, death seems to be a result of the sin of man (Rom. viii. 22); the author aims to show that only the Christian solution is sufficient for the awful problem of the infinite manifestations of evil which the world everywhere presents, and the sad and repulsive form which the decomposition of man's nature always assumes. Perhaps—it is shown—the same power of evil which ruined man, and involved all creatures in the ruin, had already exercised its influence on the creation which preceded man's, and which in man's had its consummation. "When man was per-

verted," says a Chinese adage, "all animals became his enemies, and the face of heaven was changed." A belief profoundly graven in the consciousness of all peoples asserts that, in consequence of the sin of man, the world of nature has become the arena of demoniac powers. This is a bold chapter of Apologetics, and one with which the loyal heart of the Christian will heartily sympathise; but it requires, as we have already hinted, to be treated more directly in the presence of the scientific opponent.

4. The sphere of Apology now changes again, and Christianity confronts Deism as alone able to respond to the aspirations of humanity. Here we have the ordinary matter well arranged—the witness of man's conscience to the need of a Mediator, the worship of all nations (including the universal sacrifices of animals), and the instinctive knowledge of God and tendencies towards Him which the mind of man always and everywhere exhibits.

5. The German method of Apology lays great stress on the *doctrine of the Church* as the commencement and growth of a new humanity. Here we have certain broad tendencies of modern Rationalism encountered. One of them is the idea on which so much stress is laid, that God, in all spheres of His action, acts in conformity with fixed laws. The answer is: "But one of these spheres of action is that of the operation of grace; the essential character of this domain is that of the supernatural—to such a point that its limits are those only of the supernatural." The importance of the Church in this argument is shown in various ways. The *State is insufficient*: in its proper and essential idea, the State is a particular society, an institution exterior and not spiritual, representing the form of well-being appropriate to a single people. Man's aspiration is for an association more intimate, more universal, and more spiritual; and the Church, in its essential character, responds most fully to this aspiration.

6. The Regeneration of the Cosmos is then the field of argument against the Rationalists. Here comes in the whole question of miracle; then a general view of the great current of opinions anterior to Christianity concerning the future of man, physical and spiritual; then the traditions of mankind relative to the origin and the end of the world. Here there are some fine thoughts well expressed, apart from their apologetical value. "The agreement between the old and the new appears in other religions only something accidental and partial; on the contrary, Christianity can invoke in its favour all that the Pagan religions contain of what is essential and common."

7. These preliminaries of Apologetics finally establish the superiority of the Trinity, the keystone of the Christian arch of thought, over the conceptions of an erroneous Theism, as represented in the Judaism of the Synagogue, Islamism, and Unitarian Christianity. The Trinitarian idea is established by its accordance with the fundamentals of human consciousness and the aspirations of man's soul, by the relative intelligibility of the revealed mystery, and its internal consistency. It is further sustained by the analogy which may be traced between the

three Divine Persons and the factors which compose the nature of man—thought, will, and feeling; as well as by the resemblances to Christian doctrine found among the systems of divers peoples—the Brahminical, the Chinese, the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Samothracian mysteries, the Orphic, and the German.

So far Dr. Delitzsch has been considering the great idea of Christianity as responding to the religious consciousness and thought of mankind. In the Second Part, he enters on the Historical Reality of Christianity; and his plan is striking. First, he establishes that the appearance of the Christian Revelation was only the realisation of its idea; and, in the second place, that the sacred Scriptures are a true account of that appearance. Here we see but little to arrest notice; there is nothing in the method that competes with the clear, terse exhibitions of evidence which our own language contains. The symmetry of the whole is perfected by the Third Part, which studies the Historical Development of Christianity, as in full harmony with its original. After a complete discussion, three *fundamental* points emerge—the personality of God and of man, the creation of the world in time, and the guilt of sin. Three *central* ideas follow—reconciliation, church, palingenesis. Finally, there is the *capital* and consummating idea—the *Trinity*. And all these are brought out in Christianity; and are confirmed by philosophy and theology, by history, and by the profound religious experience of mankind.

Doubtless, there is much that is valuable in this book; and much also that the English theological mind will not follow or appreciate at a very high value. This style of Christian apology is adapted for a particular order of mind, and with that class it has exercised, and always will exercise, great influence. But that class is not extensive. The great body of doubters, who muse on the evidences of Christianity, see, or think they see, great staring contradictions between the documents of religion and the documents of science. From all that we have seen of the German evidences, we do not much desire to see them imported largely into England. But Delitzsch is a writer most of whose writings is likely to be done into English by our indefatigable purveyor in the north. We shall gladly receive this volume among the rest; and commend it to our readers beforehand. But with this understanding, that, in this, as in other instances, our brief notices do not pledge themselves to more than a very general sketch of foreign theological works. When we speak, after thorough study, we do not fail to say so. But human patience soon finds a limit in dealing with German theology, and too much must not be expected.

Gaussen Ludwig, Von Pronier. [Memoir of Louis Gaussen, of Geneva.] Herzog Realencyc. für Theol. Supp. I.

GAUSSEN, well known as the writer of the most heroic defence of the Verbal and Plenary Inspiration of Holy Scripture that recent

times have produced, was a Swiss theologian; but sprang from an ancient Languedoc family. George Marcus Gausсен was a member of the Council of Two Hundred in Geneva, where Louis was born in 1790. After a good training he was ordained, and took a charge near that city in 1816; his predecessor, Pastor Cellerier, father of a more celebrated son, having left him a good example, confirming the influence of much conversation, of fidelity to Evangelical principles then falling into decline. In 1818 he was smitten by the loss of a wife, who faithfully co-operated with him in pastoral duties; and this loss disposed him all the more to enter into the spirit of a religious revival that broke out in French Switzerland, partly through the influence of the Scotch theologian Haldane. The revival gave occasion for the issuing of an interdict from the "Vénérable Compagnie des Pasteurs" against Evangelical preaching, and issued in a separation, which created two bodies, that called "L'Eglise du Témoignage" being under the leadership of the good Malan. Gausсен and Cellerier protested against the clergy by publishing a new French edition of the *Helvetic Confession*, which had been in abeyance since the beginning of the eighteenth century. They declared, in opposition to the prevalent view, that a Church must have a confession, and that theirs ought to be this one. This was Gausсен's first public act, and did him great honour. He continued, after this, twelve years in quiet, endeavouring, with all earnestness, to revive the practice of catechising, holding Bible-classes in his house, and, without separating from the national church, striving to correct and invigorate it. He published a volume of sermons, prepared carefully for occasional preaching before his brother ministers. In these sermons he almost equalled Vinet and Monod in ability, while surpassing both in popular pathos. He established a Missionary Society in Geneva, which sent its contributions to Basle; after visiting the mission-house, and entering heartily into the spirit of its labours, he became a member of the committee. From this honourable position he was in 1828 ejected, in consequence of the opposition of some of the "Venerable Company," whose theology he protested against. This was the beginning of a stormy season.

Gausсен's catechisation gave great offence. The old catechism of Calvin, which for generations had been the basis of instruction, had been gradually laid aside in favour of a compilation that omitted the leading doctrines of the Christian faith. He had thought fit to give up this, and teach his young people out of the Bible alone. The Genevese clergy, whose motto had been "the Bible and toleration," took umbrage, and required him to keep the rule or custom, and teach the ordinary catechism. He wrote letters in which he showed very clearly that the catechism had no legal obligation, that all the regulations required of him was to conduct his teaching according to the order therein prescribed. He submitted, however, to the order. But this was not enough; he must retract his letters, which his conscience would not allow him to do. He was then

"censured," and suspended for a year from his right to sit in convocation. Documents on both sides were published; but the matter did not end there. Gaussen and some friends (Galland and Merle d'Aubigné among them) had been gradually forming an "Evangelical Society" for the furtherance of the Missionary cause, the distribution of tracts, &c. Just at that time an influential member of the Geneva Academy issued a publication in which the doctrines of Our Lord's Divinity and original sin were denied. The new society felt moved to establish a training school in which young people and young candidates might be instructed in sound Christian doctrine. Circulars were sent, subscribed by the three friends, to the Council of Geneva and to other churches outside, vindicating the necessity and propriety of such an institution. The result of this was their expulsion. On September 30th, 1831, the Company of Clergy, without hearing their brethren, declared to the Consistory, consisting of the said clergy and sixteen laics, that the writers must be put away. The Consistory cited the three, but refused to give them written copies of the charges, confirmed the sentence of the Company, and demanded the sanction of the Council of State. The Council, always more liberal than the clergy, allowed six weeks to pass before giving judgment. During that time Gaussen was not idle. He wrote to the Council documents which were afterwards published, in which he showed that the State was about to decide a matter in which all the forms of righteous procedure had been trampled under foot; and, moreover, was about to give a sentence which would decide whether the Genevese Church should return to orthodoxy or declare itself openly Arian. The Council decided in favour of the clergy, but not without censuring them for the manner in which they had conducted their cause.

Thus was Gaussen driven from his church. He left the scene of fourteen years' hard and conscientious labour. Not anxious about himself, or his maintenance, he was overwhelmed for the church which had been rendered illustrious by so many names, and which seemed bent upon casting out every Evangelical witness. His health suffered, and the effect remained for many years. He travelled in England, where he met with much sympathy; and in Italy, where his anti-Roman impressions were deepened, and he came to the conviction that the Pope was the Antichrist of Scripture.

In the year 1834, Gaussen decided to take a professional office in the newly-established theological institution; he was chosen for the chair of dogmatic theology. His tendency was towards the strictest Reformed orthodoxy; only in the doctrine of predestination he allowed himself a certain latitude. Without giving any very decided expressions to his opinions, he let it be perceived that he believed in Election; the high Calvinist (supralapsarian) doctrine he did not hold. His teaching was very earnest. His personal character, his known and manifest experience of the doctrines of grace, gave him great influence; while he was devoid of everything like philosophical

genius, the strength of his feeling and conviction imparted to his thoughts a certain originality and depth. There were three departments in Evangelical theology which he made his peculiar province; and he engaged himself upon them not only in the interests of his studies, but for the general public. These were the Divinity of Christianity, the Prophecies, and the Divine authority of Scripture. The Divine nature of Our Lord being everywhere attacked, he first mastered the defences of that doctrine. Afterwards, and by an obvious necessity, he was obliged to defend the authority of Scripture; and his best writings were devoted to this subject. In the *Theopneustia* he defended the proposition that all the writings of the Old and of the New Testament were verbally inspired; his motto being the plain words of Turretinus: "*Quæritur, an, in scribendo, ita acti et inspirati fuerint a Spiritu Sancto, et quoad res ipsas et quoad verba, ut ab omni errore immunes fuerint: adversarii negant, nos affirmamus.*" The book and its arguments are not addressed to unbelievers and sceptics, but to those who believe in the authority of Scripture, but without admitting its plenary or full inspiration. Hence he does not enter into any arguments to establish the authenticity and credibility of the Biblical documents; but he says to his hearers, "If you believe in the authority of these Scriptures, believe also what they say concerning themselves." They positively declare of themselves that they were perfectly, and word for word, given by inspiration of God. He then shows that, because the prophets uttered the Word of God, what they uttered was the Word of God itself passing through their lips. He adduces the leading demonstrations of this position; and shows that Jesus actually treated the Holy Scriptures as verbally given by verbal inspiration. Then he concludes that the whole Scripture was as a whole given of God, just as in another aspect it was as a whole, and altogether of man. The individuality of the writers does not disappear; they are, he says, like the pipes of an immeasurably great organ over which the fingers of the Divine organist have passed. This first part of the book is followed by a second in which objections are discussed and answered. This work had great success in English-speaking lands, and in France itself, where two editions were soon exhausted. That success was due to the boldness of the thesis, the intrinsic importance of the subject itself, the admirable character of many of the writer's judgments and remarks, its literary excellence generally, and its extremely edifying tendency. No French book, scarcely any English book, had written concerning the Bible with such loyalty, and taken such pains to extract and exhibit its beauties. Some parts of it will linger long in the memory of those who have read them; and, whatever reservations, or doubts, or scruples the reader may entertain as to some of the extremest views of the author, it is impossible to read to the end without elevation of heart. The judgment of very few is convinced upon every point in his theory; and it has happened that some have been driven into an unhappy reaction.

Edmund Scherer, for instance, whose appointment as theological professor Gausson had favoured, fell into critical difficulties, came into collision with his colleagues, and in 1849 retired from his post. This gave rise to great searchings of heart; numbers of French divines sympathised with the movement. Scherer himself has since gone a long way in scepticism. All this moved the writer of *Theopneustia* much, especially as it was openly said that he had brought about this reaction. He prepared another work, which, having passed through his lectures, took the form of an essay on *The Canon of Holy Scripture*. This is addressed also to those who admit the authority of the Word of God. But, he supposes, the question may be asked, whether among the various books of the scriptural collection one may not have intruded surreptitiously; and whether some inspired document may not have been omitted? He answers these questions with a negative: in the name of science in the first volume, in the name of faith in the second. He declares that science has incontrovertible evidences of the authenticity and the canonicity of the Scriptures to bring forward; and he adduces them accordingly. He then points out that we know by faith that the canon of the Old Testament was entrusted to the Jews, who preserved it with most scrupulous care. Most indisputable facts are in evidence that the providence of God has kept them from corruption. How, indeed, could it be supposed that God, after giving mankind inspired Scriptures, would permit them to be hurt or to be lost? Hence the perfect integrity of the canon is a dogma. It is an absolute whole of fully inspired writings; it is therefore of sole, unimpeachable, and paramount authority, and it contains no error. Such was the strong faith of Gausson; no difficulties made it quail, and no criticism ever availed to shake it in the least. Of his faith in the Word of God we have a few fine examples in all the leading theological literatures of Europe. They are not many, but they are increasing, on the whole, despite appearances, especially in Germany and France.

It is easy to be understood that Gausson, with such views of the doctrine, would study with peculiar fervour those books of Scripture which bear on them the characteristics of the highest inspiration. The prophetic books would be sure to exercise a strong attraction on him. He published *Lessons on Daniel*, in three volumes, an imperfect work, giving the pith of a series of catechetical lectures. It contains nothing new, but sums up the Reformed exposition of the prophet; it shows, however, the width of his reading, the vigour of his language, and the tenderness of his heart. Like all enthusiasts in the interpretation of prophecy, Gausson attached too great importance to his own and others' schemes of scriptural fulfilment. Another fruit of his catechetical labours was a little book for the young on the first chapter of Genesis. His treatise on the Divinity of Christ has in it nothing very original or very striking.

We honour the memory of this good man. He appears like one of the heroes of the Reformation era in the midst of the theological

pettinesses of his time. His style has some of the graces of the best style of French literature; but his heart was with Calvin, the elder Turretin, Pictet, and the early Reformed writers, whom, with a few English writers of later date, he almost exclusively read. He studied only Scripture. A society for the exact translation of the Bible he was very active in founding, and laboured in its cause diligently. He pleaded vehemently for Evangelical missions throughout France, and visited often the churches originated in this way. That society, which in the year 1835, on the festival of the Genevese Reformation, first celebrated the Eucharist apart from the national Church, blended in 1849 with the Genevese Dissenters, and now reckons 1,500 members. Gaussen was actively connected with this, but never adopted Vinet's extreme views as to the separation of Church and State. He was kept in a state of severance from the national Church, not by any strong tendency to ecclesiastical freedom, but by his extremely rigorous orthodoxy, on the one hand, and, on the other, by his rooted conviction that every Church should have a confession of faith, a principle that the national Church had long abandoned.

Gaussen lived out his seventy years. In a pleasant villa, "Les Grottes," outside Geneva, he lingered in peace till June 18, 1868, when he departed, leaving only a daughter behind him. Few men better deserve of their country and of their country's religion than he.

Dr. J. A. Bengel's *Tischreden*. [Bengel's Table Talk.]
Reutlingen: Rupp.

BENGL has been more prominent during the last twenty years than ever before since his departure. The obligation of Biblical criticism and exegesis to his labours is more fully estimated now than ever. Many friends were in the habit of collecting *Bengeliana*, and they are now in a complete form for the first time given to the public. Here are a few specimens of the 887 *Apophthegmata* that follow the new biography:—

"There were seventy disciples of Christ, seventy judges were given to Moses, there were seventy children of Jacob." "We should not subject religion to the rules of logic; otherwise he who could not well describe his soul must needs be without one." "Artificial music in church fills the ear, and hinders the internal melody of the heart. The pretence that these things are an external means of awakening devotion has opened the door to endless ceremonies." "However erroneous and corrupt the outward Church has been, we owe the preservation of the Scriptures to it: otherwise the history of Christ would have long ago become a fable. We ought not to be over-eager to accept everything that is said against the visible Church." "In Ps. lxxvii. we see what *Selah* means: *Diapsalma*, the division of a discourse. Down to verse 8 inclusive, David addresses the city of God; afterwards he speaks to God down to verse

6 inclusively, and *Selah* occurs again; then the discourse goes back to the city of God." "In Zech. ix. 9 'a helper' means not a deliverer, but One endowed with help." "Satan came once to an old father and said: Thou dost fast much; I also do not eat and drink; thou dost watch much, I also do not sleep; in one little matter thou dost excel me, that is in humility; I cannot compass that." "There are those who would not go to heaven, because so many poor, contemptible creatures go in there." "In their nature, Word and Sacrament are not equivalent. The Eucharist Christ gave to His disciples, the Word was for all. With the Word I may go to the heathen; with the Sacrament not. The Word makes room, the Sacrament is a seal." "In Holy Scripture the reward of Christians is always reserved for eternity. What God gives them here in this world is only something for their strengthening, to encourage them to run and wrestle afresh." "To the world we should cover, and not expose, the faults of the good. To the devout we may freely speak of the faults of the devout."

Many very impressive sayings are scattered among these anecdotes. There are also some hitherto unpublished documents of considerable value; and some essays which are becoming scarce.

Tableau de l'Eglise chrétienne au XIX. Siècle. [The Christian Church in the Nineteenth Century.] By Armand de Mastral, Ministre. Lausanne, Bridel.

THIS is an important work, exhibiting the ecclesiastical statistics, confessions of faith, and external and internal relations, of the Churches of the world. The author defines the Church as, in its idea, an institution of God, and a fellowship of believers; describes its territorial development, and exhibits its distribution as that of sons and daughters emancipated from the father's house, the original Church. He assigns to the Romish Church 195, to the Eastern 95, to the Protestant 110 millions; making together 400 millions. He distinguishes two classes of Churches: those which assume to be institutions of grace simply, at the one extreme; and those which are merely societies, and refer everything ultimately to the subjective conscience or judgment, at the other extreme. The former are governed by authority in monarchical or aristocratical form; use liturgical worship, and aim steadily at external unity and catholicity as their highest ideal. The latter are the opposite of all this, and are seen in their highest development in the Darbyites or Brethren, the Swedenborgians, the Maronites, the Mormons, and the Unitarians, and the "free Christians" everywhere.

The Eastern Churches are first described: according to their opponents exhibiting the dry and withered traditional stems, according to their friends the pure and true representative, of the original Catholic Church. Their worship is carefully examined, some of their liturgies and prayers translated, and a fair estimate formed of the slight in-

fluence exerted by communities that are lavishly endowed with ceremonial. Then pass in procession the 19,000,000 in Turkey, the 1,000,000 in Serbia, the 250,000 in the kingdom of Greece, the 6,000,000 in Austria, and 50,000,000 in Russia, the last including 68,000 ecclesiastics (regulars and seculars, black and white). The sectaries of the Eastern Church have 9,000,000, and number a great many dissidents from the old Church: those who have separated through devotion to the old books (hyper-conservatives), on the one hand; and, on the other, the extravagant sects which renounce books and priests, and all things fixed and orderly. The Armenian Monophysites are 5,000,000 strong under one Catholikos; the Nestorians 400,000 souls in Old Chaldaea, divided between Turkey and Persia; the Thomas-Christians in India have 57 churches—these go back to an earlier tradition, retain three sacraments only, baptism, Eucharist, and orders; there are 50,000 Christians in Mesopotamia, and a few Jacobites. To these must be added 200,000 Copts, and the 6,000,000 in Abyssinia, who have sunk to a low point of moral degradation.

The Romish Church is externally the most mighty and imposing, if not the most flourishing. Writing while the Pope was dictating his authority to the utmost, but before the revolution in Rome and the adjournment of the Council, the author gives his criticism and prospective views—and they are, for the most part, just. He examines briefly the doctrinal system of Rome, and shows, or tries to show, that its doctrine of justification is, in strictness, not justification by works. He thinks that the Romanist's controversy with Protestants on this subject has turned upon a misapprehension of the meaning of the terms, not so much upon a denial of the thing. However, he is not less careful to show that while the doctrine may only blend forensic justification and sanctification into one word, the practice of Rome is too often altogether that of dependence on a righteousness of works. The unity of the Church is sought as hierarchical at too great an expense. The independence of the State tends to become always a supremacy over it. There are in the "Religious" orders 120,000 monks and 190,000 nuns. To the priests the responsibility of their faith and life is much surrendered by the laity, their own responsibility being reduced to a minimum. But there is in this Church a great power of life; and it will survive, as it has survived, many sore attacks of the Rationalists, simply considered as such. Five millions of francs are spent on their missions yearly. The Italian and Spanish Romanists are more highly thought of by the author than by ourselves; of the Portuguese he has not so high an estimate. The Gallicans in France seek to mediate in the towns between the Ultramontanes and the Indifferentists. M. Guizot is quoted, who ascribes to the Papists much zeal for their religion, much of the spirit of self-sacrifice, and little inclination to the free thought of Rationalism. Those who recalcitrate, like Father Hyacinthe, do not turn away from Rome. In Belgium the separation of

the Church from the State has been accomplished ; and the State has not become entangled in the conflict of the Jesuits with the Protestants on the one hand, and the freethinkers on the other. In Ireland, according to this writer, the priests and the laymen vie in self-devotion ; we would add that they vie also in ignorance and obstinacy. In England the tendencies to Ritualism have helped on the cause of Popery ; and its adherents now reach 600,000, the half being in the Metropolis. Here again the writer is not thoroughly well-informed ; the Ritualists are not the cause of the increase of Romanism, but rather one evidence of it, as something underlying both is evidently on the increase among us. Moreover, this number does not do justice to the spread of Romanism. In Scotland there are said to be 400,000, but it would be hard to find them. In Austria and in Germany the Romanist clergy are distinguished for their intelligence and learning, the laity for their enlightened and genuine piety. The same holds good of the Swiss and Dutch Catholics ; but not of the Poles, who are deeply involved in revolution. In Russia there are 8,000,000, in Turkey 400,000, in Greece 80,000 Roman Catholics ; in Asiatic Turkey 700,000, in India from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000, in China 800,000, and in Oceanica 150,000. In North America Romanism is able, through the unwearied energy of the Jesuits, to number 4,500,000, but many of these result from Irish emigration. In Canada there are 1,000,000 Catholics ; while in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies there is a Romanism, but of a very unworthy kind.

United with the Romish Church, in the acknowledgment, that is, of the Pope, but with reservation of their own usages, are 8,500,000 of Greek Christians in Austria, 100,000 Armenians, 2,500 Nestorians, 90,000 Thomas-Christians, 6,000 Jacobites, 800,000 Maronites or Monothelites. There are many bodies in Europe and America which are Catholic in tendency, but independent of the Papacy. In Utrecht there are 5,000. The episcopal Churches of England and America, and the Lutheran Church of Scandinavia, look very much in the Catholic direction, but decline the centre of unity.

But we must be briefer. Turning to the second class of Christian Churches, we must first consider our author's position. He quotes that true believer, De Pressensé : "The universal priesthood is firmly established ; there is no longer any human mediator between the soul and its Creator ; the ministry of the Word proceeds from the free heart." Against this exaggeration he protests, and thinks that the time will come when a true union will unite all Evangelical Churches in the freedom of the Word, and ancient liturgical worship, and a certain episcopal regimen.

The Lutheran Church comes first : as taking the highest place in dogma, and in her view of the sacrament, although the Anglican in some respects has been the more conservative. The celebrated Union he looks at with displeasure. The varieties of societies within the Church are carefully considered : the *Læsaren* in Scandinavia, the

Swedenborgians in Sweden, the Pietists in Würtemberg, and other similar confederations along the banks of the Rhine. The Moravian Brethren are shown to have exerted, and still to exert, a much wider and deeper influence than their numbers, 80,000 to 90,000, might have taught us to expect. Their community is thought to form the true ideal of connection and union between orthodox Protestants of all denominations: "they are the true Catholics, and have proportionally by far the largest number of Missionaries and Missionary converts."

The English Church is treated of at some length. The contradiction between the Catholic liturgy and the Calvinistic dogma is traced up to its origin, and shown in its connection with the opposition to Ritualism on the one hand, and to anti-Papal Puritanism on the other. The national character is seen in the pride with which this Church looks down upon all others—saving the Greek, that is—with which the English Church has, at almost all crises, sought to be united. The High Church, in many of its numbers, fought against Protestantism, and defends transubstantiation. The Broad Church is said to be deeply infected with German Rationalism, from which the Low Church, however, is free. On the whole our critic asserts the almost total absence of central teaching authority. If he were moving amongst our ecclesiastical law courts just now he would find ample confirmation of his judgment.

Here the *Reformed Churches* come in. They are regarded as being generally released from attachment to the traditions of the Church—that is, however, with special reference to worship and ecclesiastical polity, not to the Christian dogmas and confessions of faith. More than one-half of the Reformed ministers of France are said to be tainted with Rationalism. The cause of the Protestant Church is much weakened thereby, and its contest with Romanism neutralised. Though they number—that is, the Reformed congregations—800,000 members, they have no external bond, nor any confession and common catechism. The same may be said of the million and a half of Swiss Reformers; but in Switzerland the ruling powers have passed from defenders of orthodoxy to opponents of it. Among the two millions of the Reformed in Holland, neology has made much progress: the Remonstrants number only 5,000, the "Separated Congregation" 70,000, with a seminary at Campen. In Belgium there are 7,000 Reformed. The Waldensians have a point of attachment with the Reformed: they number 25,000, and have in Turin, Genoa, and Florence churches, with a seminary in Florence; but the Evangelically inclined Italians shrink from uniting with these. There are two millions of Reformed in the non-German territories of Austria.

Passing now to the class of Churches that are almost entirely independent of liturgy and creed, leaving doctrine to the subjective faith of the people and their preachers, we are somewhat astonished to find them all spoken of as under the government of a Radical element. The writer points out the sure tendency towards Rationalism and Unitarianism which is their bane; whilst he admits that the zeal of these

communities has always been of the most intense kind. This group of Churches is, on the whole, grotesquely distributed; it is seen to include all grades of importance, whether in number or influence; from little free communities of thousands, up to the Methodists with their many millions. Passing by the smaller communities, some twenty or thirty of which may be enumerated in Switzerland and France, our author brings us to the Methodists, or "English Pietists," who number three and a half millions, especially found in North America, where they have bishops, and almost Presbyterian communities: with all these the means of grace are subordinate to the personal activity of the members, and all is subjective. The Presbyterians, six and a half millions strong, reject ecclesiastical antiquity apart from the Bible, and are therefore called Puritans. The extreme grade, however, of subjectivism is reached by the Independents in England and New England, reaching the number of 800,000; the Baptists, five and a half millions, in America mostly, but half a million in Europe, 800,000 in Great Britain,—in Holland, 80,000, under the name of Mennonites,—and a few in North Germany and Switzerland. Whilst there is much truth in these generalisations, there is much deficiency and error. The Methodists are not, especially in England, so entirely weaned away from the objective in faith and worship. The Presbyterians are not Puritans, as such. The numbers of these vast communities, also, are only approximate. On the whole, the author might re-write this part with great advantage to the general value of his book. If so, he must find a more decent generic appellation, and do more justice to the strongest and most successful labourers that Christianity has ever employed.

If we are all Radical, there is a class which may be called Revolutionary, as having altogether broken with antiquity. Here are the Plymouth Brethren, who declare the Church of all kinds to be no better than a huge Babel. But these modern saints we understand better than our author, and shall not here enlarge upon them. The fifth and last branch are the *ultra-Spiritualists*: the Friends find their place here. They are unlike the "Brethren" in maintaining brotherly love to all; but their abandonment of the sacraments goes beyond the Brethren, who have their baptism and their love-feast Eucharist. They still reckon between 150,000 and 200,000 members; but, never aiming at proselytism, they are rapidly fading away. The Irvingites find a place here also, though obviously the author is at fault. He calls them *Illuminists*: this they are not. They are conservative, anti-Radical, objective, anti-Puritanic, more Catholic than Protestant. Then follow the Swedenborgians, with 5,000 in England, and a few in Scandinavia, France, and Germany. We were about to decline mentioning the Mormonites; but the author reconciles us to the mention of these misbelievers by calling them a conglomerate of Christianity, Judaism, Pantheism, and Communism. Strange to say, even beyond and outside these the Unitarians are placed—100,000 in England, 400,000 in America. Besides these, there are 600,000

Universalists, who deny the loss of any souls through sin. But why these should be mentioned as only a sect, when it is known that they pervade all the Latitudinarian communities, it is hard to say.

On the whole, we commend this work to the attention of those who are compiling statistics especially. It is exceedingly useful, and, as a combination of dogmatic criticism with statistics—a difficult combination—worthy of praise.

The Theology of the New Testament. A Handbook for Bible Students. By the Rev. J. J. Van Oosterzee, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht. Translated from the Dutch, by Maurice J. Evans, B.A., Translator of Dr. Hoffmann's *Prophecies of Our Lord and His Apostles*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster-row. 1870.

In the April Number of the *London Quarterly Review* for 1870 we introduced this book to the notice of our readers, and gave a copious outline of its contents. As it had then appeared only in the Dutch language, many English students were debarred from its perusal, and we strongly urged its translation. Our desire has been speedily granted. We now congratulate students of the Bible on the acquisition, in good English, of a book the value of which will become all the more apparent as it is carefully used. We recommend Dr. Oosterzee's *Handbook* to all who desire to avail themselves of a learned, reverential and original treatment of Biblical Theology. It is compact and orderly; and, though a synoptical work, it has all the unity of a treatise. Not a little of its worth is derived from the reverence for the Word of God which pervades it. To that Word it is designed to lead the student; not in any sense to substitute itself for it. As the author says in his preface:—"That constant application to Holy Scripture itself must inseparably accompany the use of this *Handbook* will be at once self-evident. Only thus can it call forth a thorough acquaintance with the Scriptures, and prepare the way for the study of Systematic Theology."

II. THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY: ENGLISH.

The Inspiration of Scripture: its Limits and Effects. By George Warrington. London: Skeffington.

THIS is one of a considerable number of books which owe their origin to the anxiety of many minds to reach some theory of inspiration that shall at once satisfy criticism and save the Bible. It tries to mediate between two extremes. The theory reached—if such it may be called—accepts the whole Bible as the result of an inspiration of God's Spirit, and is therefore opposed to the loose views of those who make it the product of a high order of spiritual elevation simply. But the two terms, *verbal* and *plenary*, are alike denounced; that is to say, the Holy Spirit is supposed not to be responsible for the word, and not to be responsible, generally speaking, for sentiments, statements, and facts. Still the Scripture is the result of inspiration. We think the book, able as it is, a signal failure, for reasons only some few of which, in this limited and cursory way, we can indicate.

There is a manifest inconsistency in the whole tissue of the argumentation. The work sets out with a terse and good exhibition of the external and internal evidence of *inspiration*, or its "Divine character." The following are noble sentences:—"The New Testament is based upon the Old; and this not merely *historically*, the course of events described in the earlier record having gradually prepared the way for those of the latter; nor merely *prophetically*, the later revelations fulfilling the predictions and accomplishing the tendencies of the former; neither of which in any way involves inspiration; but also *doctrinally*, the whole teaching of the one being but the development of the teaching of the other, and resting upon it for authority. The Scriptures of the Jewish Church were the foundation on which the Christian scheme of doctrine was based, and every part of these Scriptures was freely and indifferently used in confirmation, illustration, or even original enunciation, of the distinctive characteristics of the new dispensation. The immediate special applications of the old Mosaic law were indeed in many cases set aside, its outwardly-binding legislative character annulled, but only to bring more clearly into prominence its never-dying spirit, its inward principle, and so not to destroy it, but, by carrying its true tendencies to perfection, in the highest sense to *fulfil* it. In a word, the Divine character of the Old Testament teaching, in its every part, is taken for granted in the teaching of the New; which Divine character involves also of necessity its inspiration, at least in those portions not consisting of direct revelations. To state fully the evidence adducible on

this score would be to analyse the entire New Testament ; since, not only by distinct quotation, but still more by allusion and analogy, every page of its teaching is closely connected with the Old. We shall not, therefore, attempt it ; nothing but personal study can adequately grasp the strength and fulness of proof for the divinity of the Old Testament thus afforded. There is here, also, the less need to discuss it, since it must be admitted on all hands that such evidence, invaluable as it is as an independent proof of inspiration, is yet unable to do more than re-establish the position already adopted as certain ; viz. that the teaching of the Bible in respect of faith and practice is Divine. We shall therefore confine our attention exclusively to those particular items which are thought, more or less generally, to go beyond this."

Now, the books which have a " Divine character " in every part, whose teaching as to faith and practice is " Divine," cannot possibly contain statements that are contrary to fact ; that is, they cannot have contained such statements as they came from God. The human element must at least have been so far protected by the Divine as to be incapable of error in matters of history, history being, so to speak, the very vehicle of all scriptural teaching. Allusion is constantly, sometimes irreverently, made to the union of the Divine and human in the Person of Our Lord. We are absolutely willing to accept the analogy, and carry it to all legitimate lengths. The one Person of Christ was incapable of sin, and incapable of error. Of ignorance the Son of Man " on earth " while " in heaven " was capable. His human intellect never expanded into infinity of comprehension ; but of error His human mind was incapable, by virtue of its alliance with the Divine. He who requires to have this proved to him is by that very fact convicted of a want of training in the elements of the Christian faith. The Bible is limited : all its pages have mystery and the unknown as their margin, and its whole series of books is rounded by limitation. But as they came from God they could contain no error. A thousand volumes, containing, if possible, a thousand times the full induction contained in this one, could not reconcile the two ideas, " Divine teaching," and " the Holy Ghost is not responsible for every statement in the Bible."

Treating of the passage which says that " all Scripture is given by inspiration," the Apostle Paul's final testimony to the Bible, the writer tells us that " to regard the term *breathed of God* as equivalent to *spoken by God* would be to ignore the whole analogy of Scripture usage. Had Paul intended this, he would surely have used a very different word—say, *theopneustos* (written by God), or *theolektos* (spoken by God). But as he used *theopneustos*, there can be no doubt that his meaning was simply that the *life*, the *spirit*, the *power* of Scripture was from God. Of the words of Scripture, then, he said nothing, but rather, by adopting this analogy of vital breath and outward body, excluded them, and laid stress only upon that which lay beneath the words, their spiritual meaning, tone, and tendency."

It seems to us, and must seem to every unbiassed mind, that this last tribute paid by St. Paul to the writings which had formed his entire being, and shaped all his thoughts, is so constructed as to say the very reverse of what our author makes them say, and to vindicate a theory the very opposite of his. The term *Scripture* remains, whatever the adjective means; and Timothy had not known *from a child* the spirit of the Scripture, but its *letter*. The training of the Scripture is a preparation for every good work; and much of that training is by example; and much of the teaching by example is swept out of the Bible so soon as we admit that there are great, frequent, and pervading errors in its history. Mr. Warrington would have secured more respectful attention to his book had he displayed less anxiety to explain away—the word is designedly used—all the passages which are regarded rightly as the fundamental texts for a theory different from his own; in fact, for the old, traditional, and primitive doctrine of inspiration. “*Whatsoever things were written aforetime,*” “*It is written,*” “*written for our admonition,*” are formulæ which Mr. Warrington has never allowed to plead for themselves. His vindication of Matt. v. 18 from a too literal interpretation is just, but not so his comments on “*The Scripture cannot be broken,*” that Scripture being especially a single word which, in spite of all special pleading, is firm as being Scripture, and infers the equal security of every other utterance of God’s Word. Our Saviour promised that the Holy Spirit should bring to their remembrance all things that He had said unto His Apostles; but Mr. Warrington sees no reference in this to an inspiration for writing Scripture, merely “*a quickening of their own dim remembrance.*”

Reverently receiving the Bible as this writer does, and making it the object of more intense, and universal, and intelligent study than many who are entirely devoted to its exposition, we wonder that he does not make the experiment on a constructive instead of a destructive theory. Starting in an opposite direction, he would, unless we mistake, do great service to the doctrine of inspiration. Were he to consider well whether a theory of plenary and even verbal inspiration could be found that should be consistent with the facts he so portentously marshals in an opposite service, it is probable some success would wait on his efforts. For instance, many difficulties are at once swept away by the consideration that we have not the autographs of the Bible; many more by the assumption that the New Testament methods of quotation are governed by a law of new inspiration of their own; some by the undeniable fact that the same Holy Spirit might prompt an historian to narrate certain events, and a poet to sing of those events in different words, or two poets to set different words to the musical celebration of the same event. Residual difficulties there will be and must be. But diligent, exhaustive, microscopic criticism is on the whole, and undeniably, relieving many pages of Scripture of their offences to criticism, and loyal labour will, by the blessing of God, rescue the whole Scripture; not, indeed, from many

and great difficulties, but from any such difficulties as forbid an honest acceptance of them as throughout authoritative to the "honest and good heart." Plenary inspiration is a sacred necessity; verbal inspiration is an hypothesis which would be equally acceptable if rightly stated and guarded.

There is one class of arguments more pertinaciously insisted upon by Mr. Warrington than any other writer. It is the ambiguity which is found in many passages as disproving the possibility of an inspiration of the words. Take one instance: in Jas. iv. 5, "the spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth unto envy," as translated by some, may be translated by others "the spirit that dwelleth in us desireth unto jealousy," where plainly the whole would have been at once made certain had but some defining word been added. As it is, neither the context nor construction of the passage is capable of determining decisively which of these two views is to be taken. The alternative in all these cases is, of course, as before; either such vagueness is the natural and involuntary result of the frailty of the human author, or it is the voluntary and intentional result of the Spirit's directing influence. In a word, either the human authors alone are to be held responsible for the words here employed, or it is to be regarded as the purpose of the Holy Spirit in these passages hopelessly to perplex and puzzle or even mislead Christians, instead of instructing them. Which of these alternatives every reverent and truth-loving mind must inevitably accept is too evident to need insisting on. This may stand for a thousand instances, which include every peculiarity of style in every writer. The argument is worthless. First, it forgets that nothing is gained by leaving the responsibility to man, as, on the theory of inspiration accepted by the objector, the human writer is teaching most important truth in the name of God; secondly, it loses sight of the fact that every sentence has its meaning, whether we see it or not; and, thirdly, that there is a Divine superintendence of the Spirit promised to those who compare Scripture with Scripture, that shall most surely give them the right interpretation. Let the critic say what he will, and sneer his utmost—of the sneer, Mr. Warrington is incapable,—that is the theory of inspiration, verbal or otherwise. The letter is never without the informing and expounding Spirit.

We shall conclude with the sentences with which Mr. Warrington concludes: and in adopting them, we beg to thank him for a book which had too long escaped our attention: to thank him, not because we agree with his conclusions, but because in a reverent spirit he has summed up—in what way the reader must find in the book itself—all that can be said against the *verbal* and *plenary* inspiration of the Bible, and because he has, in addition, unconsciously given us the best refutation of most of his own principles.

"The third source of evidence, indirect internal testimony, showed us that the facts and phenomena of Scripture, when tried by the positive standard of the Bible itself, or, where this failed, by the negative one of Divine revelations, agreed together most harmoniously

to prove (1) that inspiration did not extend to the letter of Scripture, but was confined to its spirit; (2) that it did not extend to the statements of Scripture, regarded as narrations of matters of fact, but was confined to its spiritual teaching, the question of personal sentiments being left undecided; and (3) that there was no reason to regard any portion of this teaching as uninspired, even when coloured by personal and historical influences, but rather every reason to regard the whole as inspired."

"If, then, in one word, we would sum up what our investigations have taught us concerning the Divine-human character of Scripture, that one word would be the epithet originally applied to Scripture by the Apostle Paul, *theopneustos*. We believe that Scripture is simply 'God-inspired,' taking the word in its fullest, strictest, truest sense. It is so positively; for Scripture *became* what it is by the action of God's Spirit upon man's spirit; Scripture *is* what it is by virtue of the Spirit of God still breathing and working in it; Scripture *does* what it does by the taking home of this Spirit into man's spirit again. It is so negatively; for *on* the spirit only was this action exercised; *in* the spirit only is Divinity now to be found; *by* the spirit only can it be apprehended. We know of no other word which so exactly and so completely expresses all that we have striven to say and prove throughout the whole of the present volume. With this, therefore, we conclude:—All Scripture is God-inspired."

The Appendix on "The Word of God" deserves careful consideration. We are quite willing to allow that the expression does not, in the majority of cases, refer to the written Scriptures as such. But there are some instances with which Mr. Warrington has to deal somewhat sophistically to bend them to his views. Such is Mark vii. 13: "Making the Word of God of none effect through your tradition." He says that the reference is to the Fifth Commandment, which, as one of the "ten words," would naturally be thus designated. Let the reader think over this. *Tradition* and *Word* are opposed to each other; and any unbiassed interpreter must needs admit that in the Saviour's method of dealing with the Jews *tradition* is the unwritten and *the Word of God* the written authority to which they appealed.

This text is the best with which to close this subject. It has a salutary warning to many of our own time, as well as to the Pharisees. The theories of Inspiration that are now current are in great danger of "making the Word of God of none effect."

"The Athanasian Creed" and its Usage in the English Church: an Investigation as to the Original Object of the Creed, and the Growth of Prevailing Misconceptions concerning it. A Letter to the Very Reverend W. F. Hook, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Chichester, from C. A. Swainson, D.D. Rivingtons.

A DIGNIFIED and well-reasoned, though rather subtle, protest against the outcry raised in favour of an exclusion of the Athanasian

Creed from the services of the Church of England. No more, of course : for Christian theology will never give up that Creed as its most wonderful form of systematic doctrine, the most exquisitely symmetrical and profound exposition of Trinitarian truth in existence. The result of the investigation may be given in the writer's own words : these will suggest the weakness as well as the strength of his argument.

"The time has now come for me to sum up the points to which my investigations have led me. They are : (1) That our Articles were composed and published as a declaration of the faith of the Church of England, and were never intended (as their language shows) to be made a test to be subscribed as we subscribe them now, or to be criticised from that point of view. We might compare them, in this respect, with *The Declaration of Right*. (2) That they should be interpreted in this light, so that if, in any matter of fact, their framers fell into error (as, for example, in the reference to Augustine in Art. XXIX.), we need not be very much surprised at it, or conceive that such an error affects the value of the manifesto as such. It certainly does not affect the character of our subscription. The truth of the Gospel, to the test of which we bring the doctrine of the Church, is not involved in a mistake about Augustine."

Pausing here, we may remark how very dangerous this principle is, and how damaging, if true, to the confessional character of the Church of England. What more could the Latitudinarians desire, and the Ritualists, and the Romanists? Moreover, it is the glory of a Church to have a creed, and with its creed its own formularies of interpretation. Dr. Swainson may be right, and his induction of facts is very striking; but the effect of his principle must needs be very embarrassing to true-hearted members and ministers of the English Church.

"(3) That our Church accepted the Creeds, not because one was deemed to have been composed by the Apostles, and another by the Council of Nicea, and the third by Athanasius, but because 'they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture.' I will not raise any question here as to the clauses of the Athanasian exposition which are included in this assertion; I am ready to accept them all: only I say, that as I interpret the words 'life everlasting' and 'everlasting fire' of the Creed by the corresponding words in St. Matthew's Gospel, so I interpret the words 'saved' and 'perish' by the corresponding words of St. Paul."

There is not much gained by all this, though the principle is a thoroughly good one. To proceed : "(4) But I state that in the interpretation of the Creed throughout I accept the Latin original, and decline to be judged by our modern English version. I regret the errors in that version, both those which have come from the Greek of Bryling, and those which have been introduced from Luther's German." This protest softens the language of the formula a little, but not much. "(5) I have, I conceive, sufficiently shown that the

Faith taught in the Creed commences with clause 3, terminating with clause 26 or 27; and begins again with clause 30, and ends with clause 41. These clauses contain a summary of all the results of the investigations of early years at the Councils, whether of oecumenical or national character, which the Churches of the West have received. The remaining clauses, that is, 1, 2, 28, 29, and 42, are the words of the teacher, recommending and enforcing the Catholic Faith, the Faith of the Church, his own faith. They are not themselves parts of the Catholic Faith. (7) I think I have also shown that the exposition was probably intended, as other expositions were, for the instruction of catechumens: that it was arranged in its rhythmical form in the hope that it would thus more easily fix itself in the memory of the hearers; and that, gradually increasing in length, it was, for the same purpose, at a period later than Alcuin and Hincmar, divided into two portions by the insertion of clauses 28 and 29. It then became a hymn of the Church, and was recited with alternating choirs. (8) I have shown that there is some doubt about the antiquity of clause 2; and (9) I have also mentioned that, ever since our Reformation, 'the Creed' was sung as a hymn, in addition to the Apostles' Creed. It was only in the year 1662 that it was recited as a Creed itself."

Nothing can be more learned and orthodox and pure-minded than the essay of which these are the conclusions. But, after weighing every word, we turn to the Creed itself, and there it is, a creed with its damnatory clauses still!—so far, that is, as the popular apprehension goes. Apart from these clauses, which, Dr. Swainson thinks, cannot mean to refer to any but those who have already received and known the truth, what may be said for the retention of this great statement of truth is nobly said. Much of the strength of the Apology is due to an extract from a Charge of the late Bishop Cotton of Calcutta, the interest of which will warrant its translation into these columns:—

"As in the case of the Baptismal Service, so in that of the Athanasian Creed, there is much to be learned from coming to India. One who resides in the midst of a heathen nation begins to realise the state of things in which the Apostles wrote those passages of which the Baptismal Service is a faithful echo, and in which the primitive bishops and fathers of the Church drew up their confessions of faith. For the errors rebuked in the Athanasian Creed resulted from tendencies common to the human mind everywhere, and especially prevalent in this country. We cannot too strongly impress on those who recoil from its definitions and distinctions, that its object was not to limit but to widen the pale of the Church, which various heretical sects were attempting to contract. It contains no theory of the Divine nature, but contradicts certain false opinions about it, and states the revealed truths of the Trinity and Incarnation without any attempt to explain them. It especially censures four errors: the heresy of Arius, who 'divided the substance of the Godhead' by

teaching that the Father was the supreme and the Son an inferior Deity; of Sabellius, who 'confounded the Persons' by supposing that the Father took our nature as the man Christ Jesus, and, after dying for our salvation, operates on our hearts as the Holy Ghost; of Nestorius, who so completely separated Our Lord's Divinity and humanity as to teach that He is not one but two Christs; and of Apollinaris, who asserted that He was not perfect Man, with a reasonable (or rational) soul, but a Being in whom the Godhead supplied the place of the human intellect. Now these four tendencies correspond to four forms of error which are in full activity among us here. The chief cause of the horror with which Arianism was regarded by the fathers of Nicæa was that it led directly back to the polytheism from which Constantine had just delivered the Roman Empire. Had it prevailed, Christianity would have been degraded into the worship of the three Gods, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with the Father as the Lord and Ruler of the other two. Arianism, therefore, so far as it was polytheistic, resembled the religion of the common people of this country. From the theory of Sabellius, fatal to the truths of Christ's mediation and atonement, arose that base and unsympathising monotheism, which has since been erected by Mahomet into a rival and hindrance to the Gospel. The foremost of Indian sects in public spirit and intelligence inherit from their Persian ancestors the doctrine of two co-ordinate independent principles, Ormuzd and Ahriman (Good and Evil), with the first of which spirit, and the other matter, is immediately connected. From a tendency to this very same error, Nestorius separated altogether Christ's Divine from his human nature, although such a view leads to the denial that this world is redeemed from evil, and that man's body, as well as his soul and spirit, must be consecrated to God's service.

"The creed of many among the educated classes of India, and of not a few, I fear, in Europe, is the theory of Pantheism, which quenches in us the love of God, since we cannot feel affection for One who has no personal attributes, and which is at last fatal to morality, by teaching that evil is only an inferior stage of good, "good in the making," as some one has expressed it, so that the two are, in fact, identical, each having alike its origin in God. From Pantheistic sympathies Apollinaris, the precursor of Eutyches, was led to merge Christ's manhood in His Godhead, and to deny that He had a human soul. Now if we remember that all these heresies sprang from tendencies which have given birth to separate religions of widely-extended influence, in the midst of which we in India are living, we may surely pause before we expunge from the records of our Church an ancient protest against the application of these tendencies to Christianity, since, whenever the educated classes of this country generally embrace the Gospel, there will be need of watchfulness, lest its simplicity be perverted by the revival of errors which all had their origin in Eastern philosophy."

The result of this treatise of a master in theology is to make us

value more highly than ever the so-called Athanasian Creed, and more deeply than ever to deplore the harshness of its setting.

Judged by His Words. An Attempt to Weigh a Certain Kind of Evidence respecting Christ. London: Longmans and Co. 1870.

In a prefatory chapter, entitled *The Opening Statement*, the *raison d'être* of the book is given in substance as follows. However it may be regarded, whether as needless or reasonable, it is a fact that we now hear from men calling themselves Christians a demand which would have been obviously appropriate on the part of a heathen flourishing at the end of the first century, and asked to accept the faith of Christ. "Who is He?" "What evidence is there as to His claims and character?" Many consider that they have, at hand, ample replies, for their own content, at least; not so others. What was thought good proof some time ago will not suffice them now. "Christianity is subjected, like everything else, to the new rays which modern scientific research has liberated. It must bear examination in the light which has sprung up in our own times, or it will be cast aside as counterfeit." The writer is not sure that this spirit of inquiry should be looked at as "a painful sign," but thinks that they "who find Christianity Divine and good ought to rejoice when they see a general and honest desire prevailing to examine its foundations. But they must be prepared to give a very good reason indeed for the hope that is in them. Conventionalisms passing current among friends will not serve under existing requirements. Upholders of Christianity must be ready with something that will stand rigorous investigation as it is conducted at the present day." Can such evidence, likely to prove generally satisfactory with respect to the character and nature of Christ, be supplied? What some would proffer readily,—“the positive declarations of God's Word,”—would be declined as begging the question; and to adduce the miraculous works of Christ would not serve, for “they are themselves rather stumbling-blocks in the way of some men's belief than otherwise,” while others “assert, not only that Christianity cannot be proved by miracles, but that miracles can only be accepted on the authority of a proved Christianity.” Still, the writer does not despair of offering such evidence as shall obtain a hearing. Materials are not wanting for working by some such “rule of experiment and comparison” as that which has been successfully used for three centuries in the study of natural philosophy. He selects from among the books of the New Testament (the only source of our accounts of Christ which any sensible person would, for an instant, acknowledge) the Gospels, as those which alone profess to contain a record of what Christ actually did and said. Since, however, there are very few of His reported acts which do not partake of the miraculous, and, for the reason already assigned, these cannot be relied on for his purpose, he takes

simply the words of Christ as given in the Gospels, and examines them in detail as affording evidence of Christ's nature and character; premising also that whatever may be his private opinions as to the *inspiration* of the Gospels, for the purposes of this inquiry "these books will be looked on, merely as certain documents, which came to light at some period or other, it matters not precisely when, containing internal evidence of having been written before a certain date in the Christian era." This attempt the writer had been partly induced to make by the fact that "Christ Himself is reported to have laid down the principle that a man should be judged by his words," and to have "declared more than once or twice the extreme importance of His own words in particular, both as affecting the responsibilities of those who heard, and as showing His own true character and nature to men." Such is the line of argument adopted with its justification. In itself, that will at once be seen to be by no means a novel one: the originality and force of it, as presented in this volume, consists in the logical form in which the argument is handled, and the extent to which it is applied, "with steady perseverance, from the beginning to the end, without turning to the right hand or to the left." The book itself sums the evidence, and charges the jury. We cannot, however, follow it; but commend it to our readers as the freshest and most original volume of evidences we have seen for some time.

The Witness of St. John to Christ: being the Boyle Lectures for 1870, with an Appendix on the Authorship and Integrity of St. John's Gospel, and the Unity of the Johannine Writings. By the Rev. Stanley Leathes, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

DURING the last few years we have drawn attention to a considerable number of volumes—German, French, Dutch, American, and English—devoted to the vindication and exposition of St. John's writings. We now add another. Mr. Leathes, whose name has for three years been connected with the Boyle Lectures, has taken up some points in the great controversy, and dealt with them in an able manner. There is hardly a page that is, strictly speaking, original; and on no point has the lecturer thrown a startling and unexpected light. The Paschal Controversy has no new element brought to it. The unity of the Johannine Writings, the establishment of which is a problem worthy of the highest intellect and learning, has not been perfectly demonstrated; at least, the objections are not quite obviated. No man, however, is more competent than Mr. Leathes to accomplish this, so far as lexical criticism goes. But he must undertake it untrammelled by the necessities of a lecture such as that in the service of which he here writes. On the whole, *The Witness of St. John to Christ* is a book to be thankful for, as a valuable addition to the Johannine literature.

A Critical English New Testament, presenting at one View the Authorised Version and the Results of the Criticism of the Original Text. Bagster and Sons. 1870.

Those who have found benefit in the use of Scrivener's edition of the Greek Testament, with foot-notes giving the most important variations from the Text of Stephanus, 1550, will highly appreciate the little volume published by Messrs. Bagster. To others it is enough to say, that wherever the English Version might, in the opinion of the highest critics of modern times, be amended to advantage—on the authority, that is, of readings of the original approved by Biblical criticism—the amendment is here indicated. Scrivener gives the readings at the bottom, without expressing any preference, but leaving the reader to himself. This English edition does the same; but with the additional advantage of giving the result as bracketed in the English Text. The book presupposes a general acquaintance with the principles of Biblical criticism and its peculiar terminology. It also requires the student, or reader rather, to put considerable faith in the unknown English editor.

Lachmann and Tischendorf stand for the Continent: representatives of two opposite schools, though there is no explanation given of this. English criticism is represented by Alford, T. S. Green, and, in part, Tregelles. Mr. Green's name is familiar to those who use Bagsters' books: his *grammar* and *developed criticism* are admirable helps; the *Twofold New Testament*, edited by him, is also exceedingly useful, its weakest point, however, being the style of the revisions in some places. The variations from that work in the present are always improvements. We heartily recommend the book, which is elegant, compact, scholarly, and more reasonable in price than many of the Biblical publications of Messrs. Bagster.

Christus Consolator: The Pulpit in Relation to Social Life. By Alexander MacLeod, D.D., Author of "Our Own Lives the Books of Judgment," &c. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1870.

THIS good and beautiful book is a well-designed attempt to consider the help which a Christian preacher, acting within his own sphere, and without depreciating other forms of help, may bring to the solution of some of the most difficult social problems of the day. The book deserves the careful perusal of modern preachers. Written by one of themselves, a man who has a strong faith in the Gospel, and in the preaching of the Gospel, it points alike to faults in preaching and faults in the judgments passed upon preaching, while it vindicates the true position and claims of the pulpit. It will expand the preacher's vision of the sphere of his toil; it will apprise him of some of the subtle dangers of the day, will guide his energies, and rally his heart in discouragement. It is most welcome.

Ante-Nicene Christian Library : Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Edited by the Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., and James Donaldson, LL.D. Vol. XVII. The Clementine Homilies ; The Apostolical Constitutions. Vol. XVIII. The Writings of Tertullian. Vol. III. The Extant Works of Victorinus and Commodianus.

Messrs. CLARK's noble enterprise is approaching completion ; a fact most creditable to them, and of good omen as it respects the taste of the theological public. The series of the works of St. Augustine, we observe, will be commenced next year ; and we cordially hope that it will be extensively patronised. This term has fallen from our pen, and we will not retract it, though it is scarcely applicable. The benefactors here are the publisher and the translators, who place within the reach of all libraries, public and private, some of the choicest Christian classics of antiquity. True that many things here and there are unprofitable ; but they belong to the author, and the honest translator must give all. Moreover, these are the exceptions. Familiarity with Tertullian and Augustine must do good, and cannot fail to be a wholesome corrective of much evil tendency in these times. By beginning in good time the student may enrich his modest shelves with most of the writings of the greatest Christian Father well translated.

Hours of Christian Devotion. Translated from the German of A. Tholuck, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Halle, &c. By Robert Menzies, D.D. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.

THIS beautiful translation comes to our hands too late for more than a passing notice. The veteran Tholuck has been a blessing to thousands, both by his exegetical and by his devotional writings. It is not given to many to combine profound learning, poetic genius, literary grace, and intense devotion, as they have for nearly half a century been combined in Tholuck. We can recommend the book from old acquaintance ; the translation we have only glanced at, but with that glance are more than satisfied.

A Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology. Edited by the Rev. John Henry Blunt, M.A. Vol. II. Rivingtons.

WE have said enough on the first part of this *Dictionary* to render lengthened comment needless now. The energetic editorship shows itself to great advantage everywhere. Sound scholarship, wide reading, and honest endeavour after completeness, still characterise the work. But, as before, there is ample proof that this is a polemical as well as an historical Dictionary ; and the effort to sustain a type of doctrine

which wavers between Rome and Protestantism, clinging to Catholic antiquity, and yet denying what Rome would call the essential Catholic tradition, keeping up an honest tone of Evangelical dogma, and yet renouncing, as we think, some of the essentials of the Gospel, is throughout the volume painfully manifest. The reader who turns to the articles "Missions," "Methodism," "Popes," will find out very soon how exclusive, how unreasonably exclusive, the religion is of which this volume is the theological exponent. The articles on the "Holy Spirit," and "Spirit," are very ambitious, but very faulty. Take, for instance, the definition of "Spirit," as "that element of human nature which was lost in the Fall, and which is restored by God the Holy Spirit in His work of sanctification." It is easy enough to say this; but it is impossible to establish it. The writer quietly appeals to the two texts which directly contradict him. In 1 Cor. ii. 14, 15, it is true that the "carnal" and the "spiritual" man are distinguished; but then they are both regenerate in the argument of the Apostle: and so on throughout. Again, we read the following amazing statement:—"It has been a peculiar feature of English religion, and of many English theologians, to undervalue the Presence of God Incarnate as the means of human sanctification, and to speak of the work of the Holy Ghost in such a manner as to imply that, although He never became united to human nature by incarnation, yet there is some means by which He comes into direct union with it, and 'dwells in' each sanctified person." We shall not pursue the quotation, which, however, requires what follows to make it complete. Were we controverting this superficial error we should quote all: but for our present purpose we think it enough to indicate that Sacramentalism is carried to its uttermost excess, and that the doctrinal system here is thoroughly Apollinarian.

At the same time we are thankful to have this volume. It is outspoken and decided, like Hook's *Church Dictionary*: unlike Hook's, it is thorough and learned also.

The Whole Works (as yet Recovered) of the Most Reverend Father in God, Robert Leighton, D.D. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Vols. IV., V. Vol. VI. Lectures and Addresses, Spiritual Exercises and Letters.

A Practical Commentary upon the First Epistle of St. Peter. By Robert Leighton. Now for the first time Correctly Printed, and furnished with Illustrative Notes and Indexes. By William West, B.A., Incumbent of St. Columba's, Nairn. London: Longmans.

THIS edition is now complete, save the last volume, which will contain the Memoir. Apart from the question as to the editor's function and freedom in modernising the diction of his author—a question about which there is difference of opinion—these volumes are all that could be desired. But, as we said before, an examination

of the work as a whole must be reserved till the time of its completion.

Secular Annotations on Scripture Texts. By Francis Jacox.
London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster Row.

It is pleasant to meet with a new idea, and the scheme of this book has a refreshing dash of originality. Certain texts, chosen from the whole range of Scripture, suggest subjects for lively and thoughtful essays, illustrated by apposite quotations from ancient and modern writers.

The Daily Prayer-Book, for the use of Families, with Additional Prayers for Special Occasions. By various Contributors.
Edited by J. Stoughton, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1870.

One of the best manuals of its class we have met with.

The Soul's Inquiries Answered in the Words of Scripture. A Year-Book of Scripture Texts. Arranged by G. Washington Moon, Member of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature. London: Hatchards. 1870.

THE idea of an interleaved Daily Text-Book is not new; but in this elegant little volume the execution is altogether ingenious.

The History of Joshua: Viewed in connection with the Topography of Canaan, and the Customs of the Times in which he Lived. By the Rev. Thorley Smith. Second Edition. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Co. London: Hamilton and Co.

WE are glad to find that a demand for another edition has endorsed our commendation of this book.

Present-Day Papers on Prominent Questions in Theology. Edited by the Right Rev. Alexander Ewing, D.C.L., Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. London: Strahan and Co. 1870.

THESE papers have been already published separately. They undoubtedly contain food for thought; but their theology is of the Broad-Church type, and their style is inflated, pedantic, and obscure.

Keys to Spiritual Problems. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1870.

A VARIETY of practical questions are here discussed with liveliness, tact, and good sense. The book may be commended as a wise and safe guide for thinking young men.

The Life of Samuel Bradburn, the Methodist Demosthenes.
By Thomas W. Blanshard. London: Elliot Stock. 1870.

THIS is a faithful portrait of a man whose name is "a household word in Methodist circles," yet of whom "comparatively few persons possess any authentic information." Bradburn's extraordinary power as a preacher, his wit and facetiousness in social life, his naïve simplicity, his impulsive generosity, followed by frequent seasons of secular embarrassment, and his amusing eccentricities, are described with agreeable brevity, yet with sufficient minuteness of detail.

One Thousand Gems from the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.
Edited and Compiled by the Rev. G. D. Evans. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1870.

MR. BEECHER'S "Life Thoughts" and "Royal Truths" have met with favour in many quarters; and this volume, of more than 500 pages, while it far surpasses its predecessors in bulk, does not fall below them in quality. Some of the thousand are not, in our opinion, gems; a great many more, if gems at all, are not gems of the first water; while the remaining selections may, perhaps, claim the title. Mr. Beecher sits loose to doctrine, and strains restlessly after effect; nevertheless, there is much in this volume to inform and instruct.

The Cambridge Paragraph Bible of the Authorised Version, with the Text Revised by a Collation of its Early and other Principal Editions; the Use of the Italic Type made Uniform, the Marginal References Remodelled, and a Critical Introduction prefixed. By the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, M.A., Rector of St. Gerrans, Editor of the "Greek Testament," &c. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. London: Rivingtons.

WHEN all the promise of this title-page is fulfilled, this will be a work to read and study with great delight, and to rejoice over as a treasure. Nothing done by Mr. Scrivener has ever been done otherwise than thoroughly well. The Authorised Version will present itself, before it is superseded, in its fairest form. But any more elaborate account must be reserved till the work is complete. Meanwhile, we recommend our readers to make their own the two parts already issued.

The Origin and Development of Religious Belief. By S. Baring-Gould, M.A. Part II. Christianity. London: Rivingtons.

ANOTHER volume of an original, suggestive, and beautiful work, which will, we are sure, be both very cordially admired and very

rigorously condemned. The writer is a man of undoubted genius, and wonderful power of expression. He is a composite of rarer combinations than any man we professionally know; an Hegelian, a Freethinker, a loyal devotee of the Catholic principle; yet a Protestant minister. He has learned all the Bible can teach, but thinks that he can, on intuitional principles, vindicate Christianity "without the Word." These works will come before us again; meanwhile, we announce them as containing much pure truth mingled with much error, the truth and error being so skilfully and so beautifully interwoven, that they are not to be separated. We should be cautious enough to warn the reader against the book but for two reasons: first, a work of genius cannot be hid or ignored; secondly, the philosophical principle of this volume is all-pervasive, and few will take the trouble to understand it who are not tolerably well armed. The simple people will read and be perplexed, and soon shut the book.

Miscellanies from the Oxford Sermons and other Writings of John Henry Newman, D.D. Strahan and Co.

EXTRACTS like these, from the works of a great writer, have seldom much to recommend them; unless, indeed, the writer happen to abound in apophthegmatic or aphoristic sayings. We took up this volume with a certain amount of prejudice accordingly; knowing well that Dr. Newman's workmanship is always subtle, articulated and cumulative in its effect. Moreover, we could not but feel that, after all, the writings of one who has, to some extent, repudiated his past, are scarcely his any longer. The book itself, however, has won its way. We opened it at page 121, and read "The Greatness and Littleness of Human Life" with deep interest; it is a very beautiful gem. It was easy to read the rest; and we must needs record our judgment that this volume is a valuable addition to any devotional library.

A Home for the Homeless; or, Union with God. By Horace Field, B.A. Lond., Author of "Heroism," "Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World," &c. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1869.

WITH much poetic beauty of diction, in a spirit reverent but often venturesome, our author strives to solve for us some of the deep mysteries of the Divine government and of human life; mysteries of the immediate present and of the remote future. In his view, "the race is one, and our heaven of rest is not to be till all have rest." He sees springs of water where many think no water is. To him the world is a veil cast over a greater reality; that veil he endeavours in part to raise. But the good purpose is not always successfully accomplished. In the attempt to solve some of our difficulties new words of mystery are used; and the answer we receive puzzles us as greatly as the question we proposed. The shadow of a cloud of mysticism rests upon our path.

Saint Anselm. By R. W. Church, Rector of Whatley. Sunday Library. Macmillan.

THIS is not the book which Mr. Church's antecedents, his previous labours on Anselm, and our own ideas of Anselm's character and relations to the Church, led us to expect. Anselm's great power as a theological thinker, and the author of a revolution in the doctrine and phraseology of the Atonement, have made him essentially a name in the history of dogma. This work scarcely exhibits him in that light. The Bec monastery, and the ecclesiastical administration of our first Norman kings, and the terrible struggle between royal prerogative and Papal supremacy, are told with fine literary skill; but this is all that can be said. The grand character of Anselm is not drawn here at full length; but, so far as it goes, the book is a beautiful one.

The Doctrine of the Atonement, as Taught by the Apostles; or, the Sayings of the Apostles exegetically expounded. With Historical Appendix. By the Rev. George Smeaton, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

ON somewhat the same plan as the former volume of Dr. Smeaton, expounding the Saviour's own doctrine of the Atonement. The theological reader will find good reading here: he will have before him, not the systematic dogma as contained in formularies, but the Biblical dogma as developed in the latest writings of the New Testament. We have only as yet looked over the volume; but a short hour has convinced us that this is a good and seasonable work, dealing in a catholic spirit with a doctrine much contested in all communions, but dealing with it as an orthodox Christian divine. We shall examine it much more carefully: with what result our pages will hereafter show.

The Leading Christian Evidences, and the Principles on which to Estimate them. By Gilbert Wardlaw, M.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

The Evidences of Christianity in the Nineteenth Century. Being the First Course of Lectures on the "Ely Foundation of the Union Theological Seminary, New York." By Albert Barnes, Author of "Notes on the New Testament," &c. London: Blackie and Son, Paternoster Row. 1871.

THESE both are excellent books, treating of a branch of divinity that never can lose its interest or importance. Were the whole human race converted from their various errors to Christianity, in name and in deed, and were the Church's Home and Foreign Missionary work thus brought to an end, yet, even then, the consideration of the grounds of his faith and hope would be one of the Christian's most engaging employments. It would still be his delight, no less

than his duty, to "walk about Zion, and go round about her," to "tell the towers thereof," and mark well her bulwarks, if for no other reason, yet for this, that he might "tell it to the generation following." Meanwhile, while the revelation intended for all is not accepted by all,—while vast misbelieving nations remain unpersuaded to become Christians, and many who were once Christians are seduced from their faith by seeming incongruity between their faith and their reason,—the evidences of Christianity challenge the earnest, patient study of all its professors, and reward such study by illustrating afresh the whole sphere of its precious doctrines.

In treating of this subject, the authors before us are not of those who in straining after new methods would abolish the old, yet at the same time both their works are constructed with reference to the present state of the controversy. Mr. Barnes follows mostly the beaten track. After a disquisition on "the limitations of the human mind on the subject of religion," he considers the historical evidence at length, as affected by lapse of time and by science. A chapter on the inspiration of Scripture follows that on the argument from prophecy, and is followed by an argument drawn from the Incarnation and Our Lord's personal character. After the usual reasoning from "adaptation," he concludes with an exhaustive review of "the relation of Christianity to the world's progress in science, civilisation, and the arts, in the nineteenth century."

Mr. Wardlaw adopts the *à priori* method of treatment. Investigating with great power "the demand for higher evidence," he proceeds to exhibit at length the internal and experimental evidences before the external and historical. The chapter on inspiration is full and clear, while the concluding chapter on "Reasons why the unbeliever should distrust and re-examine his position," must have the same kind of effect on the sceptical mind as would be produced by the argument of Butler's *Analogy*. Two Notes, on "the inspiration of the Mosaic record of Creation," and on "the genuineness of the fourth Gospel," complete a very original and valuable work.

A Plain Account of the English Bible from the Earliest Times of its Translation to the Present Day. By John Henry Blunt, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Kennington, Oxford. Rivingtons. 1870.

We are glad to have the opportunity of drawing attention to this most opportune publication. However plain, it is good, and full of information on a most interesting subject.

Sabbath Evening Sermons. By George Cron. Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison. 1870.

FAIR sermons, for the printing of which we see no adequate reason, nor for any special commendation of them on our part.

III. MISCELLANEOUS.

The Courtly Poets, from Raleigh to Montrose. Edited by J. Hannah, D.C.L., Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond. London: Bell and Daldy, York Street, Covent Garden. 1870.

OUR readers are aware that as long ago as 1845 Dr. Hannah published a small volume of *Poems by Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Others*. It was printed by the late Mr. Pickering, in a charmingly appropriate style, and contained a fund of biographical information and critical lore, not to mention the many admirable poems that it rendered easily accessible even to readers not greatly careful whether they were perusing the verses of Raleigh or Wotton, Edwards, Davison, or Sylvester, so long as the verses were worth reading. But whereas that volume was, as Dr. Hannah says, "meant, in the first instance, to illustrate the poetry of Sir Henry Wotton and his friends," the present volume, of which that furnishes the nucleus, is intended "to do an act of justice to the memory of Sir Walter Raleigh, whose poetry has been unaccountably neglected by his biographers, though it is singularly well fitted to illustrate his character, while it left a distinct mark on the literature of a most brilliant age." Thus while Sir Walter Raleigh's poetry was made a matter of minor importance in the first place, it takes the lead in this new volume of Messrs. Bell and Daldy's Aldine Series; and, inasmuch as that is the case, it is a far more valuable book than the book of 1845; for Raleigh's poetry is as much above the average quality of these "Courtly Poets," as Shakespeare's plays are above the average quality of the Elizabethan drama. Also this volume is larger than the old one by some hundred pages, and is much more conveniently arranged. So far as typography and "get-up" are concerned, the volume is, like the rest of the series to which it belongs, carefully and elegantly printed; but still it is fair to surmise that, when some bibliomaniac of the year 1970, or thereabouts, shall come to write the history of the tinted-paper heresy of the nineteenth century, he will stricture this and other choice publications of Messrs. Bell and Daldy's as being printed on paper several shades too far from white. However, for us, at present, although we quite agree with our supposed bibliomaniac of 1970, the quality of the contents of the volume is matter more important than the colour of the paper; and the most noteworthy thing in the contents is the "Continuation of the last Poem of Cynthia," some two-and-twenty pages, now first published, and whereof the text bears the title, "the 21st and last book of the Ocean to Cynthia." This is by no means the best of Sir Walter

Raleigh's poems; it is exceedingly interesting as a sample of the poetical work on a large scale of which the great statesman's reputation misses all but the tradition; and it includes passages of rare beauty, but it is thoroughly local, and, in so far as it is local, of less weight and interest in testing the man's poetic quality than are some smaller and better known pieces of his. The conclusion of this "21st and last book," notwithstanding the stereotyped pseudo-pastoral imagery, is very pathetic in feeling, and has an admirable beauty of cadence; and it serves to show that while the lost poem may very probably have been no great thing in point of construction and unity, we have had to yield to the inexorable jaws of the infanticide Time things of no small beauty that must have been scattered through the work. The following are the concluding stanzas:—

"Thou lookest for light in vain, and storms arise;
She sleeps thy death, that erst thy danger sighed;
Strive then no more; bow down thy weary eyes—
Eyes which to all those woes thy heart have guided.

"She is gone, she is lost, she is found, she is ever fair;
Sorrow draws weakly, where love draws not too:
Woe's cries sound nothing, but only in love's ear.
Do then by dying what life cannot do.

"Unfold thy flocks and leave them to the fields.
To feed on hills, or dales, where likes them best,
Of what the summer or the spring-time yields,
For love and time hath given thee leave to rest.

"Thy heart which was their fold, now in decay
By often storms and winter's many blasts,
All torn and rent becomes misfortune's prey;
False hope my shepherd's staff, now age hath brast.

"My pipe, which love's own hand gave my desire
To sing her praises and my woe upon.—
Despair hath often threatened to the fire
As vain to keep now all the rest are gone.

"Thus home I draw, as death's long night draws on;
Yet every foot, old thoughts turn back mine eyes;
Constraint me guides, as old age draws a stone
Against the hill, which over-weighty lies

"For feeble arms or wasted strength to move:
My steps are backward, gazing on my loss;
My mind's affection and my soul's sole love,
Not mixed with fancy's chaff or fortune's dross.

"To God I leave it, who first gave it me,
And I her gave, and she returned again,
As it was here; so let His mercies be
Of my last comforts the essential mean.

"But be it so or not, the effects are past;
Her love hath end; my woe must ever last."—Pp. 49—51.

Notwithstanding the merit of these stanzas, there is something not quite pleasant to the modern mind in that court custom which

bound even so independent a mind as Raleigh's to cast its loyalty in the mould of passionate adoration, and address his queen as if she were his mistress in the troubadour sense of that pretty word, now degenerated to serve more vulgar purposes than it was made for. On the other hand, in those poems where the man's soul is shown in a state of revolt against every fiction, there is a general applicability that makes them as valuable to us, now in this century, as if they had no gulf of time standing on the Lethe side of them. The well-known poem, that editors seem to agree in calling "The Lie," but which bears so much more appropriately the title of "The Soul's Errand" (albeit no good authority is forthcoming for that title), is as apposite a protest against such social sins and corruptions as exist in the reign of Queen Victoria as against Elizabethan corruptions and sins. About this noble piece, and that entitled "Sir Walter Raleigh's Pilgrimage," there is nothing of a local character. The audacity which in the one takes the form of protest against the shams of a false state of society, takes in the other the guise of a most daring imagery; and it is noteworthy that in these two poems, in writing which the poet shook off all trammels of subserviency to false tradition, the metrifaction and management of cadence are admirable in proportion with the general spontaneity of the utterance. At first sight, the imagery of the "Pilgrimage" has an air of irreverence; but this disappears after one or two careful perusals, and that without the aid of the assumption that the poem was written the night before Raleigh's execution—in a supreme moment of exaltation above the things of the conventional world, when the lines between the sublime and the grotesque might well waver, and wane, and fade under the light of a true poetic vision. The whole of this perfect little poem is full of a noble aspiration; but we must be content to extract one remarkable sample at once of its grotesque imagery and of its music of cadence:—

"Blood must be my body's balmer;
 No other balm will there be given;
 Whilst my soul, like quiet palmer,
 Travelleth towards the land of Heaven;
 Over the silver mountains,
 Where spring the nectar fountains:
 There will I kiss
 The bowl of bliss;
 And drink mine everlasting fill
 Upon every milken hill.
 My soul will be a-dry before;
 But after, it will thirst no more.
 Then by that happy blissful day,
 More peaceful pilgrims I shall see,
 That have cast off their rags of clay,
 And walk apparelled fresh like me,
 I'll take them first
 To quench their thirst
 And taste of nectar suckets
 At those clear wells
 Where sweetness dwells
 Drawn up by saints in crystal buckets."—Pp. 27, 28.

The wild beauty of this little rhapsody recalls to the mind, through some faint indescribable process of analogy, that most marvellous burst of music, "Kubla Khan," perhaps one of the most musical pieces of word-work in the English language. But of course, whatever resemblance there may be is entirely fortuitous, and might easily be resolved into the common quality of fiery spontaneity.

Of the other "Courtly Poets" one scarcely cares to speak after Sir Walter Raleigh, though, indeed, there is remarkably little collected in this volume that is not well worth collecting and casting into so suitable and convenient a form. Dr. Hannah's work has been exceedingly well done, and doubtless none the worse for the copious lack of haste in getting through the task. Many of the notes show a great care and acuteness of research; and it seems perfectly clear that no pains have been spared to complete the evidence, as far as possible, on many once doubtful points. That Dr. Hannah was in the habit of obtaining good authorities, even before 1845, we have a curious piece of evidence. Our copy of the original book referred to above appears to have been once the property of the late accomplished genealogist and antiquary William Courthorpe, Somerset Herald, who occupied for many years the position of Registrar at the College of Arms; and inside the cover of this copy is pasted a letter from Dr. Hannah to Mr. Courthorpe, acknowledging, in terms of great thankfulness, the receipt of some further information, and stating that it had already gone to press. To antiquarians and genealogists it would be a point of some interest to know what matter their renowned fellow-worker at "olden lore" (more renowned, by the bye, in America than here) contributed towards this choice and learned little book; and we would recommend this point to the notice of our curious and much respected contemporary, *Notes and Queries*.

Ode on the Proclamation of the French Republic, September 4, 1870. By Algernon Charles Swinburne. London: F. S. Ellis, King Street, Covent Garden. 1870.

THIS Ode is the finest by far of all Mr. Swinburne's political poems: granting its enthusiastic republicanism, it has a fair share of moral rectitude; it is more truly humane than anything the author has published; and it is saved from the proverbial dreariness of odes by its fine neo-classicism of form and its full-hearted eloquence. A *Song of Italy*, longer and more ambitious, was almost without form and void (not quite void, though), and darkness moved upon its face only too incomprehensible; but this commemoration of the Provisional Republic is perfectly clear to a careful reader. Instead of any wanton talk about a nation "glorious and blood-red, fair with dust of battles and deaths of kings," we have this time a pathetic recognition of the dreadfulness of the situation in which liberty has again seized upon the heart of France. In the second of the six strophes it is asked—

"What are those moving in the dawn's red gloom?
 What is she waited on by dread and doom,
 Ill ministers of morning, bondamen born of night?
 If that head veiled and bowed be morning's head,
 If she come moving between doom and dread,
 Who shall rise up with song and dance before her sight?

"Are not the night's dead heaped about her feet?
 Is not death swollen and slaughter full of meat?
 What, is their feast a bride-feast, where men sing and dance?
 A bitter, a bitter bride-song and a shrill
 Should the house raise that such bride followers fill,
 Wherein defeat weds ruin, and takes for bride-bed France."—Pp. 7, 8.

And in the second of the six antistrophes this opening question is answered in a strain of grim chastisement laid on France for her eighteen years of pattering under a vicious Imperialism—answered too with a "but" of splendid hope for France re-quickened and spiritualised by the disinterment of her proper soul, Freedom:—

"Thou hast done ill against thine own soul; yea,
 Thine own soul hast thou alain and burnt away,
 Dissolving it with poison into foul thin fume.
 Thine own life and creation of thy fate
 Thou has set thine hand to unmake and discreate;
 And now thy alain soul rises between dread and doom.

"Yea, this is she that comes between them led;
 That veiled head is thine own soul's buried head,
 The head that was as morning's in the whole world's sight.
 These wounds are deadly on thee, but deadlier
 Those wounds the ravenous poison left on her;
 How shall her weak hands hold thy weak hands up to fight?

"Ah, but her fiery eyes, her eyes are these
 That, gazing, make thee shiver to the knees,
 And the blood leap within thee and the strong joy rise.
 What, doth her sight yet make thine heart to dance?
 O, France, O, freedom, O, the soul of France,
 Are ye then quickened, gazing in each other's eyes?

"Ah, and her words, the words wherewith she sought thee
 Sorrowing, and bare in hand the robe she wrought thee
 To wear when soul and body were again made one,
 And fairest among women, and a bride,
 Sweet-voiced to sing the bridegroom to her side,
 The spirit of man, the bridegroom brighter than the sun!"—Pp. 14, 15.

Avoiding altogether anything like personal attack or mere windy declamation, the poet has set himself seriously to grasp the great outlines of the most terrible situation the world has seen these many years; he seems to have yearned over the young Republic and its forerunners and accompaniments of national agony with a tenderness that must have been beyond the hope of any who knew his former works; and he has sent up a cry of intercession to the whole human race which is surpassingly lofty in pitch, and admirably broad in view. The opening of the epode, too, on "Nature's Universal Republic," is exceedingly lofty:—

" All the lights of the sweet heaven that sing together ;
 All the years of the green earth that bare man free ;
 Rays and lightnings of the fierce or tender weather,
 Heights and lowlands, wastes and headlands of the sea,
 Dawns and sunsets, hours that hold the world in tether,
 Be our witnesses and seals of things to be.
 Lo the mother, the Republic universal,
 Hands that hold time fast, hands feeding men with might,
 Lips that sing the song of the earth, that make rehearsal
 Of all seasons, and the sway of day with night;
 Eyes that see as from a mountain the dispersal,
 The huge ruin of things evil, and the flight ;
 Large exulting limbs, and bosom God-like moulded
 Where the man-child hangs, and womb wherein he lay ;
 Very life that could it die would leave the soul dead,
 Face wherewith all fears and forces flee away,
 Breath that moves the world as winds a flower-bell folded,
 Feet that trampling the gross darkness beat out day."—Pp. 19, 20.

In this passage we recognise a purification undergone in the author's style—a comparative freedom from those vices of diction that so frequently deform the work of young poets ; but it is not so much this that gives hope of good things yet to be done by Mr. Swinburne as the acuteness and humaneness of view displayed throughout the ode.

It would be well if words less noble or less true might never come from the same pen, and better if none less true or noble had ever, in time past, come therefrom, and best if the fight of France for national integrity and freedom, so nobly celebrated in this ode, might end more happily than it is easy at this terrible moment for the most sanguine to hope.

Colloquia Peripatetica. By the late John Duncan, LL.D., Professor of Hebrew in the New College, Edinburgh. Second Edition. Edinburgh : Edmonston and Douglas. 1870.

THOUGHTS uttered in familiar conversation, without a reference to publication, possess a freedom which will not endure criticism. But these thoughts are exceedingly fresh, piquant, and suggestive.

The Sunday at Home : a Family Magazine for Sabbath Reading. London : Religious Tract Society. 1870.

The Leisure Hour. Religious Tract Society. London : Paternoster Row, and 164, Piccadilly. 1870.

No Christmas presents sent out by the London publishers are more prized, and by a larger number, than these. The former is still a most successful attempt to show that the Sunday reading in a Christian family may be so ordered as to diffuse pleasure without marring the sanctity of the day. These books are among the very few Annuals that keep up their interest throughout the year.

A Manual of Ethics, for the Use of Candidates for University and Civil Service Examinations. By Henry Owgan, LL.D., Formerly University Scholar and Senior Moderator in Classics, T.C.D. London: James Hogg.

WE would advise all candidates and competitors of every class to avoid this book. It is crowded with valuable matter, but is very superficial and very sceptical, and not a little incorrect. Take the following instance of hasty preparation. Speaking of the principal theories of the origin of evil, the writer says: "2nd. Manichæism—the theory of Manes the Magus, of the first century, which assumes that there are, originally and through all past eternity, two antagonistic principles—light and darkness, good and evil—perpetually alternating with and counteracting each other; which is merely a statement of an obvious fact, and accounts for nothing." It would hardly be possible to put together a more unhappy sentence than this, whether as to its chronology, its definitions, or its construction.

Descriptive Travel and Adventure; or, Hubert Preston Abroad. By Catharine Morell. Edited by J. R. Morell, formerly one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools. [Book VI. is of the Consecutive Narrative Series of Reading Books.] London: T. Murby.

THE editor's name is a sufficient password for this volume of a valuable series. We cannot imagine a better selection of matter, or a better arrangement, than this. It cannot fail to be as popular as useful.

Classical Examination Papers. Edited, with Notes and References, by P. J. F. Gantillon, M.A., sometime Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge; Classical Master in Cheltenham College. Rivingtons: London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1870.

IF any young man wishes to test his power successfully to compete for a Classical Scholarship at either of the Colleges in our Universities, or for an appointment in the Indian Civil Service, let him shut himself up in his room with this book for three hours, and try to answer *seriatim* in writing the questions given in any one of these carefully-selected papers.

The Civil Service Orthography: a Handy Book of English Spelling. By E. S. H. B. Lockwood and Co. 1870.

THIS book has no other connection with the Civil Service than that, in the writer's estimation, "it is adapted for the use of schools and of candidates for the Civil and other Services."

Horace. By Theodore Martin, Author of "The Odes, Epodes, and Satires of Horace." Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons.

In this, the sixth volume of "Ancient Classics," Mr. Martin has made a not unsuccessful effort to give the general reader an adequate idea of Horace's poems. The master-hand of the late Professor Conington has furnished us with an "admirable translation" of the Odes, from which we are glad to find not a few extracts in the volume before us. Mr. Martin brings the reader in contact with Roman life and thought, and so enables him really to enter into the spirit of the poet.

The translations of the Odes are, in the main, those of the author's *Odes of Horace*, 1860. Many of them are pleasing, vigorous, and close to the original. One of the most successful is Odo i. 27:—

"Hold! hold! 'Tis for Thracian madmen to fight
With wine-cups, that only were made for delight.
'Tis barbarous—brutal! I beg of you all,
Disgrace not our banquet with bloodshed and brawl!"

Satire i. 9, notwithstanding the difficulty of the metre chosen, is a spirited and admirable translation, far above any of the others, which lack the force and terseness of the original; but the difficulty of reproducing these in our language is familiar to every scholar.

The Student's Manual of Oriental History. A Manual of the Ancient History of the East to the Commencement of the Median Wars. By François Lenormant, Sub-Librarian of the Imperial Institute of France, and E. Chevallier, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. London: Asher and Co., 13, Bedford-street, Covent-garden.

In the departments of language, philology, and history the present publishers have conferred great benefits on the public, and of the valuable issues from their press the two elaborate volumes now before us are not the least. Such a work has been long wanted, and, as far as we can judge from consultation on some critical points and such cursory reading as brief opportunity has allowed, the want is now well supplied. Of the spirit in which the work is executed, the reader can judge from the first sentence of the preface: "I am a Christian, and proclaim it loudly; but my faith fears none of the discoveries of criticism when they are true."

The Ammergau Passion Play. Reprinted, by Permission, from the *Times*, with some Introductory Remarks on the Origin and Development of Miracle Plays, &c. By the Rev. Malcolm Maccoll, M.A. Rivingtons.

ALL the world has been enthusiastic about these exhibitions—relics of the superstition of the Middle Ages. In 1692, it is said, a plague

raged in the valley of Ober-Ammergau, which was removed in consequence of the vow of the inhabitants that, if God would spare them, they would, every tenth year, represent, "for thankful remembrance and edifying contemplation, and by the help of the Almighty, the sufferings of Jesus, the Saviour of the world." The tradition affirms that none died after the registration of this vow. The performance of this year has been witnessed by many with much emotion. Doubtless, it has been the means of edification to thousands; whilst to very many it has been the minister of infidelity. For ourselves, we have no sympathy with such a drama, any more than with the dismal miracle-plays out of which they sprang. But this little volume is, as a record of narrative, deeply interesting; and, as an unprejudiced account, well worthy to be studied by all who would know the powers that stir the hearts and lives of Christians under the dominion of Roman Catholicism.

Journal of the General Convention of the Church of Ireland, First Session, 1870; with the Statutes passed, and an Appendix containing the Division Lists, &c. Edited by the Rev. Alfred T. Lee, LL.D., D.C.L., Rector of Ahoghill, and Rural Dean of Antrim, Diocese of Connor. Dublin: Hodges, Foster and Co., Publishers to the General Convention. 1870.

On July 26th, 1869, the Irish Church Act became law, by which it was enacted that on and after the 1st day of January 1871 the Church of Ireland shall cease to be established by law. To provide for the entirely new state of things, mandates were issued for the reassembling of the old national Synod of the Church of Ireland. Accordingly, the provincial Synods of Armagh and Dublin met in a united synod, and drew up the basis of a General Synod or Convention. Subsequently, lay conferences were held, and a resolution was passed, which received the approval of the Archbishops, for the appointment of a Committee of Organisation. This Committee drew up a draft constitution, which formed the basis of the subsequent proceedings of the Convention.

The Journal before us is a minute report of those proceedings, extending over forty-one days' session. We need scarcely say that, notwithstanding long lists of delegates and committees, of motions and amendments, of speakers and divisions, this Journal is of surpassing interest. The delicacy and the difficulty of the task before the Convention was indicated by the Lord Primate in his opening address, when he said, "We are all, I trust, deeply conscious of the difficulties as well as of the responsibilities before us, and the need we have of moderation, forbearance, and calm consideration for its due performance; above all, of that pure and peaceable wisdom which cometh from above. I earnestly hope we shall approach the task with minds solemnised by the reflection that, in God's mysterious dealings, a duty of transcendent importance has been imposed upon

ns, involving the interests of true religion, not only as respects the present generation, but all those that are yet to come." "We have not, therefore, to create, but to restore; not to build up a new Church, but to supply such supports as the State has taken away from the old. This is a work which can only be done by the cordial co-operation and united effort of the whole Church. Mutual forbearance, mutual good-will, mutual respect for each other's feelings and opinions, are necessary to a successful issue." The result is given in the Standing Orders for the General Convention; the Constitution of the Church of Ireland; the Statutes relating to the General and Diocesan Synods, to parishes and parochial organisation, to the representative body of the Church, the election of bishops, and appointment of ministers to cures, and to cathedrals, deans, and archdeacons. To these are appended the Draft of Charter and sundry addresses.

The Land of the Sun : Sketches of Travel, with Memoranda, Historical and Geographical, of Places of Interest in the East; Visited during Many Years' Service in Indian Waters. By Lieutenant C. R. Low (late H. M. Indian Navy), Author of "Journeys in Mesopotamia," "Memoirs of Distinguished Indian Officers," "Tales of Old Ocean," &c. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1870.

LIEUTENANT LOW is not unused to writing books of travel. In this he has skilfully sketched, and with a free, clear pencil, some very picturesque views of lands full of interest to us all.

New Grammar of French Grammars: Comprising the Substance of all the most approved French Grammars extant, but more especially of the Standard Work, "Grammaire des Grammaires," sanctioned by the French Academy and the University of Paris. With numerous Exercises and Examples illustrative of every Rule. By Dr. V. De Fivas, M.A., F.E.I.S., Member of the Grammatical Society of Paris, &c. London: Lockwood and Co.

We do not think that this work has been, or can be, surpassed in the teaching of French.

The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley. By the Rev. L. Tyerman, Author of "The Life and Times of the Rev. Samuel Wesley." London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1870.

John Wesley and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century. By Julia Wedgwood. London: Macmillan and Co. 1870.

We are informed that the second volume of Mr. Tyerman's work is to be published in a few weeks. It is our hope, accordingly, to be

able to devote a principal article to his first and second volumes, not omitting Miss Wedgwood's suggestive and really valuable book, in an early Number of this Journal. All that we will now say of Mr. Tyerman's first volume is, that it is full of interest and freshness, and that it is most authentic and accurate in its details of history. In this respect, as well as in general fulness and completeness, it is little to say that there has never been any *Life of Wesley* to compare with it.

Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek Testament, together with a Complete Vocabulary, and an Examination of the Chief New Testament Synonyms. Religious Tract Society.

THE characteristic which distinguishes this admirable manual from all preceding Greek Testament Grammars is its embracing the accidentence as well as the syntax, the whole range, in fact, of grammar, and its thus teaching the dialect, from its rudiments onward, independently of classical Græek. Undoubtedly it is better, where possible, to approach the study of the Greek Testament through the classics, using Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, and an ordinary grammar; but this is not always possible, and Professor Green believes that "the Greek of Scripture is, for most purposes, a language complete in itself," with definite forms and rules, a fit subject of independent study. This is so true as to afford encouragement to a numerous class who come to their Greek Testaments without the advantage of classical learning.

We regret that we have no room for presenting some of the very interesting passages we had marked for extract. The sources whence it is derived are the most recent and approved, while, in clearness of definition and fulness of explanation, the execution of the work is praiseworthy. The accidentence, the syntax, the synonyms, the lexicon, are full of scholar-like information; and the student who shall have carefully gone through the whole will be no despicable Greek Testament scholar.

Spanish Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil. By the Author of "*Swiss Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil.*" With Illustrations by Gustave Doré and other eminent Artists. London: The Religious Tract Society.

THIS handsome pictorial quarto makes its appearance at a time when many will be glad to read of and see the sunny land which has so lately chosen Prince Amadeus for its king, and which they may enter in imagination as soon as he. The letter-press is lively and instructive, and the illustrations are admirable. Spain generally, and Andalusia in particular, are most graphically described; some of the pictures, such as the Muezzin calling the faithful to prayers, haunt one's memory. We have nothing but satisfaction in recommending our readers to include this extremely interesting volume among their new year's purchases. The historical table at the beginning, and the picture of Burgos, are worth all the money.

The Sunday-School World: an Encyclopædia of Facts and Principles, Illustrated by Anecdotes, Incidents, and Quotations from the Works of the most Eminent Writers on Sunday-School Matters. Edited by James Comper Gray, Author of "Topics for Teachers," &c. &c. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row. 1871.

THIS book fully answers to its comprehensive title. A more complete *rade-mecum* for the Sunday-school officer and teacher could not be desired. The whole round of Sunday-school subjects is embraced, and the literature of writers on Sunday-school questions, American and English, have been laid under tribute to form the best Teachers' guide we have yet seen. There are valuable and sage suggestions on all conceivable topics. Teachers and conductors of Sunday-schools, whose work is becoming every year more and more important, will do well to possess themselves of this Encyclopædia.

An Elementary Course of Plane Geometry and Mensuration. By Richard Wormell, M.A., B.Sc. (London), Author of "Arithmetic for Schools and Colleges," "Solid Geometry," &c., &c. Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged. London: Thomas Murby, 32, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C.

MR. WORMELL is already well and favourably known to our readers from his mathematical works generally, and especially from his successful attempts to present the study of Geometry in a form more concise and practical than *Euclid's Elements*. There are great numbers of teachers and others who still hold, according to the proverb, "the longest way round is the shortest way home," that Euclid's work is the most direct and perfect road to the knowledge of Geometry. But such books as Lund's *Geometry as a Science* and *Geometry as an Art*, to mention only one author, show that even in the headquarters of mathematical learning, the belief is gaining ground that Euclid may be, and ought to be, improved on. Euclid's results may be arrived at by shorter methods, and the interest of the young student quickened by seeing these results applied to practical use. On this head we should like to quote Mr. Wormell's preface, but must content ourselves with congratulating him on the progress of the reformation which he is labouring with others to effect, and with looking forward to the time when the triumph of his co-workers and himself shall be complete. We heartily commend this Geometry to our young students, as furnishing the mental discipline derivable from Euclid,—and a great deal more.

The Sculptor of Bruges. By Mrs. Walter G. Hall. Edinburgh: Wm. P. Nimmo. 1870.

THE sculptor is Hans, whose passion for his art is only surpassed by his love to Christ; for which he suffers martyrdom. The prisoner of

Gisors who, with a nail for a chisel and a piece of stone for a mallet, carved the Crucifixion in bas-relief on his dungeon wall, is here adapted so far as to suggest a religious, instead of a political, occasion. The principal character is Araka, a German orphan girl, who was cast into the midst of unkind Popish relatives. Cuthbert, a popular priest, who wins her to his Church, falls in love with her. She by-and-by returns to the persecuted Reformed religion; and after many wanderings and mental exercises, she and Cuthbert meet at Antwerp, in the "Council of Blood," he as a suspected reluctant, heart-sick inquisitor; she as a heretic, to receive sentence of death. By means of a Spanish officer, whom she had nursed when wounded, the long-loving couple escape in a Dutch vessel to England, where they marry and peacefully enjoy their religion.

This little book, which first appeared in the *Christian Witness*, is true to Evangelical Protestantism, and ably exposes the horrors of the Inquisition under the notorious Alva and Philip of Spain. There is a quiet beauty in the style, and some passages are deeply touching. In this work, as in *Sermons from the Studio*, the writer, herself an artist with the pencil as well as the pen, makes the fine arts the warp with which she ingeniously interweaves the woof of her earnest and charming thoughts on experimental religion.

Letters from Rome on the Council. By Quirinus. Reprinted from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Authorised Translation. Vol. I. First and Second Series. Preliminary History of the Councils, and Letters I. to XXXIV.

The Church of God and the Bishops. An Essay suggested by the Convocation of the Vatican Council. By Henry St. A. Von Liano. Authorised Translation. London: Rivingtons. 1870.

Two works of special interest and value, in which the question of the pretended Papal infallibility is viewed from the side of enlightened and dissenting Catholic opinion.

The Letters are written with considerable ability, and are useful alike as a chronicle of the Council, and as furnishing important historical and theological matter bearing on the question.

The Essay, written by a Spanish Catholic of noble family, sheds another ray of light on the spirit in which the new dogma is received in certain quarters of the Roman Catholic Church. Calm, temperate, and dignified in its treatment of a grave subject, in few and well-weighed words, it deals with the character of the Council, the special dogma, the prevailing curialism, and the moral condition of the Church, and modern society generally. Though professedly addressed less to the learned than to the multitude, it is a scholarly production, and must claim a patient hearing from all. We wish we had further space at our command, that we might characterise it at greater length. In lieu of this, we must earnestly commend it to the attention of our readers.

Iphigene. By Alexander Lauder. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1870.

AN epic, founded on the story of "Jephtha and his Hasty Vow," which, though the verse limps here and there, and a want of variety of diction is occasionally observable, is not lacking either in deep poetic feeling or chaste sentiment. In the imagery of nature it is rich to overflowing.

Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York, and accompanying Documents, for the Year 1869. Transmitted to the Legislature, January 20th, 1870. Albany: The Argus Company, Printers. 1870.

THE Association whose valuable Report is before us is an incorporated society, having for its objects the amelioration of the condition of prisoners, the improvement of prison discipline, the support and encouragement of reformed convicts or convicts in process of reformation. The Report is replete with various and most valuable information on the special objects of the Association. It will afford great help to any who seriously ponder that problem of social science, What can be done with our prisoners and the candidates for our prisons? The problem is here in process of solution, in a series of theoretical papers and reports of long-continued practical experiments. These papers have more than an ephemeral interest.

Gossip about Letters and Letter-Writers. By George Seton, Advocate, M.A., Oxon. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1870.

ON a subject about which a large book of permanent value might well be written, Mr. Seton has here given us a little volume of what is just "gossip." Originally put together to form two popular lectures, the matter is pleasant enough, though loosely arranged. The usual stories make their appearance in the proper place, with a few that one does not so well know. The book is one of those to be read and then forgotten, if rational creatures, with limited time, should ever do such reading.

The Cross, and Verses of Many Years. By the Rev. Charles Neville, M.A., Prebendary of Lincoln, and Rector of Fledborough; and Maria Neville. Oxford and London: James Parker and Co.

A VOLUME of verses written at different dates, extending over a period of thirty-five years. Some of the pieces are very sweet, "The Beggar and his Child" to wit; but the poetry does not keep pace throughout with the good and pious sentiments here thrown into verse as various in metre as in worth.

Memorials of Charles Parry, Commander, Royal Navy. By his Brother, Edward Parry, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Dover. Strahan and Co. 1870.

A WELL-WRITTEN memoir of a pious young naval officer, son of Sir W. Edward Parry, the Arctic explorer. To young men in particular we most cordially recommend this profitable and interesting volume.

Loveland and Other Poems, chiefly concerning Love. By Wade Robinson. London: Moffat and Co.

THERE are some beautiful verses here and there in this volume, which has a vein of true poetry running through it. More we cannot say.

The Hive. A Storehouse of Material for Working Sunday-school Teachers. Vol. II. E. Stock.

THE Sunday-school teachers' work is very important, and a book that should help them effectually, either as a general treasury or as a serial contribution, would be an immense acquisition. The *Hive* is a very fair attempt, and it improves as it goes on; but it does not, in all respects, come up to the mark. We cannot, however, point to anything much better.

The School-book of Poetry. Edited by W. C. Bennett, LL.D., Author of "Baby May," "Songs by a Song-writer," &c. London: Thomas Murby.

A CAREFUL selection, and not less acceptable because it does honour to some less-known passages of Shakespeare, and gleans in new fields generally. The bold and clear type is also a recommendation.

Murby's Scripture Manuals: Exodus.

A good compendium of Introductory matter.

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