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

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

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1885.

ART. I.—GUIZOT AS HE REALLY WAS.

1. *Mons. Guizot dans sa Famille et avec ses Amis* (1787–1874). Sixth Edition. Paris: Hachette. 1884.
2. *Mons. Guizot in Private Life*. Translated by Mrs. SIMPSON. London: Hurst & Blackett.
3. *Lettres de M. Guizot à sa Famille et à ses Amis*. Recueillies par M^{me}. DE WITT, née GUIZOT. Paris: Hachette. 1884.

FEW men have been more misunderstood, or rather half understood, than Guizot. Like Cicero, he was an author, a statesman, and a family man; but, unlike Cicero, he showed a more than classic reserve in his public and even in his literary character. Thoroughly French, he is at the same wholly different from the popular idea of the mercurial Gaul. There is something statuesque about him. More than sixty years ago, his first wife, who was not only a help-meet in his literary work, but also an inspiring and guiding power, wondered how the world could have come to think of him as a cold-hearted, arrogant, ambitious being, with a calculating brain and not a particle of sympathy. She knew him to be something so wholly different that she could not even be angry at the ridiculous misrepresentation. And yet that has always been Guizot's character, even with professed critics, except among the few who knew him intimately. Renan, in 1860, review-

ing his *Memoirs* in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, gave such a distorted likeness of him as to draw from the aged statesman the protest: "Why, you make me a stiff (*tendu*), lonely tragic creature, who will end by growing into a legend—false, as legends always are." And Karl Hildebrand, in the *Contemporary Review* (March, 1881), sneers at him as "Aristides the Just, of whom at last France wearied," and as "a man of more than English gravity, whose only relaxation was a stilted intercourse with kindred minds." This imperfect estimate shows a want of sympathy, natural enough in Hildebrand and in Thiers (who said of his political rival: "He is a great orator, but a mere fool in statesmanship"); and in men like Renan explicable from the fact that, until the publication of these little volumes, Guizot's inner life was so well hidden that few knew anything about the other Guizot, the loving son, the devoted husband, the affectionate father, the warm faithful friend. Guizot came of an old Huguenot stock; and the Huguenot sternness of manner was in him accentuated by the circumstances of his bringing up. His father, though, like most of his co-religionists, he had welcomed the Revolution, was cut off during the Terror, which raged with peculiar and indiscriminating fury in the South of France. A touching story is told of his capture. The gendarme who had been set on his trail was heartbroken at finding who his prisoner was, and wanted him to escape. "Are you married?" asked Guizot. "Yes; I've two children." "Ah, and so have I; but, never mind; your life would have to pay for mine, so come along."

His mother, who had been the sprightliest of women, a good musician, an excellent dancer, had her whole nature changed by this terrible blow; music, for instance, she could never afterwards listen to without a shudder. Hers had been a love-match; suitors more desirable in a worldly point of view Mlle. Bonicel had laughed off, humming the then popular ditty:

"Et si jamais je prends un époux,
Je veux que l'amour me le donne."

Now her whole life was given up to her two boys; and, since the Revolution had thrown French education wholly out

of gear, she took them to Geneva, where, by practising an economy of which English people can scarcely form a notion, yet without a trace of that "grubbiness" which Mr. M. Arnold flings as a reproach against the bringing up of some famous Scotchmen, she managed to give them a first-rate education. It is a commonplace to speak of what great men owe to their mothers. Guizot certainly owed much to his; and the wonder is how she, with the very superficial training of a young Frenchwoman of the day, should have been so impressed with the value of the higher education as to make such sacrifices in order to secure it to her sons. A devoted mother can do this anywhere; but at Geneva it was easier than in most places. In London a family living like the Guizots would be driven to live amongst very uncongenial neighbours; in the city of Calvin a very small house was found just opposite that of the professor in whose class the boys were placed; and Swiss simplicity was not scandalized at the sight of a young French lady living without a servant, and finding her sole amusement in accompanying her sons in their rambles around the lake. Firing was dear and the climate colder than Nîmes, and the little fingers suffered sadly from chilblains; but exercises must be written, so "mother," who always worked with her boys during preparation hours, used to write them at their dictation. Whole exercise-books, filled in this way, are still kept as heirlooms. No wonder the love that grew up between son and mother was intense; nor was the love greater than the perfect trust. When the statesman's second wife died, Madame Guizot undertook, as of right, the charge of his children; and, if there was a little outward stiffness in one who *ne s'abaissait pas souvent aux caresses*, there was also a depth of self-sacrifice which was ready to do for the younger generation the same that she had done for her own children. She would still be obeyed, this old Huguenot lady; but age had mellowed her. "You didn't know her when she was young," her son once said with a smile. She had, too, all that eager love of science and discovery which marked the eighteenth century. Up to the end of her life she would stand for an hour to catch, as well as her deafness permitted, the news brought by a globe-trotter about

some new country; and at eighty to find a new plant would fill her with girlish delight. Such a woman must have powerfully moulded her son's nature. No doubt, on the other hand, the life at Geneva told not altogether favourably. Hildebrand complains that "there was no joyousness in Guizot's character, no irony in his intellect;" quoting from Ninon de l'Enclos the characteristic saying: *la joie de l'esprit en marque la force*; and this is so far true of Guizot that, while there was in him a well-spring of joy that watered all his private life, he was in public somewhat formal and unbending. Dignified reserve seemed to him essential to his position; and in his writings, too, his thought is seldom free and spontaneous. He had a vast knowledge of history, for instance; but in discussing its philosophy his method is a little too *à priori* even for those who most thoroughly accept the view of continual divine intervention. There is a certain truth in the charge of monotonous seriousness as of one who is always teaching; it is also true that the stern stuff of which he was made kept to the last the stamp of its original moulding. He never broadened out nor modified his ideas; and this excess of self-containedness was no doubt due to his having been, by the circumstances of his early life, debarred from mixing in early manhood with many famous people. But for his great force of character he would have become merely priggish. His letters to his mother, after he had gone to Paris to study law, show that this was a real danger. There was another danger, lest in that sea of wild theories he should make shipwreck of the Faith. Life in Paris was sure to open his ideas; at the same time it might easily have relaxed his hold on Christian truth. Writing to his mother in 1806, when the licence of the Directory still gave tone to the young Empire, he says: "You will sometimes find apparent, perhaps even real, variations in my thoughts and opinions; but I have certain fixed points, so you need not be afraid. One of these is God in Christ, the other is duty." Karl Hildebrand, with pitiful unfairness, decries these letters as "all effort," and as displaying "an arrogance of virtue and good sense." To us they are as spontaneous as anything that even Goethe ever wrote; for they mark out a line from which

the writer never swerved. He was always a Christian philosopher. The *Meditations on the Christian Religion*, the *Christianisme et Spiritisme* (*Revue des Deux-Mondes*, Sept. 1, 1869) in which he replies to M. Janet's criticism of his *Meditations*; more or less, everything that he wrote,—has the same key-note. In his will, made in 1873, he makes a full clear profession of simple faith: "I keep clear" (he says) "of the scientific solutions by which men have striven to explain our Christian mysteries; and I feel that in the light of the after world we shall see how merely human and how altogether vain have been most of our discussions on divine things." This feeling, which looked on immortality as a necessary consequence of our moral nature, and on a state of rewards and punishments as the logical complement of a life in which right so often fails to triumph, gave him an impatience of modern forms of scepticism that sometimes (as when he opposed the admission into the Academy of Vacherot, the Idealist) became almost persecuting. His views are most clearly set forth in one of his later works, the essay on what he calls *L'Ignorance Chrétienne*. "Christian faith" (he says) "consists in recognizing the fact without explaining it." In a touchingly simple letter to his elder daughter, written while he was ambassador in London, he explains the joint action of our free will and of God's spirit working with us and in us. And again, just after the *Coup d'Etat*, he points out to the same daughter how both "l'Eglise Catholique dans sa vaste sphère et les sectaires dans leur petit coin dénaturent et démentent l'Evangile," and how the grand need of the day is to set forth clearly that, while the Gospel is one in doctrine, it brings men to the knowledge of that one doctrine by many roads, to no one of which is mankind tied down exclusively.

It was well for young Guizot that he soon came under the influence of the Swiss envoy, Stapfer. This gentleman took a great interest in him, not merely employing him as tutor in his family, but giving him valuable guidance in the literary career which, before long, he adopted in exchange for the law. He was soon in full work, the first things he did for the booksellers being (like Carlyle's) translations from the German. Through Stapfer he was introduced to Suard, permanent secretary of

the Academy, in whose *salon* the expression of free thought was unchecked at a time when such freedom was wonderfully rare. Suard, the Abbé Morellet, and M^{de}. d'Houdetot endeavoured to keep up something like the traditional *salon*. At their receptions, Guizot met men like Talleyrand and Piscatory ; and there, too, he afterwards met M^{lle}. de Meulan ("Rahel to his Varnhagen," says Hildebrand), who was destined to be his future wife. Every one knows how, while they were both employed on the *Publiciste*, she, already ailing, was prostrated by her brother-in-law's death, and had to cease writing. Guizot, who had never seen her, moved with pity at the story, sent in an article for her, and went on doing so for a fortnight, she meanwhile having not the slightest means of guessing who had so chivalrously supplied her place. He was very doubtful whether or not he should make himself known to her ; at last he decided to do so, and one can only regret that the letter which he wrote has not been made public. Soon afterwards they met, and she repaid his kindness by bringing him more thoroughly into that strange little world, half philosophic, half aristocratic, in which, at M. Suard's, he had already got a footing. They must have been startlingly different, he and she ; for her father, receiver-general of taxes for the city of Paris, and her mother, a Saint-Chamans, were aristocrats ; and she had been brought up among that section of the nobility which was coquetting with the new ideas. Her father, a reckless spendthrift, died in 1790 ; and her mother, compelled, like all of her class, to leave Paris by the decree of 1794, was left stranded at Passy, as ignorant of life's cares as the veriest child. Her elder daughter had force of character enough to undertake the housekeeping, to face such trials as having to go daily to sign her name on the borough register, the mayor receiving her with the strange but kindly-meant greeting : "Citoyenne, comment va Madame ta mère ?" and to find out in her utter loneliness that she had a mind worth cultivating. She was certainly not hardened by her sorrow, though (to Guizot's mind) she was, when they first met, "un peu sauvage." "Anti-révolutionnaire et libérale," she was, so far, thoroughly at one with the typical French Liberal-Conservative ; but their different way of looking at almost every

other subject in life and thought prevented them at first from fully understanding one another. It was gratitude which led her to interest herself in him ; and the charm of a high-bred lady,—so attractive that she had charmed Treilhard, one of the Directory, into setting free her friend de Lamillière, who had been seized as a returned *émigré*, and was to be tried by court-martial,—was naturally felt by a young man who had seen little of what is called society. It was just the reverse with Mr. Lewes and George Eliot. There the man, here the woman, brought into the world of letters a solitary thinker who had hitherto known it only by report. Mdlle. de Meulan had always lived in what for Guizot was a new world. His own summing up of what each of them gave the other is scarcely fair : “ J’ai élevé et agrandi la sphère de sa vie ; elle a beaucoup contribué à me faire vivre dans la vérité.” In every way the connection was valuable to him. But for it, he would hardly have been made, as he was made, despite his Protestantism, Louis XVIII.’s Under-Secretary of State in the Home Department ; nay, but for it, M. de Fontanes would hardly have created for him, some years earlier, the Professorship of Modern History. Guizot, however, was no hanger-on upon the skirts of a party. His marriage brought him into notice ; but he remained what he had always been, standing as firmly on his own line as when he was still an unknown student. Even Hildebrand confesses that he was above all suspicion of caring for private gain. In appointing him, de Fontanes (they were at the dinner-table) hinted that the Emperor would expect a few eulogistic sentences in his introductory lecture. “ Then you must kindly choose some one else,” was the reply. “ I do not believe in Absolutism, and therefore I cannot praise it.” Several times M. de Fontanes tried to persuade him that it was a mere form, involving no *bond fide* acquiescence on the part of the lecturer. “ Nay, but the Emperor will have a right to think that it does.” At last his friend cried out : “ Well, well ; I never knew such stubborn fellows as you Protestants. I must try and manage it for you as best I can.” The professorship was a great help, for it threw young Guizot into the society of men like Royer Collard, who assisted materially in the development of his mind. His wife brought him

no fortune. Twenty thousand francs a-piece had been saved for each of the sisters out of the wreck of their father's property; and when the younger married M. Dillon, a French-Irishman, settled at Naples as an engineer, Mdlle. de Meulan added her share to the dowry. For some time both Guizot and his wife had to write for daily bread. We find her giving him advice: "You must write down to your public, and must not be afraid in criticism of saying what has been said before. . . . You're too much given to harp on one string; because you can't have too much of a subject, you think it's the same with others. . . . You're a bad critic, because you see more in a book than really is there." But as soon as the pressure of money cares was abated, she kept urging him to throw up fugitive pieces and pamphleteering, and to give himself to some work which would last (*travail de longue haleine*), in which she could help him directly. As it was, she had been doing more than her share to keep the pot boiling. Her volumes of tales probably brought in far more than his pamphlets.

During the Hundred Days Guizot was, where his conscience told him he ought to be, with Louis XVIII., earning that title of "The man of Ghent" which was used against him with such effect in 1848. Here he mourned over the incurable blindness of the Bourbons, which threatened to make the restoration impossible even after Waterloo. However, the King got rid of M. de Blacas, and with a Ministry of moderate men (Guizot being this time secretary to M. de Marbois, the Minister of Justice) things might have gone well had not the constituencies returned then (as they did afterwards in 1871, to the parliament of Bordeaux) such a rabid set of royalists—the *Chambre introuvable* it was called—that de Marbois was turned out. In 1819 Guizot was again in office, this time on the Board of Trade; but the next year the assassination of the Duke of Berri produced a violent reaction, and all the moderate members had to resign.

But our aim is not to give a life of Guizot; we want to interest our readers in a record which all should read for themselves. Expressions of tenderness, evidently genuine, do not lend themselves to quotation. Guizot never gushes, and

his wife is always full of downrightness and common sense ;* but throughout their letters there is a warmth of affection all the more pleasing because from such a man it is so wholly unexpected. The way in which they both watch over their boy, their only child, whose sudden loss at the age of twenty-one almost broke his father's heart, shows how thoroughly one they were in feeling and in action. A few days' separation calls forth on both sides an outburst which we feel is not mere sentimentalism. They really were inseparable, because they had grown to be indispensable to one another. " I've just corrected the very first proof" (he writes from Paris to her at her brother's near Montargis) " that you, since we knew one another, have not looked over with me." And then he ends a very long letter with what was not merely a husband's compliment to a wife fifteen years older than himself, but the expression of what he really felt : " God was quite right in taking a rib out of Adam to make Eve, but he ought not to have separated them completely ; there ought to have been some arrangement which would have made absence impossible." And her reply, which we despair of adequately rendering in English, is : " Tes lettres respirent la vie ; c'est le monde que tu ramènes à moi, à notre union, à notre bonheur." Much of this is almost too sacred to be made public. Madame de Witt's justification is that (as she says) " his whole life was given up to his country, and his country only knew the outside of him." The same affectionate nature shows itself in his relations with his friends. His letters to M. de Barante, to the Duke and Duchess of Broglie, to de Rémusat, to Vitel, &c., are full of deep feeling. He has been charged with lack of naturalness, even as the portraits in his *Memoirs* have been called psychological analyses, not portraits at all ; but this charge must have been made by those who had never read Madame de Witt's volumes. There is nothing *banal* in the

* Here is a case in point. Guizot writes to her that he has grown downcast because some friend has played him false, and vows that henceforth he shall give up all trust in mankind ; she replies : " I don't quite know what you mean. One has confidence in one's own judgment, not in the man whom it prompts one to choose from amongst others ; and if one is deceived one ceases to trust oneself. Men are no worse than they were before ; but one has gained much—viz., the habit of thinking twice before choosing."

way in which he consoles those who are suffering under family afflictions. Now and then we find exquisite polish;* but there is always strong feeling along with it. His many bereavements had given him a painful sense of the uncertainty of human happiness. "There is plenty of happiness in the world," he says to Madame Lenormant, "measureless happiness, but withal so precarious : J'ai beaucoup de joies et peu de confiance." Nor were his friendships limited to those who thought on all points as he did. With most of his friends there were points that he would never discuss, because, feeling they could not wholly agree about them, he thought it best to be silent. But it is his children who oftenest bring out the real tenderness of his nature. Hildebrand laughs at him for writing to his elder daughter, a child of eleven, about her stops, and telling her what books she is to read ; but the laugh only shows the laughter's inability to put himself in a parent's place. Yes ; he tells his girls what books they ought to read, and (like an ex-Minister of Education) he says, "take care you do your English and arithmetic well ;" but he also tells them about Van Amburgh ; about the British Museum, with the giraffes and rhinoceroses standing sentry on the stairs ; about the dinner at the Mansion House, where the Lady Mayoress hands him the loving-cup ; about his winning at Ascot and losing his way in Windsor Castle and getting into the Queen's bedroom instead of his own.† Like George Eliot, he thought

* What can be better or more French than this to the Duchess of Broglie : "Qu'on fait peu de choses pour les gens qu'on aime ! Hors une seule affection qui est tout ce qu'elle doit être dès qu'elle est, car elle donne toute l'âme, et toute la vie avec toute l'âme, que nos affections sont pareuses, peu inventives, distraites ou satisfaites à bon marché !" And what a depth of affection is sounded in the letter to his sister-in-law, soon after his second wife's death, which nevertheless ends with the well-turned phrase : "Soyez tranquille sur Henriette [his elder daughter], je vous soignerai dans son cœur [I'll see that you have your place in her heart]."

† In 1855, being in London on the anniversary of Louis Philippe's death, he goes to the Crystal Palace, "that chaos of history in plaster inside a glass cage. Such continual interchanges between the paltry and the gigantic. Colossal sphinxes, fresh as new china, and packed like anchovies ; clearly one wants the broad spaces of the desert to show off Egyptian art. Then there are hundreds of busts of great and little people, so oddly grouped, Grisi beside Chancellor Mansfield, Peel close to Hercules. And then the savages with the stuffed birds and beasts. It's Noah's Ark without the need of the Deluge. . . . But the Alhambra is perfect, and so is the Pompeian Court, and the gardens, in spite of the Megatheriums and the frog, fifteen feet long by six broad. . . . I shall be at Lisieux Station on Thursday. You'll come and meet me. I'm so glad some of the little ones can't quite make out that I'm away."

there would be enough of the long silence by-and-by, and he was delighted for his darling Henriette to tell him how much she loved him. And, how the children did love him, and the grandchildren, too, in that Val Richer home where four generations were gathered under one roof. How the little ones used to burst into his study—not at his first rising, for, Frenchman-like, he was early in his habits, and during his official life had given audiences at four A.M.—to say good morning, and have breakfast with grandpapa. And how his mother must have loved him, when, at eighty-four, though the hand of death was already upon her, she crossed the sea in 1848 to join him in exile! “Now I can die,” she said, as she threw herself into his arms in his little London house, “though I did think I should rest in the same earth with him who was taken from me four-and-fifty years ago!” “For over forty years,” his daughter says, “we have kept his letters to us children”—letters which talk of the girls’ dresses; of the ass’s milk that is ordered for Pauline, and that Henriette had been telling him she manages to get some of too; of the little brother in bed, falling asleep with a book in his hand (“the little rogue! I want to know what book it is”); of the pale ink they write with (“dear grandma, I see, always keeps up the old Geneva custom of watering the ink”). Alone in Paris, he says how he misses their coming in five and six times in the day to freshen him up. And then he often talks to them of their mother (Miss Dillon, niece of his first wife, educated almost wholly by her, and by her pointed out as her successor). “You can’t remember her,” he says to Pauline, aged nine; “but think of her often. We never think half enough of those who have loved us so much and who are no longer here. Not lost, but gone before; that is it, my sweet child.” Of his elder son he does not often trust himself to write; that loss was a sorrow too deep for words—the young man of such promise, who had been his right hand in everything. When he buys Val Richer, it is François who goes down as a matter of course to look after the alterations; and his father’s letters, amidst Cabinet worries and quarrels with Thiers, remind us of Napoleon on the eve of Austerlitz regulating the dresses for the theatre at Paris.

“I think we can floor the dining-room with Caen stone, since we’ve

got plenty of it. . . . Have they thought of the gutters? They must be looked to before winter, . . . and that bit of road; take care you're not done about it. Everybody will want it made as best suits his convenience, and everybody will try to make use of us while making believe that he is doing us a service . . . I won't discuss politics with you. The Swiss business gives me a good deal of anxiety. But we can talk over all that when I see you; and I long to see you far more than I can tell you in words. Between you and me there is never anything that can't come out."

Now and then, not too often, he talks to his surviving son about his elder brother. "I can love you thoroughly without my love for you driving out my unalterable love for him." François seems to have been as noble in nature as handsome in person :

"He belonged to my whole life," he writes to the Duchess of Broglie. "I had not an interest, an affection, a remembrance in which he did not share. He watched over me like an unseen guardian angel, eager to stand between me and worry, to share in my smallest public or private troubles. And he did it all so simply, so modestly; and yet with such bright cheery independence. . . . I'm constantly finding fresh proofs of this sympathy, this affectionate anxiety, in things I had never suspected him to have had a hand in. He is gone; and none of my children can ever be to me what he was."

If we say this is unmanly, we must remember it is to a very old and dear friend; and perhaps our English reserve would be the better for a little more expansiveness now and then. Parents and children almost forget how they love one another after two or three generations of the "governor" and "relieving officer" style of intercourse. Better even gush, French or English, than that heartless kind of thing. But, as we said, Guizot never gushes. When he writes, "*mon cœur est avec les morts*," he means it as literally as when, complaining of his loneliness now that friend after friend has gone, "*Je suis las de voir mourir*." Of gush he says :

"'*Je méprise le roman*.' Between me and those two noblest of God's creatures who have held the foremost place in my life, there never was five minutes' *roman*. True love, true admiration and devotedness are very rare; that is why those who know nothing about them call them romantic, whereas, on the contrary, when they do exist, '*ils sont tout ce qu'il y a de plus simple, de plus positif, de plus pratique*.'"

The love which both his wives bore him certainly answers to this definition. What can be more *pratique* than the first wife translating Gregory of Tours as part of the material which Guizot was collecting for the early history of France, and working away at the facts which were afterwards embodied in his *History of the English Revolution*? Her industry was unwearied; indeed, her stepdaughter charges her death on the *Lettres de Famille sur l'Education*, at which she worked hard when in feeble health. To his second wife he owed the idea of the *Children's History of France*, that delightful French counterpart of the *Tales of a Grandfather*, the fourth volume of which he had just finished when he was seized with mortal illness. Eighteen months after their marriage she tells her sister: "He is away on an election tour. I am in his study. He wished me to be there; it is so much cosier that the big sitting-room. I have in hand an article on Uhland for the next number of the *Revue Française*; and I'm working at my history—have just got to Cæsar's invasion." While on this tour he writes to her about God's work in the world, which to him is more clearly discernible, he says, than in the course of Nature:

"I see God in the laws which regulate the progress of the human race as clearly, nay, much more clearly present than in the movements of the stars. . . . Human history has vast gaps, but no mysteries. There's much that I don't know, but nothing that I don't understand. My eyes are much too weak to see all, but they are working in the daylight. . . . With the individual it is different. I see a man morally worsted by trials from which I fail to discover any good result; he was simply beaten down by overpowering afflictions. Well; the sight does not make me doubt or murmur; but I don't understand, I don't see my way; I'm wrapt in a terrible mystery. I have to fall back on the general course of things, this particular thing being inexplicable. In fact, God's dealings with each one of us humble me, and call out my faith; His dealings with the race fill me with joyous adoration, for a flood of daylight streams in on them from all sides."

She, in return, tells him how she is managing her big pupil François and her baby Henriette, and how she manages to have plenty of time both for his mother (who had come to live with them) and for politics, while rewriting for the third time the chapter of her history which describes the state of

Gaul, and preparing, by a study of Neander and Fleury, to treat of the establishment of Christianity among the Gauls. "I don't mean to do all this reading," she says, "for my history's sake alone. I shall manage to get an article for the *Revue* on Neander's work compared with that of Fleury." Such a woman was indeed a worthy niece of Mdlle. de Meulan, and fit to be the wife of one who, like Guizot, needed sympathy in his studies.

They had not been married much more than three years when the cholera broke out in Paris, producing at the outset a demoralization which made people think of the plague at Athens. The Guizots did not think of leaving the city. The wife, always devoted to "her poor" (every French lady who is not wholly frivolous has her special clients, her "district," as we should say), did not neglect them in their need. But she was soon called to watch by what threatened to be her husband's death-bed. He and Casimir Périer and Cuvier were all seized; of the three he alone survived.

Before long he was again in the Cabinet—this time as Minister of Public Instruction, the Duke of Broglie being at the Foreign, and Thiers at the Home Office. "Whom shall I send for?" the King had said to Talleyrand. "Send for Broglie," was the reply. Broglie steadily refused to take office unless his friend Guizot was in the Cabinet. This Ministry of "all the talents" had only lasted a year when Guizot's second wife died, four years before the stepson to whose education she had devoted herself. We can understand his bitter sorrow, all the bitterer because, in the thick of party intrigues, there was not room for its expression; but time and work did for him what they have, by God's merciful disposition, done for tens of thousands. "One doesn't get comforted; nothing can comfort one," he writes, "not even a new happiness. But one does get calm; one regains full possession of oneself and of one's life. One keeps, ay, treasures, jealousy in one's inmost soul, that past which was so rich in blessings, and one sacrifices nothing of the future." He did not hold with Dante that "a sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things" ("*Nessun maggior dolore Che ricordarsi del tempo felice Nella miseria*").

"No," he says, "a great blessing is a light the rays from which stream out even over the spaces which they fail to light up."

It is not our object to offer any estimate of Guizot the statesman or Guizot the writer. In both capacities he has often been analyzed; but we cannot help remarking how, like almost all his countrymen, he thinks nothing can be done without repression. A few hundred people come to the Chamber with a petition against capital punishment. This bringing of petitions is forbidden by the Charter. The petitioners are ordered to disperse; they decline to do so, and a squadron of municipal guards charges them at full gallop, taking their standard-bearer prisoner. The scene (which Guizot, with strange glee, describes to his daughter) is just like what happened the other day, *à propos* of which an English public man said: "All French parties are the same in that. They have no idea of anything but force. When half-a-dozen people are met together, the sole notion of *le pouvoir* is to bayonet one and clap the other five into prison." No wonder that with such views Guizot was unpopular, not only with the mob, but with all the visionaries who thought 1848 was the dawn of the millennium.

In the spring of 1840 the Eastern question was giving trouble, as it has so often done since; and Guizot was sent to the Court of St. James's, partly because he was thought specially likely to gain influence in England, partly, no doubt, because, having once been Premier, he was rather in the way of his colleagues.

"I've been to a debate on the Irish elections," he tells his daughter. "You ought to take a great interest in Ireland; your mother used to. Her family left it in James II.'s time because they were Catholics, almost at the same date when so many families had to leave France because they were Protestants. And now what a change, thanks to greater enlightenment in regard to religion! Here am I, a Protestant, representing Catholic France in London; and in the English House of Commons some of the most influential members are Catholics."

He is characteristically delighted with the English rule of precedence:

"It prevents social friction. I was startled at first when I saw a

young cock sparrow of twenty just because he was a duke or a marquis pass before some old man of European reputation. I was wrong. In giving the precedence to titles you don't give them anything else; you don't deny the intrinsic superiority of personal merit, you only put a stop to a host of vexatious uncertainties and pretensions. Every one knows his outward, so to speak, his material rank. As to his moral rank that remains what it always must be, an open question. The English plan breeds plenty of emulation, which is the life of society, and very little envy, which is its curse. It is, in fact, just Pascal's rule. He says: 'Which of us is to walk in first? He who is the most deserving? But that's a question that can't be solved; we should go on debating it for ever. Who is the oldest or the highest in rank? Let him go first; then all difficulty vanishes.'

In France he complains of the lowering effect of a democracy. It brings men below the level of their work. "The horizon of our national destinies is as high as ever, but the point of view of those who are working them is getting lower and lower. I have to educate my public up to the true standard, and this is weary work." On the whole, he judged his mission to England to have been a success. "From 1832 to 1835, I take it, I did more than any one else to keep order at home. In 1840 and 1841 I shall have done the same for peace abroad. Were I at once to retire from public life, I should, I think, take with me the respect of Europe. I shall try not to lose it." He was fond of office, not (we are sure) from a love of power, but because he was conscious of his honesty of purpose. He felt as Pallas would have had Paris feel—

"Yet not for power; power of herself
Would come uncall'd for. But to live by law
Acting the law we live by without fear. . . ."

In his old age, he said :

"I don't complain, as so many do, that public life has deceived me; that I'm disgusted with men and with the world; that I've no more ambition. It's not true; public life has not cheated my expectations. I take the same interest in politics that I did at twenty, neither more nor less. Men and things I do not find below the level that I had fixed for them. I'm not saddened with the feeling of dissipated illusions. I think, on the other hand, that God has given me more than I looked for; and experience has confirmed, rather than destroyed, my fairest, most ambitious outlooks."

This is a much truer, as well as a less selfish, view than that

which looks on all as vanity because we are not what we were.

His sojourn in England won him the intimate friendship of Lord Aberdeen. This was a friendship which permitted thorough frankness on both sides. When, in 1845, the French naval preparations caused a good deal of uneasiness here in England, Guizot does not hesitate to meet the outcry with a *tu quoque*. "Why, all over France," he tells Lord Aberdeen, "they're talking of nothing but your new ships of war, your new coast defences, and so on. All the *gobemouches* say you must be preparing for war." The two men drew together more and more; they were joint authors of what Guizot christened the *entente cordiale*; and it must have been a pleasure to the Frenchman to have a correspondent whom he could condole with on the "*habitudes de bravade imprévoyante et de méfiance crédule inhérente à l'esprit démocratique.*" Towards the close of his life, he made his long-promised journey northward, and had a very pleasant time at Haddo, duly chronicled in his letters to his children. He was specially struck with the feudalism of the Highlands. The Duke of Argyle had told him he could call out 3,000 or 4,000 men; "I think I, too, could gather some thousands," said Lord Aberdeen.

Fêted as ambassador, he was, a few years later, welcomed by us as an exile. For some days after Louis Philippe had fled, he was in hiding in Paris, watching the course of events. But the popular rage grew fiercer: "*à bas Guizot; la tête de Guizot,*" was the cry of the surging mob, as it swept past the windows of the house from which his mother, happily stone-deaf, was looking out. His friends felt that he was not safe in France; so he joined his daughters, and at once began to work for his bread. Few men who have for eight years governed a great country have left office poorer than when they accepted it. Yet so it was with Guizot. His detractors have said that he bribed as lavishly as Walpole did; that he was greedy of power, not that he might realize his political conceptions, but simply for its own sake; that the old charge of *omnia serviliter pro dominatione* is rightly laid against him; that he could not be called a hypocrite, because he was not playing a

part when he deceived—"it came naturally to him;" but no one has ventured to say that he did not keep his own hands scrupulously clean.

We must look elsewhere for his views as to how the *émeute* of 1848, which grew into a revolution, ought to have been met at the outset. In these volumes we only hear of the kindness with which he was received in London, of the quiet life in the Brompton house, his son carrying on his studies at King's College, his daughters telling their friends "the omnibus is our only carriage;" of the Chartist demonstration—more "specials" than Chartists; of Louis Philippe and the need for a close union between the two branches of the Bourbons. One does not like the tone in which he speaks of those "massacres of June" which made Louis Bonaparte's presidency and empire possible. After the Liberals had sent Changarnier to shoot down the Reds as if they had been mad dogs, they could not expect the Reds to help them against the Imperialists. Guizot's savage comment on the affair is: "It has produced a very good effect here. France had need to prove that she was alive, and she has proved it."

But we meant to eschew his politics, else it would be interesting to discuss his notion of how Church and State ought to settle the Education Question. His calmness is certainly a contrast to the bigoted secularism of M. Ferry. He foresaw the *coup d'état*, though his wishes led him to expect that a constitutional monarchy would before long take the place of *le petit Empire*, as that had superseded *la petite République*. The Empire was inevitable because the Assembly had made such a bad hand of it. French impatience could not brook a Long Parliament which was daily becoming more of a "Rump;" and there was no external pressure, as in the days of the first Republic, to dispose them to overlook the faults of the Government. His character of Louis Bonaparte (in a letter to Lord Aberdeen, March, 1852) has often been quoted:

"He's always swaying to and fro between the traditions of the Imperial system and the dreams of a kind of socialism which is despotic at the same time that it is popular. . . . In foreign affairs he never knows his own mind; 'il promet monts et merveilles,' and then he gets

frightened and caves in. But, wavering though he is, I feel sure that this radical despot will never give up the Rhine frontier. He'll stick to that, and hold his tongue about it as he did about the *coup d'état*."

There is a prophecy here of the war of 1870, on the absurdly weak pretext for which he has some good remarks: "Neither England nor Lord Palmerston ever thought of going to war about the Spanish marriages; but there were we, not only insisting on the Hohenzollern Prince being withdrawn, but also on his never coming forward again." He had said, twenty years before, to M. de Barante, "*Il y a quelque chose d'invinciblement petit et stérile dans les idées et les sentiments de notre pays,*" and now he is disposed to extend the reproof to Germany. On Bismarck his verdict was in 1864: "He is the only man in Europe who has a settled plan and is bent on following it out. He is neither sensible nor honest, but this makes him somebody."

His repressive tendencies made him angry and astonished at our "harbouring assassins" in 1853. "Can it be," he asks Lord Aberdeen, "that England likes to see the Continent riddled and paralyzed with revolution?" At the same time he grumbles at the total stagnation of political life under the Empire. "We talk; we've managed to keep our freedom of speech, but that is all." He felt the Franco-Prussian war very keenly. He thought he might help France by telling the world what he took to be the real import of the matter; so he set to work, but found he had not heart for it, and contented himself with a long and touching letter to the Bishop of Winchester (Wilberforce), pointing out how England ought to interfere to stop the siege of Paris, which he thinks will end in a siege of Saragossa on a large scale, and to prevent the dismemberment of France.

"Now is the time," he says, "for England to step in and settle the peace of Europe on the only permanent footing. I hear that the personal feeling of the Queen stands in the way; I won't believe it. . . . I am an old man, and in ill health, so you must pardon all this. The nearer one draws to life's end, the clearer seems to be one's glimpse of the truth, and the greater one's right to speak of what one sees."

The war, though it unnerved him politically, gave a fillip to his literary power. "*Il faut servir la France*; it's a thank-

less task, for she is fickle and without foresight; but still one must serve her well; *c'est un grand pays.*" His aim was to finish his *Memoirs* and his *Children's History*, and he worked at both with the energy of one who felt his time was short. At last the end came. His younger daughter died early in 1874, and six months after he himself lay a-dying. He asked for some passages of his *Children's History*; and he looked at the portrait of Coligny, his hero *par excellence*. Then he began to recite the passages of poetry that his mother had taught him so long ago at Geneva, and, getting weary, "Good-bye, daughter," he whispered to Henriette, and laid his head on the pillow. "Au revoir, mon père," she replied. The words were like an electric shock; raising himself up in bed, he looked at son and daughter, and, with a strange light in his eyes, said: "Yes; no one is more certain than I am that we shall meet again." Those were his last words. "How little we know," he had said a while before, "but I shall soon be in the light;" and so he passed, with the sure hope of immortality in his heart and on his lips.

Guizot has been misunderstood. His political line—a line trodden by very few Frenchmen—was determined by his deep conscientiousness. A man whose father had suffered, liberal though he was, could not but dread and suspect those whom he looked on as the possible inaugurators of a new Reign of Terror. An ordinary man, brought up as he was, would have been a narrow reactionist; but he was saved from this by his strong conviction that constitutionalism was right. He served the elder Bourbons so long as they stuck to the Charter; when they gave up that, he felt there must be a change. But, misunderstood as a politician, he has been yet more misunderstood as a man. These books were needed to set him right in this respect, and they cannot fail to do so. Few will rise from them without a feeling of love and respect for one whom they prove to have been, not a cold Stoic, but the best of fathers and sons and husbands, and the warmest of friends, and withal a true Christian, resigned under many sad blows, yet making no parade of his resignation. Even the seven volumes of his *Memoirs*, outspoken as they are, full of the recollections of such a full life, do not set the man

before us as these letters do. They furnish the other eye-piece to the stereoscope, enabling us to study the character in its fulness. The volumes differ a little. One contains only letters, disappointingly few at crises like 1848 and 1852; but Madame de Witt explains this from the French habit of destroying letters which might be compromising. In the other there is a thread of connecting narrative, so slight that it never for a moment stops us from communing with the man himself. Both volumes bring out clearly that inner life of which many who have studied Guizot as a writer and a statesman do not even suspect the existence.

ART. II.—EMINENT WOMEN.

1. *Harriet Martineau.* By MRS. F. MILLER.
2. *George Eliot.* By MATHILDE BLIND.
3. *Emily Brontë.* By A. MARY F. ROBINSON.
4. *George Sand.* By BERTHA THOMAS.
5. *Mary Lamb.* By ANNE GILCHRIST.
6. *Maria Edgeworth.* By HELEN ZIMMERN.
7. *Margaret Fuller.* By JULIA WARD HOWE.
8. *Elizabeth Fry.* By MRS. E. R. PITMAN.
9. *Countess of Albany.* By VERNON LEE.
10. *Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin.* By ELIZABETH ROBINS PENNELL. ("Eminent Women Series." Edited by JOHN H. INGRAM.) London: W. H. Allen & Co.

WE are ignorant what principle has determined the selection of the heroines commemorated in Mr. Ingram's "Eminent Women Series;" but up to this point, whether by accident or design, the choice made has been such that these biographies form a continuous history, from the woman's point of view, of the modern revolutionary period; no life having yet been included which dates much earlier than the latter

part of the eighteenth century, and each figure having a quite distinct connection of its own with the changes effected in that stormy epoch. Madame d'Albany, who represents to us the grace and culture, the lax morality and high-flown sentiment of the *ancien régime*, is doubly interesting, as being not only one of the last victims of its peculiar statecraft, but as one of the earlier disciples of the dreamy philosophies which had so large a share in the overthrow of that *régime*. There could hardly be a greater contrast than is furnished by the romantic figure of this luckless Louise von Stolberg, half German, half Italian, and wholly ambiguous, and that of the moral, decent, and practical Harriet Martineau, that incarnation of hard English common sense. Yet both are really children of the Revolution; and the acted atheism of Madame d'Albany's life is fitly matched by the spoken atheism of Miss Martineau's creed. Between these two stand many figures, each possessed of a significance all its own. The beloved Mary Lamb and the cheerful Maria Edgeworth, whose charm is at least as much domestic as literary, and who belong of right to the period when it was still thought a little undesirable that girls should be highly educated, have, by the novelty of their ideas on this and cognate points, a certain undeniable relation with the doubtful group of women, more gifted than good, which includes Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin and Margaret Fuller, George Eliot and George Sand. Apart from them, though among them, moves the proud and virginal Emily Brontë, so passionately pure in heart and lofty of mood as to have no peer in all this sisterhood; and equally apart, by reason of her sovereign goodness and the beautiful Christ-likeness to which she attained, stands Elizabeth Fry—a pioneer spirit also, not in mere speculation but in active beneficence; who dared to assail time-honoured abuses, being strong in the simple boldness of fervid charity—the one ardent Christian worker included as yet in this series—the one character, also, on whose whiteness it were difficult to detect the shadow of a stain, though here is no cold and colourless perfection, but glowing with living sensitive humanity.

The history illustrated by these various lives is full of singular interest and also of warning. While it were idle to

ignore the vast changes wrought during the last hundred and fifty years in the position, the claims, and the ambitions of woman, and more than idle to dream of her reverting to the obscurity and the submissions of the past, it is too evident that her upward progress is encompassed with the gravest perils. Only the most resolute obedience to the guiding voice of that Redeemer, to whom woman owes so immense a debt, can rescue her from falling over the precipice of intellectual pride, or sinking into the foul mire of immorality—a truth which finds abundant and often most painful illustration in certain of the life-stories before us. It is impossible not to be moved by a profound pity in reading some few of them; and perhaps none is more cruel, though some are more gloomy in outward circumstance, than that of her who comes among the first in order of time, and is certainly the first in the order of ideas—"Louise-Maximilienne-Caroline-Emanuele von Stolberg," the ill-starred bride of the Young Pretender, the spiritual mistress of Vittorio Alfieri. Her chief claim to remembrance is indeed her association with the fate of that strange poet, half-Republican, half-aristocrat. She first becomes evident to us in 1772, on her marriage with Charles Edward Stuart; he the once attractive hero of the '45, now sunk into an unclean debauchee, with swollen reddened features and sullen half-savage temper; she a young, fair, golden-haired girl, innocently gay and charming, going ignorantly and dutifully to meet the fate arranged for her, as a well-bred young princess was bound to do in those good old days. The wedding was a bit of State policy; a clever move of the French Government, desiring to secure an heir to the Stuart claim, to be played against England if necessary. It proved a fruitless iniquity. That the marriage was unhappy could not disturb its high and mighty promoters, intent upon their diplomatic chess-board; that it was childless was an inconvenient and disconcerting circumstance. The incongruous pair dwelt at Florence, and the young wife had to play her part as best she might in the strange Italian society of the day; a society so well-bred, easy, and charming on the surface, so corrupt at its heart, masking its real atheism under a cynical conformity to religious decencies. Louise d'Albany,

inexperienced and infantile as she was, never quite sank to the level of this society. For a long time she remained coldly pure among the vicious, serenely superior among the frivolous, finding a refuge from her husband's brutalities in her studies: she acquired the power of reading four languages with facility, and interested herself in poetry and philosophy.

It was in 1777 that she met Alfieri—a strange unequal being, full of violent contrasts, cherishing a lofty code of morality in fancy, and belying it by the coarse vices into which he often sank. The friendship which was formed between him and the hapless wife of Charles Edward remained innocent outwardly, but was not so in its very essence; and the poor young life that had hitherto been blameless can be considered blameless no longer. Erelong we find Madame d'Albany flying for her life from her drunken husband to the refuge of a convent, and then, after some years of separation, taking up her abode under the same roof with her worshipper. The world did not disapprove, for the friends never insulted its strange moral code by attempting a marriage, even when it was perfectly practicable. It was enough for Madame d'Albany to be regarded by her poet as his Muse, his Egeria, his guiding-star; she had no wish again to assume the bonds that had nearly strangled her. She had acquired the power of taking life very easily; she outlived Alfieri twenty-one years, finding other gifted men to whom she could be the same sympathizing friend that she had been to the great dramatist, and having always a most brilliant *salon*, "especially after Waterloo." Her fate is full of irony. The White Rose queen of Jacobite hopes had herself presented at the English Court to the Hanoverian sovereign; the bride of a fallen Royal house was the idol of a Republican dreamer who found the Great Revolution but little to his taste. She herself was very near to perishing at Paris in the September massacre, and afterwards was important enough to attract some unpleasant notice from the First Napoleon; but as she could not take the trouble to defy him she remained unscathed, and was still living on at Florence, years after his death—a comfortable motherly old dame, fond of giving herself queenly airs, but singularly unqueenly of aspect. On the spiritual side her strange

personality is absolutely null; one would say her soul had been done to death in those feverish years when she had learnt to regard the decease of her wedded husband as the greatest good that could befall her. Hence she is perhaps farther removed from the beautiful ideal of womanhood than any other character on our list, impressing one chiefly as a mediocre actress, charged with a grandly tragic rôle which she is incompetent to fill.

If Madame d'Albany's is not a particularly attractive character, that of Harriet Martineau is hardly more so. There is wonderfully little of feminine grace and fragrancy about that sturdy personage; indeed, the Emancipated Woman who has got rid, not only of prejudice, but of faith in anything divine or eternal, may attain to masculine position, may give proof of masculine powers; may even exemplify some of the admirable qualities with which the Wise King invested his "virtuous woman;" but the delicate halo of angel-light which hovers around fair and saintly women is lacking to her; it is quite dissolved and invisible in the broad glare of common day that attends her steps. Harriet Martineau's last biographer, Mrs. F. Miller, who writes of her with sympathizing admiration, does not hesitate to speak of that lady's Autobiography as an "interesting but misleading book," a "very hasty production," written under the belief that, the autobiographer's days being numbered, there was no time to be lost; while the period of its production was also "the most aggressive and unpleasant" of her whole life. "It is hard and censorious," says Mrs. Miller, very truly, "it displays vanity . . . it is aggressive, as though replying to enemies rather than appealing to friends; and no one of either the finer or the softer qualities of her nature is at all adequately indicated." Such is the judgment of a too-friendly critic, who takes pains to set before us her own estimate of Harriet Martineau as a "sensitive, unselfish, loving, domestic woman;" a "just, careful, disinterested, and logical author;" and brings forward every available item of evidence to show that this estimate is the true one. Her evidence is not altogether inadequate; she fairly proves much active beneficence, much kindness, and even geniality of disposition; the picture she draws of Miss Martineau's closing

years, which were clouded by severe bodily suffering cheerfully borne, is not without attraction, and one understands that the successful authoress was also a pleasant person to live with ; a reasonable, considerate, and kindly mistress and friend.

And yet the impression left by this Memoir is substantially identical with that produced by the Autobiography. There are passages in Harriet Martineau's latest letters which breathe the very spirit of that unhappy book, and explain why she never made the smallest effort to revise it, to correct its mis-statements and soften its asperities, during all the years that elapsed between its completion and her own death. It expressed the true inner woman. It is significant enough that these passages occur in letters to the gentleman whom she chose for the spiritual leader of her later life, for whose sake she withdrew her affection from her best-loved brother, and to whose guidance—little as the proud, self-reliant woman might know it—she bowed with a blind feminine adoration, by no means unexampled in romance, but unexpected, to say the least, in a person who was nothing if not rational.

Mrs. Miller tells touchingly the story of Harriet Martineau's unhappy childhood and youth, and does it so skilfully as to account for those flaws and stains that will mar the image of this useful woman as long as it retains its small particular niche in the Temple of Fame. The hard self-assertion, the harsh judgment of others, the abnormal vanity, the undying resentment of long-past slights and wrongs, are no astonishing outcome of a childhood so repressed and terrified, a girlhood so thwarted and mortified.

We need not wonder at her fierce complaints of home misunderstanding when we find that, even after she had well proved her capacity to succeed in literature, parental authority, awayed by ill-judging friends, would fain have limited her to the poor bread-winning of a skilled needlewoman ; while her one piteous little love-story was brought to a tragical end under similar discouragements. We must not, above all, omit from the unfavourable influences moulding her character the cold negative kind of religion in which she was reared. In the Martineau household, as pictured by its daughter, Unitarianism shows like mere Stoicism with a faint Christian colouring ;

nor does it appear that Harriet—a thinker more logical than spiritual, more mechanical-accurate than profound—ever entered into the secret of true inward religion; it may be doubted if she understood that such a thing existed. Her easily accomplished conversion to a creed of mere denial cannot therefore be deemed worthy of having excited such a storm of indignant surprise as that which exasperated her naturally pugnacious disposition into the utmost obstinacy of persistence. It is a distinctly disagreeable impression that results from the contemplation of this active life and strongly-marked character. Even on the soft peacefulness of her riper years something of harsh egoism intrudes itself. “Admire the spectacle of *my* calm superiority to ‘selfish superstition and trumpery self-regards,’ ” is the burden of her latest communications to her worshipped master in unbelief; “see with what sovereign indifference *I* await the swift coming of much desired Annihilation, how guiltless *I* am of weak cravings after ‘glory and bliss!’ ”

It is a strange swan-song of a parting soul; and yet she was loved while living, and truly mourned when dead. It is well to remember in her case that it is from those to whom much has been given that much will be required; we may not require graceful carriage from one who has been crippled in childhood, nor keenness of vision from the dwellers in caverns and cellars.

It is perhaps unfair to bracket with Harriet Martineau one so happily circumstanced as Maria Edgeworth; yet a certain resemblance, more than superficial, in the ends and aims of each career, offers a strong temptation to do so. The one founded that school of “didactic fiction” of which the other was a zealous follower; if Miss Edgeworth introduced the “novel with a purpose” into English literature, Miss Martineau rarely wrote novel or novelette without a purpose. True, one was a votary and exponent of the “Dismal Science,” and the other chiefly sought to promote rational education; but each illustrated her published theories by practical benevolence, and each was not less admirable as a business woman, methodical and honourable, than as a clever popular writer. And if Harriet Martineau was an energetic champion of the woman’s

cause—a little too much in the vein of Tennyson's *Princess Ida* before her conversion—Maria Edgeworth did good pioneer's work in the same cause by her *Letters to Literary Ladies*—a plea for female education which *then* indicated very advanced thought, but *now* appears a little retrograde; so swift have been the changes of public opinion since 1795, the year of its publication. But having said thus much, we can say no more of resemblances between the ladies, of whom one is true nineteenth-century, restless and combative, and the other has the womanly repose and grace that seem more proper to the pre-revolutionary period. Harriet Martineau was born in 1802, Maria Edgeworth did not die till 1849, being then in her eighty-third year; her last work of benevolence was wrought on behalf of sufferers from the potato-famine—a calamity that had caused her the deepest distress. Thus the maturity of the one life was contemporary with the old age of the other; but a whole æon of change separates them.

Maria Edgeworth's surroundings were just as propitious as those of Harriet Martineau were adverse. She had her due share of childish joys; her powers were fostered, not crushed; her affections had full play, instead of being chilled by repression. The beloved child of a man of good family and fortune, she was born into all the softnesses and refinements of life, and never knew the bitter necessity of writing for bread; and, as her father chose to reside on his Irish estate and to manage it with his eldest daughter as his sole agent, she knew no more of the wearisome *ennui* of a mere fine-lady existence, but had always a worthy object in life. Nature was hardly less kind to her than fortune. Denied the small gift of personal beauty, she had other graces which more than compensated it. The delicious humour which lends brilliancy to her writings shed sunshine also on her life; her spirits were joyous and even; and the steady warmth of her affections was only equalled by her happy faculty for loving exactly those whom it was desirable for her to love. Of all those on whom she lavished the riches of her heart none was so passionately dear to her as her father; nor can we deem that her love was unworthily bestowed, though all the varied excellences with which Richard Lovell Edgeworth must be

credited cannot save him from being a figure as amusing as his daughter is charming; he with his immense self-complacency, his "cock-sureness," his many marriages, and his huge family; she with her sweet reasonableness, her filial and sisterly devotion, her sunny gaiety and active charity. It would seem that her unquestioning submission to her father as critic and corrector of her writings has injured her as an artist, since the one or two works which she produced spontaneously, and which show none of his patchwork additions, are much more fresh and graceful than the many with which he intermeddled. Her daughterly love thus marred her fame not a little, but it perfected her character. It were difficult to find among her numerous romances so inspiring and cheerful a bit of reading as the record of her blameless life. It is a long Midsummer day, with the soft variety of sun and shower proper to April; and the sun goes down at last, not hastily, in calm, unclouded splendour. One little fact more than any other points and finishes the contrast between Miss Martineau and Miss Edgeworth. No adverse criticism so pained the latter as the insinuation that her works were "not religious." Her religion lay more in deeds than in words, it is true; but it is hardly for the present loud-talking age to say that this woman's religion was therefore vain.

Widely different was the fate of a contemporary of Miss Edgeworth's, who in womanly nobleness and in modest genius may well compare with her, while her hard and obscure lot in life appears to us of this later day to furnish immortal drama of the best sort—that in which character conquers circumstance, instead of being conquered by it. Had it not been for one terrible calamity Mary Lamb's career must have appeared one of the homeliest commonplace. She was the third child of a decent middle-class couple dwelling in London. Her father's faculties and her mother's health failing early, the whole burden of the household fell on Mary and her brother Charles, her junior by ten years; and the only way in which Mary could live and help her family to live was by ceaseless toil with her needle. It is a very familiar tale of domestic trial. But the patient seamstress had her peculiar

trials. Her sensitive spirit and imaginative brain had suffered much wrong from mere lack of insight in the elders who trained her youth; and the shadows of inherited madness now darkened fast over her.

At last the cloud broke. Charles Lamb has himself related how "his poor dear, dearest sister" slew her mother in a sudden access of frenzy with a knife snatched up from the dinner-table; and since Mary's death in 1847 no incident connected with literary history has been better known. Strange mystery of a loving human heart! It was this terrible accident, so full of misery for the present, of menace for the future, which fastened the brother's affection to the sister as with links of adamant, and led to that lifelong consecration of one to the other which has endeared their memory to thousands who never knew them, and which will make it precious yet to thousands more.

Something of Mary Lamb's charming character is indicated in that exquisite sketch of Bridget Elia, for which she sat to Charles; something more can be gathered from her own writings; her letters to Miss Stoddart, afterwards Mrs. Hazlitt, complete the revelation of a beautiful soul full of practical piety. Her evenness of temper, her perfect reasonableness, her strong sense and delicate discernment, offer one of the strangest possible of mental phenomena in their co-existence with her liability to often-recurring attacks of dangerous mania. "I have a knack," says she, "of looking into people's characters, and never expecting them to act out of it—never expecting another to do as I would in the same case;" and her real possession of this precious gift is shown in the history of her many enduring friendships. As she never quarrelled with her own sad individual fate, so she broke into no indignation at the foolish or injurious conduct of a friend. She understood; she pitied; she pardoned where she could not approve.

We can imagine that Mary Lamb would have felt some gentle surprise at her own enrolment among "*Eminent Women*."

Her claims to literary distinction rest on two or three admirable books for children, an essay or so, and a few stray

poems, recalling by their form and style the antique grace of the Elizabethans. Yet such is the simple perfectness of these trifles, so sweet, pure, and reverent is their feeling, so true is the genius breathing through them, that they may still be loved, and the yearly new edition of the *Tales from Shakespeare* may still be called for, when even the more splendid names on our list shall have been added to the "long list of celebrated writers and astonishing geniuses," for whom Coleridge dared to anticipate a very brief renown compared with that he prophesied for Mary Lamb. And many a strenuous clamorous heroine will be forgotten when English hearts are still cherishing the memory of this quiet domestic being, who bowed humbly to a mysterious Providence, and simply did her utmost duty in her appointed place; such is the consecrating power of misfortunes nobly borne.

With Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, a new feminine type came on the scene—the speculative theorist bold enough to act out her theories, and warring not only with the prevalent ideas as to woman's lawful sphere of labour, but also with certain fundamental ideas as to her moral duties. This audacious and most unfortunate lady, who in the last century distinguished herself by producing a *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, is now hardly remembered, except in purely literary circles, and owes, perhaps, more of her lingering fame to the fact that Mary Godwin, afterwards Mrs. Shelley, was her daughter, than to her own startling errors and woes, or any achievements of her own; yet these during her lifetime excited hardly less attention, and were discussed with more acrimony, than in our own day the opinions and the failings of George Eliot. Let another hundred years pass, and the later writer may be an object of no greater interest than the earlier, or may owe her more enduring fame solely to the fact that she lived out her life and showed the best that was in her while her predecessor perished just as her powers were ripening.

It is unnecessary to discuss again the opinions and the career, already so much canvassed, of the more famous personage; yet we may note that while Mary Wollstonecraft's history offers in many particulars a curious parallelism with

that of her successor, her character is richer in certain special excellences hitherto associated with the ideal of gracious womanhood. It does not appear that the individual woman is ennobled, or raised to greater heights of unselfishness, even of self-devotion, while the process of "enfranchisement" from faith in the supernatural goes on in her, though wider fields of knowledge and achievement may be opened for her possession. The life of the intellect will not compensate for that of the soul. We are perforce reminded of the life-story so lately unfolded to the world, when we see Mary Wollstonecraft occupying the position of "reader" to the publisher of her day, Mr. Johnson; doing miscellaneous translation for him, contributing to his *Analytical Review*, and appearing as an admired member of the brilliant literary coterie assembling under his roof—a coterie in which every shade of free thought had its representative. The resemblance is heightened when we find her entering into a connection never consecrated by marriage, and subsequently contracting a lawful union, soon dissolved by her death; and though she never formulated her scepticism, or indeed renounced faith in God and hope in immortality, her religious opinions became singularly vague, and did not withhold her from destructive errors on points of morality. These did not more scandalize the world in which she lived than did her sympathy with the oppressed plebeians of France, which she avowed with startling courage, and which really arose from the finer and rarer qualities of her nature. She had none of the inbred Conservatism so natural to many women, so conspicuous in *her* to whom we have slightly referred as at once resembling her in some points of conduct and differing in points of character; and her circumstances had been peculiarly unfavourable.

Mary Wollstonecraft was of Irish extraction, and had much of the Celtic impetuosity and the Celtic charm; perilous gifts they proved. That she sprang from families of good original standing availed her little, for her father, a drunken, dissolute tyrant, dragged his wife and children into great straits and sufferings. The hapless Mary began very early in life to protect her trembling, inefficient mother against the drunken rage of her father, to assume the neglected responsibilities of

both father and mother towards her younger brother and sisters, and to earn with hard endeavour the money for their education and support. While we abhor and reprobate the wild crusade in which the champion of the rights of women joined—a crusade that struck at the life of Society by attacking the laws of marriage—we can understand how she was beguiled into sharing it; in her own home, and in that of others she saw wedded life under aspects of peculiar repulsiveness. Her most cherished female friend, towards whom she displayed an almost maternal tenderness, was cursed with a father not less dissolute and worthless than Mr. Wollstonecraft; her sister made a miserable marriage, under whose wretchedness she was losing her reason, when Mary intervened to rescue her. It is needless to say that these unhappy experiences cannot be pleaded in justification of her grave errors, but they do much to make them intelligible.

“I think I love people most when they are in adversity, for pity is my prevailing passion,” she wrote once, therein not self-deceived; for her passionate pity for others led her into some actions of the most unworldly imprudence. Her slender earnings were spent on her relations, her poor lodgings were their best home, and every call on her humanity met a prompt response. Though to render help to a friend might imperil her own means of subsistence, the help must be given. On the other hand, the late Mrs. Cross, with all her eloquently expressed sympathy for every form of human suffering, does not seem to have felt it necessary to exert herself for the relief of that suffering; or if she was betrayed into many such sins against worldly wisdom, her admiring biographers have seen fit to withhold the fact. The George Henry Lewes student-ship, which she founded in memory of the deceased partner of her destiny, remains, as far as the world knows, her one effort to *do* anything considerable for her fellow-creatures; otherwise she held it sufficient to write for their instruction—it was their part to read and purchase her productions, and not to grudge the price. The very irony of fate appears in the unequal justice with which society visited the various offences of which Mary Wollstonecraft was guilty. Her errors escaped its censure when one would have deemed censure inevitable;

they were punished with severity when comparatively venial. The unhallowed union into which, following out her avowed principles, she entered while a kind of captive in Paris under the Reign of Terror, was condoned and accepted; the lawful marriage she contracted after her unwedded lover had abandoned her was greeted with a storm of disapproval. Her relatives were not sensitive about her reputation; but they resented her inability to assist them with her former liberality. Her whole story is one of the cruellest ever written; beauty and genius, tenderness and generosity, affections deep and constant, and compassion half divine, were hers in vain; not one of these gifts brought peace to herself or permanent good to her fellows. The Woman's Rights movement is stained with the very heart's blood of its earliest advocate. The chief use of her career is to act as a warning to others how they abandon the Divine guidance for strange paths of their own choosing, or how they lift a hand to lessen "that moral wealth which it has been the work of ages to produce"—weighty words, not well considered in the individual practice of her who wrote them.

The renown of George Sand lies under the same cloud that overhangs the fame of the two gifted Englishwomen to whom we have just referred. Resembling both in her special errors, she is more allied to the later writer by the splendour of her powers, to the earlier one by the warmth and richness of her woman's nature. Having been reared in a form of Christianity, and having embraced it with some fervour, she too departed from it afterwards, defied the bidding of social law, and became a law unto herself; she too found congenial expression in literature, and lived in communion with what was ablest in the world of mind immediately surrounding her. It is difficult to say whether her circumstances, her temperament, her descent were less favourable to her as a woman or more propitious to her as a writer. "Amantine-Lucile-Aurore Dudevant," née Dupin, and known to fame as George Sand, was of a very mixed and rather lawless race. Her grandmother, a clever Voltairean *grande-dame* of the *ancien régime*, was illegitimate daughter of Maréchal Saxe, himself illegitimate son of August the Strong, of Saxony and

Poland ; her mother, a strange being, low-born and illiterate, though attractive, something of a genius and not a little of a madwoman, whose youth was passed amid the wildest scenes of the Revolution, and whose maiden name was far from stainless, was yet a very pious Catholic, a devoted wife and a faithful widow. It was the evil lot of her daughter to see respectability and religion arrayed on opposite sides in the persons of this mother and grandmother, who disputed with each other the possession of the fatherless girl they both loved. Such being the pedigree and such the training of George Sand, we may not wonder, though we may grieve, at the wild impulses by which as a writer and a woman she was often swayed, at the stains that mar her character, or at the doubtful uses to which she turned the "rich, ardent, and prolific genius" with which she was endowed. On the other hand, that genius was favoured and developed by the sharp and strange vicissitudes of her life, by the many and varied aspects of society with which it made her familiar. Her father was a soldier of Napoleon ; her mother chose to accompany him on some of his campaigns, and to carry her child with her. Thus wildly romantic scenes, and the fantastic pageant of swiftly changing fortunes, became familiar to the girl in her infancy, and lent their rich colours to her childish dreams. Later, being orphaned of her father and appropriated by the stately old châtelaine her grandmother, she saw the perfumed and polite society of other days, or revelled in the joyous pastoral life of Berri, where lay her paternal home. She learned to love wild nature with an enduring passion, and to enter into the soul of the peasant existence which she afterwards reproduced admirably in her best and freshest romances. Then came days of storm and revolution, into which she flung herself too freely, but which unquestionably added to her mental stores and widened her experience.

There is much to be placed to the discredit of freethinking in the career of George Sand. There are blots on her escutcheon, such as no skill in her biographer—and Miss Thomas has told the story very skilfully—can altogether conceal. We see the heroine resolutely breaking the marriage-bond into which she had entered freely, however foolishly ; we

see her shaking herself loose at once from her ill-chosen husband, and from the usual restraints of propriety; masquerading in man's attire, claiming a man's freedom of action, and once at least yielding herself to a lawless passion. Such is the tale told in a memoir which, like more than one of this series, is too much of a tender apology for its subject. From other quarters comes the whisper of heavier charges. Madame Sand has been reproached as the evil genius of more than one wasted life. Her sumptuous imagination was not alone prolific in written romances; she carried it into the domain of the actual. She would look at some living human being through its medium, would see him invested with the glorious hues of the ideal, would draw him to herself with the magnetism of her powerful and unusually attractive nature, and then would come disenchantment, distaste, weariness, and she would shake herself free from the friendship or the affection which had enriched her for a while, but everlastingly impoverished its object. The charge is heavy, since it implies not only lax morality, but a certain inhumanity, much at variance with the active benevolence which Madame Sand often displayed; and we have to remember the often heartless and very often lawless ancestry from which she sprang, as well as the formless religion, almost purely of the feelings, which she held, before we can understand the chaotic mixture of good and evil both in her character and her writings. "Impassioned, turbulent, revolutionary, the spiritual daughter of Rousseau," she not only had "an enthusiastic faith in man's destiny," but clung not less resolutely than her saner and purer contemporary, Victor Hugo, to the belief in "God and His goodness, in the immortal soul," and in "another Life." Her existence, too often wild and wasteful as a torrent, ran strongly at the last; the natural duties she had *not* renounced rewarded her; her old age was surrounded by children and grandchildren who loved her and whom she loved, and was still rich in funds of natural enjoyment. Her vigorous physical nature, and her hardy and healthy personal habits, did not probably contribute more to the cheerful serenity of her later years than did the obstinate optimism of the creed she had learnt to cherish. She who had in her stormy youth contributed some-

thing to the Literature of Despair, whose lyric romance of *Lélia* had won for her the title of an enemy to religion and morality, and whose earlier works, almost perfect in style, were more than doubtful in their teaching, wrote in advanced age with undiminished richness and power, but with far truer wisdom, charming fairy tales for children and poets, and romances no longer pessimist in tone, but breathing a certain hope. There are evident advantages even in a fragmentary and imperfect faith.

The American, Margaret Fuller, the admiring contemporary of George Sand, differs from that gifted personage as much as Boston differs from Paris, or New England from Italy. There is an acrid flavour in her character not quite to European taste; her vanity is too fantastic, her ambitions too hyperbolic, her whole personality too deficient in proportion and congruity to satisfy old-world ideas of womanhood. With these defects she has some saving qualities; self-respect as well as vanity, honest endeavour as well as abnormal self-esteem. Something of Puritanism, too, clings about her, though she is a rebel to its creed. The utmost ardour of late awakened passion leads in her case to nothing more compromising than a secret marriage with a very inferior kind of man. Forced into mental precocity by a scholarly father, and pursuing of her own choice a course of reading, encyclopædic in extent, and indeed too ambitiously planned for thoroughness, Margaret Fuller lived for a long time in the life of the brain only. She had a passion for dominating, and a certain magnetic attraction, which she could exercise at will, aided by unusual conversational powers, secured for her the pre-eminence she loved, among her own countrymen. When the death of her father, and consequent losses of fortune, made it needful that she should exert herself for the benefit of her family, she aimed at and secured a certain loftiness in the style of her efforts. She tried journalism and teaching; she edited the *Dial*, the organ of the Transcendental party; she acted as assistant to Horace Greeley; she gave a series of "Conversation-classes" to the élite of feminine Boston, discoursing like a modern Hypatia in spiritualizing strain of matters the loftiest and the widest. These performances were

interspersed with some pious ministrings to the poor and wretched; her high-flown philosophies were not without a heart of charity. Accepted in America as a modern priestess of culture, her fancy longed after the scenes and the societies of the Old World. It was at a time of revolution that she realized her dream. She passed through England and France to Italy, and there met the destiny which no one would have predicted for her, in a young untaught Italian of a noble but degraded family. She enlisted him into the cause of Italian freedom with which, as the friend of Mazzini, she was in sympathy; she wedded him in secret, shared his perils and adventures during the wild days of the siege of Rome in 1848, and, returning with him and with their one child to her native land and her mother, she was wrecked on the very shores of that land, and not one of the little family group was rescued. The story is romantic and pathetic in outline; but the romance does not stand examination very well, and the pathos is too unrelieved. "There never was such a tragedy as her whole story—the sadder and sterner, because so much of the ridiculous was mixed up with it, and because she could bear anything better than to be ridiculous," wrote Nathaniel Hawthorne, who knew her personally, and made himself acquainted with some particulars of her tragic love affair which do not appear in the sympathetic pages before us. After her lifelong toil spent on her own mind and character, "putting in here a splendid talent and there a moral excellence, and polishing each separate piece and the whole together, till it seemed to shine afar and dazzle all who saw it," she met Ossoli, called by compliment a Marquis, but holding only the rank of a labourer, a singularly handsome man, but so ignorant that he could scarce read or write, and altogether destitute of manners; and "all her labour was undone in the twinkling of an eye;" she abdicated her proud intellectual position, her ambition to shine as "the greatest, wisest, best woman of the age," and gave herself as fully and foolishly as any unlettered milk-maid could have done to this beautiful semblance of a man—this being "without the intellectual spark—she that had always shown such a cruel and bitter scorn of intellectual deficiency." The inefficiency of mere culture to elevate and.

restrain a "defective and evil nature," such as hers is described by this relentless judge, was never more aptly illustrated. Whatever evil might have resulted from a union so fatally incongruous was, however, averted by the catastrophe which closed it, and which is perhaps not wholly matter for regret.

It were hardly possible to imagine a mind and nature more remote from those of this self-centred, self-worshipping Sibyl than we find in Emily Brontë, the short span of whose life is enclosed in that of Margaret Fuller; for being born eight years later she died two full years sooner than the Corinne of America. The dissimilarity extends even to her fate; instead of living in a brilliant publicity and attracting widespread notice even by the manner of her death, she spent her days in a half-savage solitude, and died in complete obscurity. The present memoir does not add much to our knowledge of the mere facts of the Brontë family history; what it does accomplish is by a hundred new touches to give roundness and completeness to the image of Emily, and show better cause for the affection with which she inspired the more famous Charlotte. The spirit of revolt against the old hard restrictions of woman's lot seems to have moved strongly in the breasts of both these sisters. Charlotte gave it bitter and eloquent expression in certain pages of *Shirley*; Emily acted it out half-unconsciously in her wild unconventional ways, in her man-like daring of thought and action, even in the creed she fashioned for herself, which was not quite that of the ordinary orthodox Churchwoman. Her one strangely powerful contribution to English literature is not more unique than her own personality. It is a singular nature, not without a "curious charm" of its own; shy as the wild roe, untamable as the panther, pure as fire, strong as death; and yet with a heart of sweet womanly compassion. So well she loved the lonely moorland where she dwelt, and the wild creatures that shared its shelter, that she sickened and drooped even in a three months' absence from it, though she was gay and strong when her foot was on the heather. With such anguish of pity and love did she yearn over her degraded brother—whom she once saved from death by fire, but could

not save from himself—that when he died, slain by his own vices, the silver cord of her life snapped too, and the grave which closed on him in September was re-opened for her in December. Yet she had not desired death, but fought against it with all the power of an unsubdued will. Between her two sisters, with their firm fervent piety, this solitary being dwelt in a stern belief of her own. The last verses her failing hand traced embody a confession of the Divine Unity and Eternity, and breathe a fixed confidence in the Fatherhood of God. It is better to remember the mood thus revealed than to dwell on the cruel spectacle of her last days and of her vain resistance to all-conquering Death.

Even as this warlike spirit struggled against the fixed laws of Life and Death which had doomed her, so did some whose lives we have passed in review set themselves against elemental principles and sacred laws; their chief gain in this disastrous warfare being the scars and stains which disfigure their characters. We come now to one who, without dreaming of revolt, without aspiring to change the settled order of society, initiated a peaceful revolution that is still in progress. Her battle was with ignorance and sin and suffering first, with oppression and abuses incidentally afterwards; her action, begun in simple obedience to the precepts of her Divine Master, tended more than that of any eminent woman we have yet mentioned to the elevation and advancement of her kind. The picture of Elizabeth Fry which immediately rises before the mind's eye when her name is mentioned, is that of the gentle lady in the spotless Quaker garb, with the "Guido Madonna face," speaking the Word of Life to a group of wretched, shameless women in Newgate—a second Una, shining like a star amid beings sunk even to a lower depth than any satyr of Spenser's fancy. Thus Maria Edgeworth saw and described her, and thus an artist of the day painted her; and to her thus engaged the poet Hood addressed a serio-comic rhymed remonstrance, urging on her to "keep her school out of Newgate," and rather to save young forlorn children from the detestable education of the streets than to follow adult offenders into the grim college where they took their last degree in iniquity. Hood wrote in some ignorance

both of the lady and her work—in ignorance also of the might of Christ-like love to redeem even a felon mother from the death of the soul. It was not in Newgate that Mrs. Fry had begun her work of education. The poet's mistaken estimate of her endeavours is still a common one; and it is therefore well that her life-story should have been told once more in an easy, popular way, and that the entire reasonableness of her Christian service should be again set forth. When she was still Elizabeth Gurney, the fair, young daughter of a wealthy house, she had made the great decision between Christ and the world; and she did this with rare thoroughness—she renounced the world at once and for ever, and gave herself immediately to the work of serving God by ministering to His less happy creatures. As a maiden in her father's house, as a matron in her own, she opened and maintained schools for poor neglected children, teaching them herself, and grudging neither time nor money for their benefit. She hesitated some time on the threshold of marriage, fearing lest its duties might clash with those to which she had already pledged herself; but she succeeded in combining with "the profession of matronage" the not less arduous profession of a working philanthropist, without detriment to either. Her many children rose up and called her blessed; her husband also, and he praised her. In the early, prosperous days of her married life she kept a kind of charitable *dépôt* in her country home, dispensing food, clothing, medicine, and Testaments to the destitute in body and spirit. Insensibly, she was drawn into the path that made her famous. The "humiliating duty" of engaging in public prayer and exhortation, to which she was inwardly impelled, trained her for the days when she had to preach to the "spirits in prison," and to give evidence on their behalf before Committees of the House of Commons dealing with prison discipline and management. Then her self-possession was perfect; "her speech flowed melodiously, her ideas were clearly expressed;" her very calmness lent irresistible force to the moderately phrased but most terrible statements which that sweet and powerful voice dared to utter.

When she was drawn to Newgate by the accounts of its

horrors, it was still with innocent hapless children that her work began, so little did she need any exhortation to care for *them*; and by her tenderness to their children she first won the guilty mothers, who were not quite irredeemable fiends, though all their surroundings tended to make them such indeed.

From that unobtrusive beginning she soon passed to the reforming and instructing of the women-convicts themselves; thence to efforts for amending the management of prisons and the treatment of transports, and for mitigating the savagery of the law. That which is her chief distinction amid other lovers of their race is not so much the true piety which impelled her as the supreme intelligence and insight which guided her in all her plans.

She did not work alone; she and her friends well understood the might there is in organised effort; and many obscure, and not a few honoured, names are associated with hers in her long crusade against crime and cruelty. At last the massive indifference of society to the evil at its base began to give way.

That men should be loud in the praise of Elizabeth Fry, and that the sovereigns of her own and other lands should vie with each other in showing her honour, is not so wonderful as that they should honour her by seeking her advice and acting on it. If we no longer bury our untried prisoners in underground cosy cells, nor fling offenders of all classes into one festering heap of human garbage, but treat even the vilest at least with common decency; if our laws no longer breathe a spirit of ferocious revenge, but are framed so as to prevent as well as to punish crime; the credit of this change is first due under heaven to Mrs. Fry and to the noble spirits associated with her, and whom neither opposition, nor slander, nor the ingratitude of those whose good they sought could make to slacken in their zeal.

While toiling for others the gentle lady had to suffer for herself. Her public exertions were carried on amid much private sorrow, amid sickness, and loss, and bereavement. Considering these things, and considering the amount and the character of the work she went through, it is not surprising

that she sank and died at the age of sixty-five; rather, the wonder is that she endured so long. Her beautiful character would be most fitly painted in the immortal words St. Paul employs to describe the very virtue of Christian love itself, which was the ruling principle of her being. It will be long ere those who have thrown off Faith shall attain to such simple clear perfection of all loveliness of soul; long ere their utmost effort for the good of their fellows shall accomplish the tenth part of what she wrought through humble patient following of the footsteps of her Master. The unbelieving world is willing enough to talk philanthropy, and is not altogether unwilling to cultivate it. But that excellent plant is a native of the garden of God; and though it is matter for rejoicing that its seeds have been wafted far and wide, and have even fallen and rooted themselves in the alien soil outside that sacred enclosure, it can never attain to very vigorous growth, or bring forth fruit to perfection, in any other ground than that where it first grew.

ART. III.—THE INDIAN EDUCATION COMMISSION.

1. *Abstract and Analysis of the Report of the Indian Education Commission.* By the Rev. J. JOHNSON, F.S.S., Hon. Sec. "Council on Education." London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1884.
2. *General Council on Education in India.* Third Report. 1883. London: 7, Adam Street, Strand.

WE are half afraid that the very title of this article will be repulsive to many English readers. And yet with those of them to whom India is something more than a mart for Manchester calicoes, or a political arena, we cannot suppose that the religious and secular education of its population is a question of indifference. We propose then to give them a brief and, as far as the subject will admit it, a popular review

of educational work in India, and of the recommendations of the "Commission."

We need say little of the period anterior to 1854, the year after the last renewal of the charter of the Honourable East India Company. For until then no serious attempt had even been conceived to organize any national system of education. Not to speak here of the labours of Carey, Marshman, and Duff, among the higher and middle classes of the Hindoos, the celebrated minute of Macaulay had been drawn up in 1835. This document, after a prolonged and acrimonious contest between the "Anglicists" and the "Orientalists," had established the principle, that the *English Language* should be the great subject of study in Government schools and colleges, and the medium through which all the higher branches of learning should be taught, including not only English literature and history, but all the sciences, and, such is the irony of events, it provided that mathematics, which we had originally borrowed from the Hindoos, were to be taught them also in the language and symbols of the conquering race ! This principle, however, soon secured a universal triumph, so much so indeed that the native youths had to be coaxed, and almost bribed, to attend instruction in their own mother tongue. But, after all, how little progress had been made will appear from the following facts. In 1851 there were only *fourteen general* colleges and high schools in all British India, supported by the Government, besides about half that number of *purely special* colleges, for the engineering and medical professions, these last being maintained exclusively for the training of men for the Public Works and Medical Departments of the Government. Add to these fourteen colleges a few high schools and superior mission schools, and we have pretty nearly all that was being done in the higher education. The Mahommedan community was almost entirely neglected, whilst the education of females, and the primary education of the toiling masses, had not been so much as attempted by the Government. Such was the miserable intellectual result of a century of British rule in India.

But as twenty years—the period of duration of the East India Company's Charter—had now expired, and the question of the renewal of it was sure to arouse inconvenient discus-

sion and inquiry in Parliament, as, indeed, had been the experience in 1833 and 1813, the magnates of Leadenhall Street shook off their slumber, and at length issued the famous educational despatch of 1854. This document emanated officially from the late Viscount Halifax (then Sir Charles Wood), "President of the Board of Control;" but to his credit, be it said, he consulted, in the preparation of it, the late Dr. Duff, Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, and most of the eminent Indian educationists of the day. The broad, generous, and yet practical character of this document is, in our judgment, all that could be desired by any reasonable man who knows India; and it is not too much to say that, if it had only been carried out, there would have been no just ground of complaint to-day, on the part of the most bigoted Hindoo on the one hand, or the most enthusiastic missionary teacher on the other. And though, of course, there would not have been time, in one generation, for its policy to produce a very abundant harvest, the happiest results would have been looming in the near future.

We are obliged, however, to content ourselves with a very brief summary of the chief points of this despatch. It strongly emphasizes the necessity of "diverting the efforts of the Government from the education of the higher classes upon whom they had, up to that time, been too exclusively directed, and turning them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction for the masses." The Government were to establish their schools as models, "to be superseded gradually by schools supported on the grant-in-aid principle." Perfect religious neutrality was to be observed in all schools wholly supported or aided by the State. Normal schools were to be established for the purpose of training native schoolmasters *through the medium of the vernacular languages*. Female education was "to receive the frank and cordial support of the Government, as by it a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men." Finally, a University was to be established, on the model of the London University, in each of the three Presidency cities.

Thirty-one years have passed away since the publication of the despatch, of which the above is a very brief summary. What has been done towards carrying it out, and wherein has the Government most signally failed? In respect to the former question, we have great pleasure in testifying to the marvellous progress that has been made in the *higher education*; indeed, we doubt if an equally rapid advance can be shown in any other country in the world. Early in the period under review, a University was established in each of the three Presidency cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, on the model of that of London. To lend dignity to them, the Governor of each Presidency was *ex-officio* Chancellor, and we believe in each case the Lord Chief Justice was Vice-Chancellor. The Senate, we are bound to say, was chosen with perfect impartiality, no undue preference being given in its constitution to the official or to the anti-Christian element. Indeed, at Madras, one missionary from the Church of England, one from the Wesleyan Society, one from the Church of Scotland, and one from the London Mission were appointed, besides two or three chaplains, and a good number of earnest Christian laymen. The same impartiality was shown in the appointment of examiners, the writer of this article having himself held that office for six years consecutively. In the important and delicate matter of the selection of subjects for the literary examinations, the advice of the principals of the leading educational institutions was always solicited by the Syndicate; and, as a matter of fact, the poems of our evangelical Cowper were for several years the text-book for the matriculation in the London University, and the *Paradise Lost* for the first and second B.A. And then as to the grants-in-aid. Our own experience extends over the first sixteen years from 1854, and during all that period, as we cheerfully acknowledge, we never heard of any complaint of unfairness. At the same time, we regret to have to add that during the last few years we have seen serious complaints of certain new rules which appear to have operated to the disadvantage of missionary establishments, though, unless we had good evidence of an anti-Christian animus on the part of the authorities, we should utterly repudiate the idea of it. Unless

we are greatly mistaken, the grants to the higher class of schools were more liberal than elementary school grants are in England. Thus half the cost of school premises was allowed, as much as £1,000 having been paid in one sum towards the erection of the Wesleyan Anglo-Vernacular Institution at Royapettah. Half the salary was also allowed of any certificated teacher, English, Eurasian, or native. Similarly half grants were given for libraries, furniture, prizes, and school servants, even to punkah pullers—in short, for all the necessary expenses of a school or college. The latest returns we can obtain give £133,000 as the amount of grants-in-aid for one year to private schools and colleges.

And now let us see what have been the results of all this machinery and expenditure, putting the matter as briefly as we can. The Universities have undoubtedly been a grand success, viewing them merely as examining boards. To give our readers some idea of the scholastic value of a pass at the examinations, we may say that the curriculum is about as follows, subject to a few modifications in details which may have been made of late. For the matriculation, two languages are required, of which English must be one, and the other an Indian vernacular, an Oriental classic (Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian), or one of the Western classics—in each language, two three hours' papers being given, one on a prose author, the other on a poet. The whole of arithmetic is required, algebra as far as quadratic equations, and in Euclid the first four books, with deductions. Another paper is given on English history, from the Norman Conquest, on Indian history, and on general and physical geography. Two years of study must intervene between this examination and the First in Arts (answering to the London first B.A.), and two more between this and the B.A. degree examination. It is sufficient to say of these that the subjects are much the same, but the range is wider, and the text-books more difficult. Thus whilst Cowper and Goldsmith would be given for the matriculation, Milton, Shakespeare, Bacon, Burke, &c., are required for the degree; there is also for the latter examination a paper on Mental and Moral Philosophy, and on Natural Science. The M.A. examination, as in London, is mainly confined to one

subject, exhaustively treated, and would not, we should say, be far, if at all, behind its English model in range and difficulty. To sum up here: when it is remembered that all the questions in every subject and in each examination, are *given and answered* in English, we think everybody will admit that a "pass" represents a very respectable amount of technical information, if not of mental culture.

These Universities very early acquired an immense popularity amongst the natives. Stimulated by the greed of gain (for we sadly fear this was the ruling motive), youths of all castes crowded the Government and affiliated institutions: nay, even married men, as we have known to be the case, entered the A.B.C. class, and toiled on for years to gain the coveted passport to Government employment. The following figures will illustrate the progress made:—

In 1857, 198 passed the Matriculation Examination in the Calcutta and Madras Universities, that for Bombay not being then formed.

" 1862, 522	"	"	"
" 1867, 1,123	"	the three Universities.	"
" 1872, 1,486	"	"	"
" 1877, 2,808	"	"	"

And on the whole twenty years, 23,740 persons matriculated. The last number would probably have to be more than doubled if we were to count all the *candidates*, many of whom failed by only a few marks in one or two subjects. On the other hand, as even the matriculation certificate has—or rather had, until a few years ago, when the glut of passed men began to choke the avenues to lucrative employment—a substantial monetary value, we find just what we should have expected, that whilst 17,802 passed the matriculation in the three Universities, in the ten years from 1868 to 1877, only 286 received the degree of M.A., and 1,652 that of B.A. But we shall return to this point. In this keen competition for University distinctions, the Government students for some years carried the palm. Their colleges were considerably increased in number (the first false step in our judgment), from fourteen in 1854 to twenty-nine in 1877. The old ones were greatly raised in efficiency, several distinguished

graduates from Oxford and Cambridge being put over the best of them, at of course very much higher salaries than were paid to their predecessors, or than could be paid to missionaries, however able. The prestige which would, in any case, attach to them was thus so much increased as for some years to throw into the shade and almost paralyze all private institutions. Still the missionaries fought a gallant though unequal fight, and at length won for themselves a very respectable position, and in certain noble instances (the Madras Christian College to wit), even outstripped their powerful rivals. Some high wranglers, counting as dross the pay and pension which the Government could offer to its head-masters, and fired with a holy enthusiasm, volunteered for educational work under the Church Missionary Society. Men not less able and high-souled, though not equally brilliant scholars, were appointed to the charge of schools under the Free Church of Scotland, the Wesleyan, and other societies, and these noble men have contributed in no small degree to the University success just referred to.

But it is our painful duty now to turn to the dark side of the picture, and to direct our readers' attention to the failures of the Government. The first question that strikes one is whether it is not a great waste of money for the State to be supporting directly so many high-class colleges of their own, instead of aiding a much larger number of private institutions that would, in the present state of the country be equally efficient for all practical purposes. Again, no intelligent and unprejudiced person would deny that it is, to say the least of it, a qualified benefit to have such a disproportionate number of educated and half-educated young men loafing about the country, soured at a Government that has, as they conceive, disappointed their just expectations of lucrative employment, and yet precluded by their habits and tastes from manual labour. Are they not likely to become ere long—if indeed, as we strongly suspect, the evil has not already begun to appear—a highly *dangerous element in the body politic*, as their number increases rapidly? Let us hear on this point the testimony of the late Under-Secretary of the Home Department in India, written sixteen

years ago, since which time the alleged danger must have increased in something like geometrical progression. He writes in his annual report :

“Looking to the rapid growth of our educational system, and to the enormous influence for good or evil that a single able and well-educated man may exercise in this country, and looking at the dense but inflammable ignorance of the millions around us, it seems a tremendous experiment for the State to undertake, and in some provinces almost monopolize, the direct teaching of whole generations, above their own creed, and above the sense of relation to another world upon which they base all their moral obligations; and the possible evil is obviously growing with this system.”

And then he concludes with these momentous words of warning :—

“It is true that things go smoothly and quietly, but this is attained by ignoring, not only the inevitable results of early training on the character, and the great needs of human nature, especially in the East, but by also ignoring the responsibility which devolves on the Government that assumes the entire control of direct education at all. If, therefore, while fanaticism is raging around, there is a calm in our schools and colleges, it is an ominous and unnatural calm of impossible continuance, the calm of the centre of the cyclone.”

But perhaps it may be said that the danger just alluded to is, at the worst, only that which belongs to every transition state of society, that it will gradually vanish, education filtering down from the higher to the lower classes. We confess that we are very sceptical on this “filtering down” theory. It is plausible, as a great many unsound theories are ; it goes down with a popular audience, but it will not hold water. Does any sane man believe that the English language will eventually supplant the vernaculars among the common people of India ? Now it is notorious that “Young India” neglect their mother tongue just in proportion as they study English. Indeed, for the most part, they look down with supercilious contempt upon the former. How is it likely then that *they* would favour and aid the primary education of the masses ? No ; we should certainly be the last to disparage a high education, but it must be conducted *pari passu* with the intermediate and elementary, or it is doomed, as we firmly believe, to end in disastrous failure. And yet, though some improve-

ment has taken place of late years, the main efforts of the Government are still directed to English education, and to the well-to-do classes, who could easily afford to pay their own schooling. Thus we find from Mr. Johnston's statistics that in the year 1876-7, whilst the Government spent £92,000, on 3,331 pupils in their own colleges, they only spent £85,439 on 641,376 children of the poorer class. The state of matters appears infinitely worse when we consider what an appalling mass of ignorance is still unrelieved by a solitary ray of light. For reckoning the population of British India at 200,000,000, the following figures will give some idea of the infinitesimally small progress that has yet been made towards a national education. Taking one-seventh of the total population as children old enough to attend an elementary school, the proportion which we believe is adopted in this country, we have—

Children needing instruction	28,571,428
Deduct those attending Government elementary schools	550,790
“ “ attending aided ditto	479,777

1,030,567

So that, after twenty-five years of the operation of this despatch, there are still about twenty-seven millions and a-half of the children of British India of age for elementary schools, and yet totally unprovided for by the Government.*

This state of things is sad enough in all conscience; but it will appear much worse if we take into account the fact that the *females*, for whom only a very elementary education is generally practicable, are included in this number. “Mixed schools” are forbidden by social usage, so that a distinct and special machinery is necessary for the instruction of females. How fearfully this has been neglected will appear plainly enough to our readers when we inform them, on the authority of the “Report,” that the proportion of girls attending school to the entire female population is, for all India, 1 in 849. In the Madras Presidency it is 1 in 403; but in Assam it is as

* Since writing the above, we are glad to have discovered that from 1879 to 1882, when the last official return was made, there has been an increase on this number of 646,236.

low as 1 in 2,236, and in Hyderabad 1 in 3,630! Indeed, were it not for missionary societies, the results of female education would be practically *nil*.

It is quite obvious from the above facts that the main aim of the despatch of 1854 has been set aside. But perhaps it may be thought by some of our readers that subsequent experience may have modified the views of its framers, and led them to the conclusion that, "after all," any scheme for a national education is at present Utopian. We have no hesitation in saying that such is not the case. Indeed, if space permitted, we could easily fill many pages of this Review with quotations from the highest authorities in the Indian Government, ranging over the last twenty years, all expressive of unflinching adherence to the original principles of the said despatch.

We do not wish, however, to be understood as casting the faintest reflection on the honesty of the Government. A great deal, indeed, might justly be said in defence or extenuation of their conduct. For instance, it should in fairness be remembered that there was a powerful Education Department in existence in 1854, in which were to be found many gentlemen of high social standing, or eminent abilities, who would very naturally be opposed to any scheme which threatened to lower their prestige or curtail their incomes. You might as well expect the rector of a fat living to advocate the disendowment of the Established Church as the principal of a Government College to favour the indefinite extension of private institutions. The passive resistance of the bureaucracy in India to any measure of reform is a force which people have little idea of in a country like this, with its vigilant press and almost morbid self-reliance. We must also make full allowance for the ubiquitous *vis inertiae* for which India is proverbial: it is the paradise of *ultra-conservatism*, using this term, of course, in a non-political sense. And if, therefore, we find it so difficult, in a progressive country like ours, to get any great reform achieved, even when all parties approve of it in the abstract—if it took *us*, for instance, till 1870 to get a really National Education Bill, whilst even now loud complaints are made of the evasion of some of its most important

provisions, we must not be too hard upon our Anglo-Indian officials.

Once more, it should not be forgotten, though we fancy Mr. Johnston occasionally loses sight of the fact, that there was no popular demand for such an extensive measure. The poor ignorant *ryots*, who form the bulk of the population, cared far less for education, and do still, we fear, than the most degraded of our English peasantry. There was a perfect mania for English education, for this, as we have already intimated, meant rupees. But the demand for knowledge *per se* had to be created. Indeed, we have a strong conviction that, unless we are prepared to pass an Act for universal compulsory education, a very large proportion of the peasant boys and girls of India will be found as impervious to educational influences as the street arabs of London.

Nevertheless, after making all fair allowance for such difficulties, we do not think the Government can be acquitted of all responsibility for the delay. And, as we are strongly persuaded, a crisis is at hand. We mean that we shall soon have to make up our minds to a definite policy; either to go resolutely forward in the expansion and development of the work already begun, or to beat a retreat, and sever all connection between the State and the education of the people. We cannot continue much longer flooding the country with a race of conceited, discontented *fainéants*; and as soon as the leaders of public opinion in England and India come to realize the fact, long since pointed out by Colonel Davidson, that as much is wrung from the poor Indian tax-payer to educate one rich Brahman as will support a village school with eighty pupils, common-sense will echo their verdict, that the village school shall be at least attempted, if the rich Brahman is called upon to pay for his own education.

Such seems to have been the view of the gentlemen who established the "General Council on Education in India." This body appears to have been formed in 1879, its head-quarters being in London, with a branch committee in Edinburgh. Viscount Halifax was its president, and among the vice-presidents we notice the Bishops of Durham and London, with several members of the aristocracy, well known in the

Christian world, besides distinguished philanthropists such as Sir William McArthur, Samuel Morley, and R. C. L. Bevan. Sir William Hill, K.C.S.I., is the chairman of the London Council, and amongst its members we are happy to observe the names of many old Indian missionaries of various denominations, besides civilians, officers, and merchants, whose influence and purse we have always found at the service of any Christian movement in India. Their aims, as the Report states, were at the first limited, and their expectations small. For when they began, their utmost hope was "to get a fair distribution of the funds devoted to education in India, so far as to secure a reasonable proportion for primary instruction, and grants-in-aid." But now they are able to congratulate themselves with a just pride on having been instrumental in the appointment of the "Indian Education Commission."

On the 7th of May, 1880, a large deputation of the "Council" waited upon the Marquis of Ripon, on the eve of his departure for India, and were well satisfied with the interview. His Excellency had not been many months at his post before he issued to each of the Provincial Governments a series of questions to test the accuracy of the statements which had been laid before him by the "Council," and the answers returned were such as to satisfy him that *a case for inquiry had been fully made out*. Meanwhile, another deputation from the same body waited upon the Marquis of Hartington, then H.M. Secretary of State for India, to present a memorial, signed by upwards of sixty members of Parliament of all parties, and by many other influential men interested in education in India, calling for an inquiry into the working of the Education Despatch of 1854. His lordship expressed his sympathy with the scope of the memorial, and without pledging himself to any change in the existing system, or to the adoption of any special form of inquiry, promised that "the matter should be placed without delay before those who were more competent to deal with it than himself." His lordship was as good as his word, and on the 3rd of February, 1882, the Marquis of Ripon appointed the Commission of Inquiry. The instructions to this Commission were drawn up in a resolution which declared that "its duty should be to inquire into the

manner in which effect had been given to the despatch of 1854, and to suggest such methods as it might think desirable, with a view to more completely carrying out the policy therein laid down, the Government being convinced of the soundness of that policy, and having no wish to depart from the principle on which it is based." The instructions we find no fault with. We regret, however, to be unable to express ourselves as favourably as Mr. Johnston does of the *composition* of this Commission. The President, the Hon. W. W. Hunter, was the best selection that could have been made for that office. But out of twenty-one members, *nine* were paid officials of the department, scarcely the most qualified, one would have thought, to be impartial critics of their employers' acts. The rest were civilians, or native gentlemen, who probably owed their social position entirely to the education which the Government had given them—one clerical rector of a Roman Catholic College, and two Protestant missionaries, one of whom, we are glad to learn, was the Rev. W. Miller, most deservedly respected in Southern India as one of the ablest educationalists, the founder and principal of the Christian College, in which, by the way, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society has a considerable stake. We must confess then that, with the exception of these three clerical gentlemen, we cannot say much for the *independent character of the Commission*. The one consolation we derive from looking over the list of members, some of whom we happen to know personally, is, that no sane man would suspect them of any bias in favour of missionaries and voluntarism. And thus, the two hundred and twenty recommendations embodied in the Report, and passed with practical unanimity, will probably carry more weight, in India especially, than they would have done if the official element had been much smaller.

The *modus operandi* of the inquiry was very briefly as follows:—At the first session, which was held in Calcutta, and lasted about six weeks, the provincial members were formed into committees for their respective provinces, and instructions were framed for them in regard to the kind of evidence and general material they were to collect for the deliberation of the Commission. After a suitable interval, the President

then commenced an eight months' tour of all the provinces, holding sessions of these various committees, and hearing the evidence of nearly two hundred witnesses, and receiving 323 memorials. This enormous mass of matter, filling nine or ten folio volumes, was then considered in a second session of the Commission, which lasted from the 5th of December, 1882, till the 16th of March, 1883. A small committee was then appointed from this body to draw up a Report, which was subsequently signed by all the members of the Commission at their respective homes, and then printed. We have not a copy of it before us, but that does not matter much, as we fear we should neither have the time nor the patience to plod through its *seven hundred* folio pages. Besides, the "Abstract and Analysis," which Mr. Johnston has put together with rare ability, contains the pith of the Report and the 220 "Recommendations" *in extenso*.

We can only deal very briefly with the principal recommendations. But before doing so, we are compelled to dissent somewhat from Mr. Johnston's enthusiastic approval of them *as a whole*. They cannot, for instance, be fairly judged of apart from the Report, and this document is far too bulky to be of use to any but a few professional experts. A handy octavo of two hundred pages would have been, in our judgment, far more serviceable than this gigantic tome, which can scarcely be procured for love or money. It is undoubtedly a colossal monument of conscientious industry, but will even the Viceroy or one member of his Council ever read one quarter of it? The same may be said, *pro tanto*, of the "Recommendations." On the simple score of practical utility, we should have filtered down the two hundred to, say fifty, confining ourselves, in the main, to general principles. As it is, one often has to wade through a perfect sea of technical minutiae. Besides, this extreme prolixity seems to us, much of it, lost labour, as everybody knows that the carrying out of details must of necessity rest with the local governments, who will be obliged to act with reference to the special conditions of their respective provinces. If these were *regulations*, all this detail would be right enough, but as it is, *cui bono*? Several of them, too, we must add, seem to

us trivial or irrelevant. What do our readers, for instance, think of this? "That when an educational officer enters the higher graded service of the Education Department, his promotion should not involve any loss of pay" (Cap. v., No. 1). This is but one sample of others of a similar kind, and as nearly half of the gentlemen who signed these may be supposed to have a *pecuniary interest* in them, prospective or retrospective, we think that most people will agree with us, that such recommendations do not add to the dignity or worth of a document of this kind.* We fail to see also what good can possibly come out of a recommendation like this: "That the Principal, or one of the Professors in each Government and aided college deliver to each of the college classes, in every session, a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen" (Cap. iv., No. 9). How would the unfortunate Professor find time to

"Expatriate free o'er all this scene of man"?

Besides, what a heterogeneous medley such teaching must be when the Government Professor may be a believer in any or no religion under the sun! Finally, not to trouble our readers with any more out of numerous "Recommendations" that we should venture to characterize as irrelevant, trivial, or futile, we agree with Mr. Johnston in his regret, that little, if any, reference has been made to the past failures of the Indian Education Department.

But notwithstanding the drawbacks just referred to, we are pleased to record our strong conviction that there are many recommendations passed by this Commission which, if they can be honestly carried out, will initiate a new and most hopeful departure in the progress of national education.

Passing over many very useful and practicable proposals, which are of too technical a character for our present purpose, we are delighted to observe that the principle laid down in 1854 is solemnly reaffirmed, "that no boy be refused admission to a Government college or school merely on the ground

* We observe that the Hon. D. M. Barbour, Secretary for the Government of India in the Financial Department, has recorded his formal dissent from this recommendation, as being, in his opinion, "not within the scope of the Commission's inquiry." (See *Analysis*, p. 124.)

of caste." Considering that several members of the Commission were non-Christian native gentlemen of high caste, this resolution speaks volumes for the progress of public opinion on this vital question. Nor can we but approve of the proposal to establish in *certain localities* special schools for low-caste children. For, in some cases, we must have some such arrangement, if these poor little wretches are to be taught at all, on the same principle that ragged schools are necessary in England.

We join, too, in a considerable measure, with Mr. Johnston in his satisfaction at the interest shown by the Commission in the *Aboriginal tribes*, though as these degraded races are few, sparsely located, and waning in numbers, and as in many cases *the missionary must precede the schoolmaster*, through the want of any written language, we cannot expect any early results, but must be content for some time to come to take the will for the deed.

The proposals in regard to primary education are conceived in a generous spirit. It was a good idea that of endeavouring cautiously and gradually to improve, and of course aid with grants, the "indigenous schools—i.e., schools conducted by natives of India on native methods." Their "methods" are indeed ludicrously antiquated, as we can testify, and their masters mere hereditary dominies, but anything is better than crass ignorance. So we say by all means try to improve these schools; they cannot possibly be made worse, and if you succeed, they will prove valuable feeders for a higher grade of primary schools.

There are some useful suggestions in regard to the higher aided schools, which we trust may result in the improvement of their status, but the bureaucratic element in the Commission was evidently too strong to permit the hope of an early withdrawal of the direct support of the Government from any of its present colleges; indeed this, in our view, is the most disappointing part of the Report. We cannot see that any permanent injury would be done to the cause of higher education, whilst much money would be saved by the early transference of the three Presidency colleges of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, to native management. Why should

not the richly endowed and prosperous institution at Madras, known as Patchiappa's School, be incorporated with the Presidency College, with the assistance, if necessary at first, of English advice, and of course, an adequate grant-in-aid? We earnestly hope, at all events, that the "Council" will not rest satisfied with the feeble, halting proposals now made in regard to a vital point in their original platform.

The recommendations in regard to female education have our unqualified approval, and if they are carried out, missionaries have a grand chance before them. We are the more hopeful of their leading to a practical issue for three reasons: *first*, because generous recognition is given in the Report to the labours of missionaries in this particular department; *secondly*, because the *results* of female education are so tardy and unpretentious that the Government are not likely to burden themselves with it *directly*; and *thirdly*, because the work itself demands so much unostentatious self-devotion, and we may add, faith in God, that the mere secular philanthropist will be quite satisfied, as we strongly suspect, with "recommending" it. The following proposals are enough to make our missionary ladies' committees, metaphorically, dance for joy:—

"That female education be treated as a legitimate charge alike on local, on municipal, and on provincial funds, and receive special encouragement."

"That the conditions of aid to girls' schools be easier than to boys' schools, and the rates higher, more especially in the case of those established for poor, or for low-caste girls."

"That special aid be given, where necessary, to girls' schools that make provision for *boarders*."

"That grants for zenana teaching be recognized as a proper charge on public funds, and be given under rules which will enable the agencies engaged in that work to obtain substantial aid for such secular teaching as may be tested by an inspectress, or other female agency."

The only fault we find here is that the suggestions for the grants-in-aid are somewhat too *vague* and *elastic*. We submit that it would have been better to propose definite "merit grants," not to exceed a certain proportion of the expenditure,

and conditional, of course, upon the inspector's report as to the competency of the teacher or staff, and the general efficiency of the instruction and management. A small "payment by results" might advantageously be added as a stimulus. But this grant should be quite secondary, for girls' day schools cannot be expected, for years to come, to show much in the way of technical "results" in India, where, as Mr. Hunter, the President of the Commission, himself says, "the school-going age usually terminates at nine, and seldom extends beyond the *eleventh* year." But we do not despair of some such improvement being effected.

The arrangements proposed for meeting the vastly increased cost of a national education seem to us somewhat nebulous, but very possibly they are more distinctly set forth in the body of the Report. We should not expect anything in the shape of an educational budget; but we should have thought that some approximate sum might have been suggested as a reasonable contribution for the present, from the State to the several provinces, for each of the departments it is proposed to subsidize. But all that the Commission have done in this matter, as far as we can see, is to propose that funds for the support and extension of primary education be provided from the following sources:—

1. Municipal and local revenues;
2. Imperial revenues allocated for provincial uses;
3. Fees levied in Board Schools;
4. Certain assignments and contributions from local and municipal funds.

And now as to the *practical result* of the herculean labours of this Commission. Will they initiate a "new departure" in the educational policy, or will they be soon forgotten, leaving matters pretty nearly as they were? In our opinion no sweeping revolution will follow, such as the abrupt abandonment of any considerable number of Government institutions; a violent change of this kind would probably create a panic, and would, in any case, arouse suspicions in the native mind that would be fatal to the interests of popular education. On the other hand, an

advanced policy is certain, though the progress will be cautious, and, for some time to come, much on the old lines, so as to preserve the appearance of continuity. Indeed a forward movement has already begun. The Supreme Government issued on the 23rd of last October a "resolution" on the report of the Commission. This document, contained in some thirty 12mo pages, after complimenting the members of that body on the successful completion of their task, consists in the main of a recital of the chief recommendations of the Report, which are, with two or three exceptions, approved. One of these exceptions, by-the-way, is the recommendation which, before seeing this "resolution," we had ventured to criticize adversely respecting the proposal to lecture the college students on "the duties of a man and a citizen!"

This document is encouraging as far as it goes, but, as Mr. Johnston very properly points out, it falls short of a legislative "Act," which would have been binding on the whole country, whereas the former is *perfectly optional with the various local governments*. It is a hopeful sign, however, that Bengal proposes already to add fourteen lakhs of rupees (£140,000), and Madras half that sum, to its subsidy for education, and that the Supreme Government promises to devote, as far as its means will allow, larger contributions for the same object from the Imperial exchequer. We are decidedly hopeful, then, but if we had any voice in the matter, should deprecate as premature the idea that the "General Council" should now dissolve, or even retire one step from their "watchful position."

In conclusion, we trust that nothing will lead Missionary Societies to contract their operations in any department of education. In the higher department, they are, in our judgment, more needed than ever. There is no fear that they will "glut the market," for there is a practically unlimited sphere of honourable toil for their Christian *alumni*; and as for the rest, secular attainments being equal, they will always be at a premium. Besides, the teaching of Government and secular colleges undoubtedly destroys the ancestral faith without supplying a better. We

are sometimes told from the platform that it prepares the young men for the missionary evangelist. Would that this pleasing theory were true? We have found, on the contrary, that a purely secular curriculum, unsupplemented by the Sunday-school or domestic training, tends to disgust its subjects with religion altogether, whilst it turns multitudes of them into disciples of Bradlaugh and Ingersoll, whose writings are being widely circulated among them.

Is the Church of Christ, then, prepared to sound the note of retreat before such foes?

We are driven, in very self-defence, to maintain a firm, nay an aggressive attitude against the cultured infidelity that is rapidly honeycombing the middle and upper classes of India. If it is asked what we would do, we reply: establish at least one undenominational Christian college for each of the three Presidencies, carrying out the idea so successfully inaugurated at Madras by the Rev. W. Miller. But it must, of course, be a *sine quâ non* that they are permanently manned by a staff of Professors equal in efficiency to those of the Government. If there is an objection to setting ministers to this kind of work, let us secure competent laymen. But they must not be *mere scholars*, but also earnest Christians. Fees and grants-in-aid will go a long way towards meeting the cost of such establishments, and surely the public spirit of the united churches of Britain, America, and Germany, would supply the rest. We would also, by various agencies which we have not time now to suggest, make the evangelization of the educated Hindus a *special and distinct field of labour*, on the same principle that we have Zenana Missions for the upper classes of the females. It is needless to add that such colleges, to answer the end designed, must be fed by a goodly number of thoroughly efficient high schools, which, however, might be largely self-supporting.

As to the *primary* education of boys, the field is so vast that we do not see how Missionary Societies can cultivate it to any considerable extent, especially as they will naturally prefer to expend their resources upon girls' schools and zenana work. Here, for the reasons already stated, we have very strong hope that, before long, substantial help will be given by the local governments, and by municipal boards under their direction.

Here, too, we feel assured that no argument is necessary to persuade the Christian churches of Britain and America to do their utmost to maintain their well-earned reputation, and to deserve the fullest benefit from the anticipated liberality of the State.

ART. IV.—THE REVISED BIBLE.*

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the original tongues : being the version set forth A.D. 1611 compared with the most ancient authorities and revised. Printed for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. 1885.

THE Bible of a nation is not born in a day. Sacred books should be living books. True, the "dead hand" of the Koran has strangled a great part of the life out of the nations that believe in it; the Vedas and Pitakas have passed out of the comprehension of devout Hindus and Buddhists; but the sacred book which we call the Bible is living. The original of what Christians call the O.T. is not a book, but a literature, marked by a marvellous pervasive unity, but extending over 1,000 years, and its relation to the national life of Israel, although the details of it are still the subject of eager contention, exhibited undeniably the characteristics of organic life and growth. The books of the N.T. were indeed produced in one epoch, an epoch exceptional in the history of mankind, but the canon was not fixed for three centuries after the books themselves were written, and its cherished records in their relation to the life of the early Church manifest the same phenomena of vitality. So with the history of the manifold translations of these Divinely inspired books into vernacular tongues. Language is a garment that wears and alters, and must be renewed. If a Bible be a collection of charmed words and magical formulæ, it may, or rather must, remain stationary while the people who reverence it advance. But if it be the record of the revelation of

* Throughout this article the usual abbreviations have been used: O.T. and N.T. for Old and New Testament, A.V. and R.V. for Authorized and Revised Version, LXX. Vulg. Syr. for the Septuagint, Vulgate and Syriac Versions.

the living God, made in human words written long ago, handed down, with more or less of inexactness, in languages the knowledge of which is continually progressing, and if it is to be made fully intelligible to a people whose own language changes, and who themselves are continually advancing in theological, historical and other kinds of knowledge, then successive revisions of the version of that inspired record become a necessity. Change is a law of the finite and human; rest of the Divine and Infinite. Where the Divine and human blend as in the Bible, these laws will work together in harmony, and the Divine Truth remain unimpaired, while the human fashion of its presentation alters, now fading in its colours and outlines, now being renewed in freshness and beauty. To cling unduly to the perishable human is as mistaken as to meddle with the imperishable Divine is rash and impious.

Thus marked by growth and development has been the history of the English Bible. The stages through which it has passed are too well known for us to do more than remind our readers of them. The Venerable Bede died with the translator's pen in his hand. Wiclif, in the fourteenth century, "travailed night and day" over his work of rendering the Gospel in the mother tongue; and Purvey and "many good fellows" revised his work. Tyndale's name has been rendered immortal by his life-long labours in the work for which he died a martyr's death. Others entered into Tyndale's labours, and during the seventy or eighty years after his death the stages which mark the growth of this "plant of renown" are numerous. The names of Coverdale's Bible, Matthew's Bible—a combination of the work of Tyndale and Coverdale, and issued by authority—the Great Bible, with Cranmer's preface, the Genevan Bible, with its introductory epistle by Calvin, the Bishop's Bible, which was that of the Church as the Genevan Bible was that of the people—are sufficient to show how ample was the preparation that had been made for the A.V. of 1611. The translators of that English classic say in their preface: "Truly, good Christian reader, we never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make a bad one a good one: but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one,

not justly to be excepted against : that has been our endeavour, that our mark." That which the six honourable bands of divines said in 1611, the two companies of Revisers appointed by Committee of Convocation in 1870 have repeated in substance, now that, after fifteen years' patient labour, they present to the English speaking world "the version set forth A.D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised."

We have dwelt on these familiar facts that our readers may with us occupy the only point of view from which it is right to judge of the value of this version of the Bible placed in our hands. It marks another stage in an interesting and important history. It is not a new translation, and no one has any right to criticize it as if it were an attempt at re-translation. It may be urged that nothing but a new translation will meet the needs of the times, and something may be said for such a view, though it is not ours. A critic may sneer if he will, as critics have sneered, at what it pleases them to call "patchwork" and "pigeon-Jacobean English." It would be easy enough to retort upon the intolerable crudities perpetrated by men who have taken up the book of Isaiah or the Epistle to the Romans as they would a chorus of Æschylus or a letter of Pliny, rendering it into something they called English, careful only that the newest theories of German scholarship should determine their text and guide their translation. Whether a new translation in our day is possible is one question ; whether it is desirable is another. But neither of these questions is properly before the critic of the R.V. He is asked to give a judgment upon the "restoration" of an ancient and venerable building, and it is nothing to the purpose for him to say that he thinks a new red-brick structure, devised by a rising architect, would be preferable. The Bible of the English people has grown with their growth, and cannot be constructed to order at the pleasure of one generation of Hebrew and Greek scholars. There were reasons enough for revision. The fact that the version of 1611 was unequally executed by six different bands of translators ; that some of their canons of translation were faulty, notably in the non-rendering of Hebrew and Greek words by the same English word where possible ; the progress of scholarship and improvement of critical apparatus during the last century ;

finally, the mere fact that more than two centuries and a half had elapsed since the last version was made, entailing the gradual, imperceptible, but most real changes which the lapse of three centuries will bring—these were some of the reasons which made a revision necessary. But only a revision was ever contemplated, the conditions of the work were distinctly laid down, and our only business is to determine how far the Revisers have been successful within their appointed limits.

It is of the O.T. that we have now to speak. Our opinion on the work of the N.T. Revision Company was given four years ago. But the two Testaments are bound together, and together form the Bible of Englishmen. The fact therefore must be distinctly recognized that the conditions in the case of the two companies were not precisely the same, and that they appear not to have understood their instructions in precisely the same sense. Or it may be, that the O.T. Company have been somewhat influenced by the criticisms which were passed upon their coadjutors four years ago, and have been somewhat more cautious in making changes. Be that as it may, a slight but perceptible difference of style distinguishes the work of the two bodies, but it is a difference of style merely, such as is likely to be found in the work of two different bands of men working under somewhat different conditions and with different difficulties to overcome. We need not dwell on the fact that it was necessary for the N.T. Company virtually to construct a new text. But as regards their style of rendering, which has been so freely criticized, it may perhaps fairly be said, that there was more need for minute accuracy in the rendering of N.T. words and phrases, while there is, on the other hand, more need for the preservation of an elevated and somewhat antique literary style in the rendering of the books of the O.T. If that be so, each company has rightly gauged the conditions of its task, and in any case the version, as a whole, has unity enough of style and structure for the two parts to be handed down together as one work. From the LXX. to the A.V. of 1611, most versions have exhibited inequality in the rendering of their several parts. A difference, but no marked incongruity, is visible between the two parts of the English version of 1885.

What, then, may fairly be expected, and what have we no right to expect, in such a translation of the O.T. Scriptures? We expect, first, intelligibility and clearness of rendering; secondly, as faithful a reproduction of the form of the original as the idioms of language will allow; and, thirdly, the preservation, as far as possible, of the universally recognised majesty and music of the A.V., dear to all lovers of the English language. But it must never be forgotten that every language has its own incommunicable beauties, its own ineradicable deficiencies. These the translator feels as no one else can. A piece of music written for the violin cannot produce the same effect when rendered on the cornet or the hautboy; a piano cannot reproduce the sustained tones of the organ; and no one can judge fairly of a translation of the O.T. who does not bear in mind the genius and characteristics of the Hebrew and English languages.

A translator's first duty is to be intelligible. True, Mr. Matthew Arnold seems chiefly anxious that his delicate and fastidious ear should still be charmed with musical English, and his imagination stirred by words which he confesses he does not understand, "understanding being indeed the least part of the matter!" We expect, however, in any book—in a Bible most of all—intelligibility as a first characteristic. That is, of course, wherever attainable with the existing text as determined by the soundest critical methods. There are passages in Job and the minor prophets which have probably been obscure from the first moment when they were uttered, obscure with the brevity and mysteriousness of an oracle, with the pregnant meaning of a fine poetical phrase. Some lingering obscurities of this kind being allowed for, we justly expect a translator to—translate.

Some characteristics of the Hebrew may be reproduced and some cannot. Hebrew is a language of the childhood of the world. It has a simplicity, vividness, force, such as we expect from an early age, a primitive people. It does not possess the formality, elaborateness, precision, the fine distinctions of the Greek. It has a subtlety of its own, but what we may call an unsophisticated, unconscious subtlety. Its beauty is the slumbering light of the uncut jewel, not the manifold radiance

of the brilliant with its ingeniously and delicately multiplied facets. Its sentences are simply constructed—here the translator's work is easy; but in poetry they exhibit often the irresistible directness of a lightning flash; and an attempt to reproduce that in Western speech would only leave an impression of awkward abruptness. The parallelism of thought, with its "beat as of alternate wings," may be rendered into any language, and is beautiful in all. But the assonances in which Hebrew delights, speaking, as it does, to the ear as well as to the heart, cannot be imitated without bordering upon the ridiculous, as where one translator renders the *mishpat mishpach*, *tsedakah tse'akah* of Isa. v. 7, by "I looked for reason, but behold treason, for right, but behold fright."

The Hebrew tenses cannot be reproduced in some of their uses. Strictly speaking, Hebrew has no "tenses," in our meaning of the word. "To the Semitic idea of time, which knows only the complete and the incomplete, the Indo-Germanic division into three *tempora* (past, present, and future), is quite foreign." Actions are only viewed as they appear to the speaker, complete or incomplete, not as actually having occurred, occurring, or about to occur. The distinction being thus subjective, the point of view may of course be varied in the course of the same narrative, speech, or sentence, and such changes can no more be fixed and reproduced than the changing colours on the surface of a sunlit stream, or the varied iris hues upon the neck of a dove. The introductory particles are simpler in Hebrew than in Greek, and their very simplicity often raises difficult questions. When "and" has to do duty for "even," "but," and "or," and when "that" covers the ground covered by our own versatile conjunction, and also by "for," "because," "when," "although" into the bargain, it is clear that simplicity has its drawbacks for the translator. And who could give the force of the opening particle in Ps. lxiv. 1 and lxiii. 1, expressing, as it does, in a monosyllable the outburst of a completed train of thought. "And yet—in spite of all—this is true, and this only, that " God is good to Israel, that my soul waits on Him alone !

With the vividness characteristic of the Hebrew, shown sometimes in the picturesqueness of a word used, sometimes in the love of the concrete rather than the abstract, the translator must deal as best he may. It is hardly possible to give the *succah* of Ps. xxvii. 5, lxxvi. 2, with all its suggestion of bowery loveliness; but in xxx. 5, the Revisers, by choosing the word "sojourn," contrive to convey the figure that weeping is to be a passing guest only for a night, which with the morning will depart. We cannot say, in Ps. xlv. 1, "my heart bubbles over," but we may say "overfloweth" instead of the tame "is inditing." In Isa. xxxv. 7, the Revisers give us "the *glowing sand* (? mirage) shall become a pool," and in xli. 18, describe the marvel of "rivers on the *bare heights*." In Prov. xx. 1, we see how forcible is the concrete "wine is a mocker, strong drink a brawler," and the literal rendering of xxvi. 7, "the legs of the lame *hang loose*." How much a touch or two will do in this direction we see by comparing with A.V. the description of the bower of the beloved given in R.V. of Song i. 16, 17, "Our couch is green, the beams of our house are cedars, and our rafters are firs."

Other obstacles in the way of the translator, the difficulty of being sure of the meaning of some rare words, and the danger of being misled by the fascinations of similar Arabic roots, we can but note in passing. But all, save a few narrow pedants, will recognize that one difficulty is added to those of which we have spoken, in the necessity of respecting to a very great extent familiar and sacred associations. Where it is needful, these must be disturbed, but their claim is surely, in the judgment of true scholars as well as of the people, stronger than that of a mere mechanical accuracy. In Song ii. 1, should we change "the rose of Sharon," as one critic proposes, into "the crocus of the plain?"

Not to linger too long upon these general considerations, we think it best to give at once, with all the diffidence befitting the circumstances, such opinion as we have been able to form of the Revision of the O.T., endeavouring to sustain it by detailed examples to follow. In the first place, the Revisers have, in our estimation, exactly caught the spirit of their

instructions ; better, if we must make the comparison, than their brethren of the N.T. company. The wisdom of those instructions it is not our business to criticize, while we incline to think them the wisest for the times. But the O.T. company have, as they were bidden, "introduced as few alterations as possible into the text of the A.V. consistent with faithfulness ;" they have "limited the expression of such alterations to the language of the A.V. and earlier English versions," and in other respects adhered carefully, though not slavishly, to the lines laid down for them. Secondly, they have done the main work they were appointed to do, in removing such errors as existed in the version of 1611, and some, though by no means all, of the obscurities which have arisen through changes in the English language since that date ; as far as possible they have introduced uniformity in the rendering of Hebrew words, and, by a number of minute but skilful changes, have made the sequence of thought clear in a number of passages where there was obscurity but no positive mistranslation. Thirdly, in doing this they have not marred the music and rhythm of the version which is so dear to Englishmen. Their success in this is marked, and in some places marvellous. The reader may pass from page to page, even where changes have most freely been made, not of course without the passing pang of missing familiar words, but without finding anything to jar upon the most sensitive ear and cultivated taste. Further, they have enriched their version with results of modern scholarship in the marginal readings, which in some books especially are abundant. But lastly, we do not hesitate to say that much has been left in the margin which should—and probably but for the two-thirds rule would—have found a place in the text ; that archaisms have been tenderly suffered to remain, which might have been removed with advantage on several accounts, and without detriment to the character of the version ; that the Revisers have been somewhat over-cautious in accepting renderings which have approved themselves to most competent Hebrew scholars ; and that a bolder use of the same skilful hand, prompted by the same admirably reverent spirit, would have produced a work more nearly approaching the vanishing point of perfection. But we hold

that such a work as this cannot be approached in a cavilling spirit. Only a large and generous appreciation of its ruling inspiration and significance can enable any one to judge of a picture or an oratorio. And the patient, loving, scholarly, discriminating work of such a body of reverent students upon such a book should be approached much as one would approach a Raphael or listen to a rendering of the "Messiah." The whole English Bible-loving world owes a debt of gratitude to the Revisers for their gift, and in this case imperfect sympathy means imperfect justice. We can only gain the best the book can impart by yielding to it the best appreciation our faculties can give. It is in the spirit of sympathetic but not indiscriminate appreciation that we shall endeavour to do our duty to the Revisers and to our readers.

The question of the text need not detain us long. The Revisers had no materials for making a recension of it. The earliest known Hebrew MSS. date from the tenth century A.D., the majority from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Of the 577 MSS. collated by Dr. Kennicott, and the 825 collated by De Rossi, none can be placed earlier than the tenth or eleventh century. The hopes raised by the discoveries of the Firkowitzsch MSS. forty years ago were disappointed; and after the falsifications of the discoverer had been corrected and careful examination made, the earliest and most valuable of these MSS. proved to be one containing the prophets, dated A.D. 916, the other containing the entire Hebrew Bible, dated 1009. So far as regards MSS. As to other helps in forming a text, the body of tradition called the Massorah, of which a full account was given in our pages twelve months ago, contains an enormous mass of valuable material in helping to determine and preserve the text, but it is only in process of being critically edited by Dr. Ginsburg.* One text only is recognized by it, hence known as the Masoretic, and any changes which seemed to be called for are

* We are glad to see, as these pages are passing through the press, that Dr. Ginsburg, having completed his great work on the Massorah, is about to publish a revision of the Masoretic text by the aid of the materials thus laboriously gathered.

noted in the margin and known by the name K'ri—i.e., "read," as distinct from the text, C'thib—i.e., "written." (The system of vowel-points, by which the pronounciation of every word was accurately determined, dates only from the seventh century A.D.) The only variation from this recognized Massoretic text is found in the early versions. The LXX. version, dating from the third century before our era, is the foremost of these; but in the first place we have no satisfactory critical edition of its text, which was corrupt even in the time of Origen, and in the second place it is obvious that in many parts the translation has been carelessly or ignorantly made and glosses have been freely admitted. The Targums were probably not written till the third or fourth century A.D., and are usually paraphrastic in character. The Peshito Syriac is an early and good translation, but it has been largely influenced by the LXX. and is not an entirely independent witness. The early Latin translations and Jerome's version do not add much to our knowledge of the Hebrew text.

Though no recension of the text has been possible, the authorities that we have mentioned may be of service when doubt arises, and have been so used by the Revisers. As between the K'ri and C'thib, the Revisers have usually followed the latter, and whereas in 1611 the K'ri was always taken, in 1885 it has been adopted only where internal evidence supports it. In the frequently occurring doubt between *lo* (to him) and *lo* (not) the Revisers have followed the K'ri in seventeen places out of twenty. We may mention as samples Ps. c. 3, "It is He that made us, and we are His" (K'ri), the C'thib "and not we ourselves" being placed in the margin. As might be expected, in Isa. ix. 3, the K'ri is followed, "Thou hast increased their joy," again with C'thib in the margin. In Isa. lxiii. 9, the marginal C'thib reads "In all their adversity he was no adversary."

As examples of the passages where the versions have been followed in the text, the Massoretic reading being deserted—"only in a few instances of extreme difficulty," the Revisers say in their preface—we may mention: 1 Sam. xiii. 1, "Saul was [*thirty*] years old when he began to reign," where the numeral is explained in the margin to come from the LXX.;

1 Sam. vi. 18, where the Hebrew reads "meadow," LXX. and Targ. read "stone," the latter being adopted by R.V.; in Ps. xxii. 16, where the Hebrew reads *Ca'ari*, which means "like a lion," but can hardly be fitted into the verse, the LXX. Vulg. Syr. read *Ca'aru* "they pierced" (R.V.), and other versions "they bound." See also Ps. xxiv. 6 and lix. 9; the difference in the Hebrew in the latter case, as in Ps. xxii. 16, is but a single half-stroke of the pen.

Conjectural emendation is universally allowed to have no place in the textual criticism of the N.T., where materials are abundant. The same canon is not admitted with regard to O.T. by all scholars, some of them using this edged tool with a free hand. Amongst the Germans, Ewald, Hitzig and Grätz, Wellhausen in his treatment of the books of Samuel, Merx in his book on Job, together with Dr. Cheyne and some others amongst ourselves, would be disposed to label many passages hopelessly corrupt, and resort to conjecture more or less ingenious to restore it. In some books no doubt corruptions are somewhat frequent; for example, the books of Samuel, Proverbs (where the LXX. gives numerous additions, many of little value), Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Our Revisers have been wise in eschewing this *dernier ressort* of the translator. They do not insert conjectural readings of their own in any case, they desert the Massoretic text very seldom, and only in a small proportion of passages do we find the marginal note "the text is probably corrupt." This course will commend itself to sober scholars in this country, though the advanced will consider it timid and unsatisfactory. But the vagaries of the erudite have no place in a revision of a nation's Bible. The same remark will apply to what we see some desiderate, a re-arrangement of the books of the O.T., and a transposition of passages which appear to them to have been moved from their right place (see for instances, on which we cannot dwell, 1 Sam. xviii., Ezra iv., Ezek. xlvi.). The Revisers on this whole subject have shown admirable judgment in not tampering with their text, but departing from it very occasionally and with good reason.

The improvements in form of the new version are obvious. The arrangement in paragraphs enables the reader to follow

both narrative and poetry more intelligently. The linear arrangement of the purely poetical books is a great gain, and we should have been glad if the Revisers had seen their way to extend it to the greater part of the prophetical writings. Authorities are divided as to the propriety of thus arranging what the Revisers call "impassioned prose," but we may claim Ewald as an authority on our side, while they have De Wette on theirs. The arrangement of the Psalms somewhat more freely in strophes, as is done in such editions as those of Delitzsch and Cheyne, and by the Revisers in some Psalms, and in the Song of Songs, would help readers to understand the construction of each lyric. A difficult question to determine is how far it is possible to indicate a change of speakers by spaced printing. The transition from one speaker to another in Hebrew poetry is often too rapid for us readily to follow it, from which either the conclusion may be drawn that it is desirable to help English readers as far as possible, or the directly opposite one that amidst much uncertainty it is better not to make the attempt. But taking Isa. lxiii. 1-6, for example, and bearing in mind the time-honoured maxim as to the superior impressiveness of things that strike the eye, would not such an arrangement of this sublime dialogue help the intelligence of many an English reader? In Hos. xiv. 8, it is more difficult to apportion the words; the probability, however, being that we have the words of Ephraim and Ephraim's Lord speaking alternately. In Isa. xxviii. 9-13, again, the Revisers have, by a series of slight but skilful changes, brought out the true sequence of thought, showing how the scornful objection of dissolute cavillers is thrown back upon themselves, and God's messenger, who has been taunted with having fed the people with babes' meat, reiterating his tiresome "line upon line, line upon line," makes reply that verily it shall be so; "by men of stammering lips and strange tongue" shall the people who would not learn be taught, and God's judgment shall fall upon them and shall not spare. But all this might be made much clearer if it were possible to use some device that would show change of speakers, whether by the use of occasional inverted commas, or even as Prof. Cheyne does in his edition

of the Book of Psalms, by inserting a parenthetical "God speaketh." But it might fairly be replied that this would be to trench upon the province of the commentator, and many objections to such a course readily occur.

It is a relief in reading the R.V. that the use of italics is limited to such words as are not certainly implied in the Hebrew. The numerous italics of the A.V. give a false impression. Occasionally of course a translator must add words to complete the sense which are not found in the original. Examples of such additions are Ex. xxxiv. 7, "and will by no means clear *the guilty*;" Ps. xxvii. 13, "*I had fainted*, unless I had believed." But R.V. does not needlessly make such additions, so that in Ps. vii. 11, instead of "God is angry *with the wicked* every day," we read, "He is a God that hath indignation every day." The subject of chapter-headings, page-headings and dates in the margin is one that we will not dwell upon beyond saying that we think their omission in the R.V. well-advised.

Turning now to topics of special importance, the Revisers draw attention to one in their preface, on which a word or two may be desirable. In regard to the rendering of the tetragrammaton JHVH, the usage of the A.V. has been adhered to, and LORD or GOD printed in small capitals represents the ineffable Name, except in a few cases where a proper name seemed to be required. This is, in our view, a specimen of the Revisers' wise conservatism, though it is one that many scholars will condemn, and the American Company suggests the substitution of Jehovah throughout. This question will illustrate typically the difference between the point of view of a scholar publishing a translation in a critical edition and revisers issuing a version of a nation's Bible. The word is undoubtedly a proper name, even though it be not true, as has been stated, that there is "as much difference between JHVH and Elohim as between Jupiter and Deus." Three arguments, however, may be briefly stated against the use of "Jehovah." It has, as Mr. Arnold says, to English ears "a mythological sound;" it is, as most know, rather a symbol than a word in Hebrew, being formed of the consonants of one word and the vowels of another; and the use of any such name would

interrupt the continuity of the Old and New Testaments. "Jahveh," the form of the word now most generally accepted by scholars, is hardly tolerated in England, and is of course impossible in an English Bible; "the Eternal" (used in French versions, by Rowland Williams, Mr. Arnold and others) is a doubtful translation; at best it represents but one side of the meaning of the word, and is out of place in many connections. The Revisers have certainly taken the best possible course under the circumstances. We wish that the various names of God could have been more clearly distinguished in the text. By the help of the margin the names Jehovah, Jah, El, Elohim, Adonai, may be distinguished, but many English readers will fail to follow these indications. The names Shaddai (Almighty) and Elyon (Most High) are of course sufficiently indicated by translation.

The Christology of the O.T. is a very important subject, and many will ask almost first of all, how have the passages which refer to Christ been treated by the Revisers? * The answer is that there is no substantial change that in any way can affect doctrine, though changes have been made which will fix attention upon the primary historical meaning of psalms and prophecies, and shed a light new to some minds upon the relation between the two Testaments. These changes will check the tendency to "find Christ everywhere," after the fashion of some interpreters more pious than wise, though undoubtedly He will none the less be found in the whole Bible by those who know how to seek Him. The promise concerning "Shiloh" in Gen. xlix. 10 is unaltered in the text, though the margin shows that authorities are by no means agreed upon reading or rendering. Text and margin together give us four alternatives, drawn from two different readings according to the presence or absence of the letter "yod" in the text. Thirty-eight Hebrew and almost all Samaritan MSS. have no "yod," and it may be said that we

* We can only refer in a note to a pamphlet on this subject by Canon Cook, the substance of which appeared in a letter to the *Guardian* of August 12. We cannot altogether share in the Canon's condemnation of the marginal renderings, and his views of their relation to Christian doctrine.

have no evidence for it till the tenth or eleventh century A.D. The LXX. Syr. and Targum of Onkelos are virtually on this side, and read "till he whose right it is—or that which is his—shall come." If "Shiloh" be read, objections are made both to the use of the word as a proper name indicating the Messiah, and to making it the object of the verb, "till he come to Shiloh." The confessed obscurity of the passage, and the difficulty of fixing upon a rendering supported by a decided weight of authority, justify the course the Revisers have taken.

The passage, Job xix. 25–27, also obscure and very differently rendered by different authorities, runs thus in R.V. : "But I know that my redeemer" (margin "vindicator") "liveth, and that he shall stand up at the last upon the earth, and after my skin hath been thus destroyed, yet from" (margin "without") "my flesh shall I see God." This alters the passage from an apparently direct prophecy of Christ to what it undoubtedly was—the expression of Job's conviction that God would in His own way vindicate his cause after his death, and that he should "see" the divine vindicator. In Ps. ii. 12, "Kiss the son" removes the direct but leaves the indirect application to Christ. In Ps. xlv. 6, on the other hand, the Revisers have retained the traditional rendering, "Thy throne, O God," and given a place in the margin to "Thy throne is the throne of God"—i.e., a divinely established and sustained throne, herein following the orthodox commentators Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Perowne, and Pusey, against the scholars Gesenius, Ewald, and Hitzig.

Isa. vii. 14 has been judiciously treated. The more literal rendering is found in the margin, "Behold the maiden is with child and beareth a son," but the sacred associations with the text as it is quoted in the N.T. plead powerfully for the retention of the A.V. translation. The argument from prophecy, it must be distinctly understood, would not be impaired, though at first sight it might seem so, by the primary application of these words to the immediate circumstances of the history of Judah. In Isa. ix., besides the clearing up of the first verse, which every Christmas Day and on every comparison with the N.T. has been felt to be obscure, we may notice

verse 5 as an example of the Revisers' success in changing a musical inaccurate rendering into one at the same time accurate and musical—"For all the armour of the armed man in the tumult and the garments rolled in blood shall even be for burning, for fuel of fire." In the list of names to be given to the Child-Deliverer the omission of the article is one of those slight changes which effect a great improvement—"Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace."

The changes in the paragraph Isa. lii. 13, liii. 12 are comparatively slight, and do not affect the personality of the "servant of the Lord." We decidedly prefer the marginal renderings in lii. 14, 15. The changes in the tenses liii. 2, 3, "He grew up, he was despised," while needed for accurate rendering, for consistency's sake, and to complete the picture of the suffering servant as portrayed by the prophet, do not prejudice the question of the immediate reference of the words.

The extremely difficult passage, Dan. ix. 25-27, requires the good offices of the commentator, and to discuss it here would be impossible. In Hag. ii. 7, "the desirable things of all nations shall come" is undoubtedly the correct rendering. So the verse was read by Dr. Adam Clarke, who, by the way, had anticipated many changes made by the Revisers. The singular noun *chemdath* should rather follow the number of the plural verb than *vice versa*, and the context appears decidedly to show that there is no reference here to a personal deliverer, however true it was that such a one, desired of all peoples, should in due time appear. Unnecessary reproach has been cast upon Christians for the use in a Messianic sense of many O.T. passages which originally had no such meaning. The R.V. will help to clear up some of these mistakes, without in the least impairing the force of the argument from prophecy rightly understood. The whole subject of the quotations made from the O.T. in the New is an interesting one, and the bearing of the Revision upon these quotations would easily furnish matter enough for the rest of our space, but we must pass on with this mere indication of a subject well worth pursuing.

Space will not permit our selecting, as we had intended, some examples of the Revisers' work, from Genesis to Malachi, to show the principles on which they have proceeded in actual

translation. But, passing over the earlier books, we may say that no book needed revision more, and none has more benefited by it, than the Book of Job. To show this would require a whole article. A specimen, however, may be observed in the opening of ch. xxviii. by any one who will study the passage in a Parallel Bible. For the first time the English reader can see without help that we have here a fine description of the miner's work :—

“Man setteth an end to darkness,
And searcheth out to the furthest bound
The stones of thick darkness and of the shadow of death.
He breaketh open a shaft away from where men sojourn :
They are forgotten of the foot *that passeth by* :
They hang afar from men, they swing to and fro.”

The descriptions of the horse in xxxix., of the hippopotamus and crocodile in xl. xli., are remarkable for their preservation of the fine points of the A.V., and for the taste and skill with which the corrections of its inaccuracies have been introduced :

“Hast thou given the horse his might?
Hast thou clothed his neck with the quivering mane?
Hast thou made him to leap as a locust?
The glory of his snorting is terrible.”

The crowded margins in the Book of Job show that the Revisers have often found it no easy task to choose between rival interpretations ; but so far as our examination has proceeded we are convinced, though we have not space to prove it, that the Revisers have accepted nearly all the best renderings suggested by modern scholarship, while in the margin is ample evidence that what they have not accepted they have duly considered.

The music of the Psalms remains. The familiar features beloved as those of our dearest friend are there unaltered, but a thousand slight flaws and obscurities have been removed and a thousand latent beauties appear, though the deft fingers which have renewed the picture hardly leave a trace of their working to the unpractised eye. We hardly know where to turn for illustrations, they are so abundant,

but turn to Ps. lxxxiv., our Sunday morning portion. The conservative taste of the Revisers has left "How amiable are thy tabernacles," admitting "lovely" only to the margin, and we are glad of it; but how the meaning of the pilgrim-song is brought out as we read

"Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee,

In whose heart are the highways to Zion!

Passing through the valley of weeping, they make it a place of springs,
Yea, the early rain covereth it with blessings."

The prophetic writings have gained greatly by the Revisers' patient care. We hardly know whether to be most struck by the many slight touches which clear up the sequence of thought in a passage, or the complete way in which a confessedly obscure verse is dealt with. Take an example of each. In Isa. i. observe the superiority of "deal corruptly" over "corrupters" (4); "fester" over "putrefying," and "oil" over "ointment" (6); the graphic "booth" (8); and "*trample* my courts" (12); also the striking break in 13 expressive of sternest indignation. We venture to think the archaism "cannot away with" is one of those which is misleading and should have been altered. Or turn to ch. xxxiii., mentioned by Mr. Arnold in his "*Isaiah of Jerusalem*," and see how a number of minute touches sharpen all the outlines before the reader's eye, and especially how the changes in the tenses make the whole scene vivid. In verse 3, "the peoples are fled, the nations are scattered." In verse 4 we seem to watch the locusts leaping upon the green fields to lay them bare, and the spoiler leaping upon the spoil. From verse 7 onwards we have the desolation of Judah depicted in sentences as rapid and figures as vivid as the lightning: "Lebanon is ashamed and withereth away; Sharon is like a desert; Bashan and Carmel shake off their leaves." All this but prepares the way for the climax of verse 10, "Now will I arise, saith Jehovah." The substance of all this is of course in the A.V., but how much more clearly it appears in the B.V. the careful reader will not fail to mark.

For specimens of the way in which an obscure passage is dealt with, we might refer to Zech. xiv. 6, or Mal. ii. 15. In

neither of these cases is all obscurity removed, nor can it be fully removed without a commentary; but in both cases we have the best and most intelligible meaning in the text, and in the margin alternatives, such as have commended themselves to scholars.

These said margins would of themselves furnish material for a more substantial article than space could here be found for. No fair judgment of the work of the Revisers can be formed without giving prominence to the subject of marginal readings. The judgment of the critic who calls the revision "a paragraph Bible with revised margins," is absurdly unfair. Still—whether owing to the "two-thirds rule" or not—there can be no doubt that the Revisers have relegated a great deal of most valuable work into the margin. It is unfortunately not sufficiently the habit of even intelligent readers of the Bible to study the margin, nor do ministers often draw attention to it. All we can do here is to hint at its contents. The Revisers in their preface have arranged the marginal notes in eight classes, which may be summed up as referring either to various readings, various renderings, parallel passages or explanations.

(1.) Among the variations in Hebrew readings, in addition to the passages already adduced, where the K'ri is adopted in the text, and the C'thib in the margin, or *vice versa*, we may mention Judges xviii. 30, where the reading ought certainly to be "Moses," but the scribes, jealous for the honour of the great lawgiver, inserted a small "n," making "Manasseh," as in A.V. In 2 Sam. xii. 31, a slight change in the Hebrew text would give "made them labour at the brick-kiln," instead of "made them pass through the brick-kiln," but the suggested alternative is rightly reserved for the margin. The interesting alternative readings inserted from ancient versions are very numerous, though these are often only of the nature of glosses. As specimens we give Gen. xlvii. 21, "He made bondmen of them" (Samar. LXX. Vulg.) instead of "removed them;" Josh. ix. 4, "took provisions," instead of "made as if they were ambassadors." In Jer. xxvii. 1, the true reading "Zedekiah" instead of "Jehoiakim," is found in the Syriac, the LXX. having a gap here. The section begin-

ning with Ezek. xl. many variations in the versions and readings testify to some uncertainty in parts of the text.

(2.) The largest proportion of marginal notes consists of alternative renderings, introduced by "or." A few specimens must suffice. At Gen. xxv. 27, for "plain man" margin gives "quiet," "harmless," Hebrew "perfect." In Gen. xxxvii. 3, the description of Joseph's coat, "a long garment with sleeves," which might have been expected in the text, is found in the margin. In Ex. xx. 6, "a thousand generations" is probably the true rendering (see Deut. vii. 9). So most scholars translate the phrase, but the Revisers, who perhaps feared the charge of tampering with the Ten Commandments, have modified the meaning by placing a comma after "thousands." In Ex. xxv., for "shew-bread" we find "presence-bread" in the margin. In Deut. vi. 4, are some suggestive alternatives in the rendering of the passage so sacred to Jews, known as the *shema*. Ps. civ. 4 is a verse much discussed, and the meaning surely is best given by the translation approved by the American Company, "Who maketh winds his messengers, flames of fire his ministers." Ps. cx. 3 is obscure, as the marginal notes, five in number, show. In Isa. lix. 19, a favourite text is relegated to the margin: but many good people who speak of the "adversary coming in like a flood," do not know where the phrase comes from. We would commend to them the study of the whole passage in the new version.

(3.) Often in the margin we have the literal rendering of the Hebrew given, as in Gen. i. 20, "swarm with swarms," and in 1 Kings xix. 12, "sound of a gentle stillness." Again, explanations of words in the text are given. Sometimes these are proper names—Eve, Cain, Noah; and when the name does not seem to be directly derived from a root, but only to show a similarity to it, the margin points this out. Cain, for example, can hardly be derived from *kanah*. Other examples are Abrech in Gen. xli.; Jashar (now rightly spelt), Tartan and Rabearis; while some explanations are given in the form of references to other chapters (see 2 Kings xxiii. 5, Chemarim; Isa. xxx. 33, Topheth; Neh. iii. 15, Shiloah). These parallels, rightly

used, will help the Bible reader. The Revisers draw attention to the repetition of certain passages—e.g., Ps. lxx. and cviii., to discrepancies in names (see Gen. x. and 1 Chron. i.). They point out the different arrangement of Hebrew chapters in Ex. xxii. and Lev. vi.; tell us where the portion of Daniel written in Aramaic begins, and the like.

There remain some topics at which we can only glance. The Revisers have made a marvellous improvement upon the A.V. in uniformity of rendering. The translators, in their Preface of 1611, distinctly tell us they did not aim at this—"did not stand curiously upon identity of phrasing," as they term it; and the Revisers, of course, have not slavishly bound themselves by a rule on this matter, as in two languages it is often impossible to find two words covering anything like the same area. In Prov. xxx. 3, for example, we lose the point of a comparison by needing to use three words where the Hebrew uses one. And let any one who wishes to study this matter take the word *elohim*, and see how many different renderings are necessary to give its meaning in different connections. The Revisers' usage in this matter, and in the rendering of *sheol*, would require an essay to itself. The Americans desiderate more uniformity in the rendering of *chesed*, but careful examination will often show good reason for apparent inconsistency—as, for example, in the rendering of *se'irim*, Lev. xvii. 7, "he-goats" (margin, "satyrs"), Isa. xiii. 21, "satyrs" (margin, "he-goats"). In the former case the word refers to the shape of an idol, and the Revisers have rightly declined to follow the LXX. *δαίμονια*: in the latter case the use of the word is mythological. It is to be regretted that we cannot distinguish more clearly between certain Hebrew words—as, e.g., the various words for "man"—the pathos of a passage being sometimes lost for want of a word to set forth man in his weakness and frailty. So with the very various words for idols, which the Revisers have to some extent distinguished. But we must forbear.

How far should Hebrew words be left untranslated? The Revisers have, on the whole, acted wisely in the middle course they have taken. Abaddon, Aaherah, Belial, Dammesek, Nephilim, Sheol, are some of the words they have

left. They have translated Arabah, Chemarim, Negeb, Rephaim, Shihor; and we confess we should have been glad if they could have seen their way to adopt some intelligible English phrase for each, wherever a proper name was intended, always putting the Hebrew in the margin. But any attempt at laying down a logical rule is tolerably sure to be thwarted in practice, and an example like *teraphim*, where the Revisers have rightly given the distinctive word in their text, starts up to check our half-expressed wish.

The latest results of knowledge in natural history and geography, acquired chiefly during the last century, are, as we might expect, embodied in the Revision. But the Revisers have been cautious here also, and have not made changes to suit a clever guess or novel and ingenious conjecture. The following are a few examples. *Tachash*, A.V. "badger;" R.V., "seal" (dugong or porpoise?). *Shaphan*, A.V., "coney;" so R.V., with the explanation given in the margin of Lev. xi. 5, "Hyrax Syriacus, or rock-badger." *Re'em*, A.V., unicorn; R.V., "wild-ox." *Tan*, A.V., "dragon;" R.V., "jackal" (see Isa. xiii. 22, &c.). Behemoth and leviathan in Job xli, xlii, are explained in the margin to mean the hippopotamus and crocodile. The various words for lion are distinguished as far as possible. "Peacock," in Job xxxix. 11, becomes "ostrich," and the whole passage is made intelligible. The Revisers have made some corrections in the names of trees and plants—*e.g.*, *terebinth* now appears in its proper place; *shittim* is translated "acacia;" the papyrus is indicated in the margin of Ex. ii. 3, "ark of bulrushes," but finds its way into the text in Isa. xviii. 2. Similarly, in Job xxxi. we have "broom" in the text for *Rothem*; in 1 Kings xix., "juniper" in the text, and "broom" in the margin. These illustrations are sufficient to show that the Revisers have made certain needful changes, but have been chary of disturbing old associations, and have not gone as far as they might towards attaining what is in full unattainable, scientific accuracy in every case.

The question of the retention of archaisms is naturally one mainly of taste. There is room for great variation in the application of the rule that all phrases should be retained

which "cause no embarrassment, and lead to no misunderstanding." We certainly do not agree with the American suggestions on this head, which would go far towards destroying the whole character of the version. But in applying their own rule, the English Company have leaned very decidedly towards the conservative side. We need not multiply examples of which we have a long list. "Ancients," "astonied," "bruit," "chapmen," "coasts" (for regions), "delicates," "fat" (for vat), "grialed," "tired" (for attired), "sith," "tabering," "rebatement," the spelling of "jubile," "heir," "bason," "cieled," "marish," may suffice. We should be loth to lose "wist" and "holpen" and "withal," but we could spare "roar" and "howl," as applied to persons, and the frequent use of "stink" where "stench" is better. We are more disposed to agree with the Americans on the desirability of change in passages which to modern ears sound indelicate. Prudery is always in bad taste, most of all in a version of the Bible. But it is exceedingly desirable that, as far as possible, every part of the Bible should be so phrased as to be capable of being read aloud. Some parts, of course, are unsuitable, because of their subject matter, and we do not speak of these. But the principle which would read "inward yearnings" in Isa. lxiii. 15, instead of "sounding of thy bowels," is one which more fully carried out than the Revisers have been disposed to do, would make many parts of the Bible more impressive and more useful. The Revisers have thought such a change to be "no part of their duty," and we do not think it to be ours to do more than record an individual opinion.

In closing this inadequate notice of a great work, we would beware of not being able to see the wood for the trees. It is so easy to lose oneself in detailed examination, so difficult to keep before the eyes the character of a whole work which must be examined in detail or not at all. We close the book with the sense that we have been walking in a stately sanctuary, on which many hands have been long and patiently engaged repairing the ravages of time, renewing for this generation the lovely lines in stone-work and wood-

work which the lapse of years has made it difficult to trace, restoring, or for the first time defining, to the English student, sharpness of outline, delicacy of colour, finish of workmanship. We leave it, for the moment, with expressions of deep gratitude to the Revisers for the results of their long, arduous, scholarly, and successful labours. We can have no doubt that for long enough to come it will afford material for study, such as in the few months that have elapsed since its issue it has been impossible to give.

We gladly leave behind us all minute and wearisome discussion between Conservative and Radical schools of critics as to the amount of change which it was desirable to introduce into a new version, as we think of the main result of the issue of the Revised Bible of 1885. The chief benefit of this epoch-marking and epoch-making book will be most vigorously to stimulate the growing interest in Biblical study. It is at the same time fruit and seed in this respect, effect and cause. It testifies to increased Bible study in all directions, theological, linguistic, historical, geographical, and archæological; and it will stir up in the minds of tens of thousands an interest in these studies which no number of commentaries, however able or popular, could of themselves effect. It will doubtless send many to such commentaries, which happily are now numerous and cheap. The R.V. will be the best of commentaries upon its great predecessor, and as such for the present it will be used. What will be its further history it would be idle, so soon after its publication, to forecast.

If the full benefit of the publication of this version is to be reaped, ministers must do their duty in thoroughly studying and intelligently explaining it. Minute and accurate knowledge of the Bible is not as common amongst ministers as it used to be. Especially as regards the O.T., which forms our immediate subject, intelligent acquaintance with its contents, and discriminating use of them, are sadly too rare. Let it not be said that in these days it is hard to be *homo unius libri*. When Mr. Wesley announced that as his aim, he was a great reader, a voluminous author, and knew the inside of more classical books than most ministers now-a-days know the outside of. But the minister should always be a man

of one book, in the true sense of the term. If he does not know the Bible well his people will not. If he does not love its detailed study, his people will certainly find it dry and uninteresting. And now, after helps in that detailed study have been provided in abundance for a generation past, the greatest achievement of the century in England has just been completed, to shame us all by showing us how little we previously knew of the Book of books, and to stimulate us by making its study easier and more delightful. The English Bible has largely moulded the English character in the past, as Carlyle, Ruskin, and M. Arnold—to go no further—have abundantly testified. It ought to do so still more in the future. A mighty stimulus in this direction has been provided by the volume which will distinguish the year 1885 in history, and conduce unspeakably towards the intelligent appreciation and heartfelt love of the English Bible throughout the great English-speaking world.

ART. V.—FIJIAN SUPERSTITIONS.

THE whole of Fiji is now a Christian country with not a single professed heathen in it, and with the horribly distinctive characteristic of cannibalism entirely effaced from the practices of the people. No one has the right to take the expression "Christian country," as used of Fiji, in an absolute sense, as implying that every person in it is a follower of Christ in morality of life, or even holds an intelligent belief in the main doctrines of the Church. But, as England is a Christian country, with its wife-beaters, pickpockets, and educated swindlers; as France is a Christian country, and Germany and Russia likewise lay claim to the distinguishing appellation; so also is Fiji a Christian land. It ought then to surprise no one that these new converts of the South Seas, who have just emerged from the shades of heathen fears and oppressive dread of the powers of the unseen world, should still be superstitious. In Scotland, which for centuries has been

exorcised by the thunderings of John Knox, and the clear, if lengthy, expositions of his numerous descendants in office—even *there* linger “uncanny” thoughts and “wæfu’” superstitions. In Christian Fiji the natives are peculiarly liable to recurrences of their old fancies in a curiously modernized form—i.e., modified by some things they have learnt from their new faith, and which are often worked most incongruously into the superstition of the hour. In certain political conditions, or under circumstances of general trouble, the native mind gets into a state of unrest in which it is exceedingly sensitive to impressions of a supernatural character, and ready to yield itself, unreasoning, to any delusion that may jump with its own inclinations. Here comes the harvest of the impostor; herein, too, is subject of interest for the psychologist; and herein lies a danger for the Government, to which it cannot be too much awake, and the indications of which, however trumpery, childish, and absurd they may appear, it cannot afford to neglect. A glance at the pre-Christian character of the Fijian superstitions, at their appearance, often in a modified form, after the conversion of the people to their present professed faith, at their recent developments, with their bearing on the present state of affairs, will be attempted in this paper.

The Fijian, in the heathen era, had many beliefs as to the unseen world, the gods and people of the other life, and their power to affect the dwellers in this life for good or ill, especially the latter. As it is so much easier for *human* beings to do mischief than to work beneficently, so, in the native mind, spite and freak and harmfulness were more in accordance with the bent of the spiritual powers than was blessing, and the people served their gods in dread. Where Nature wore her brightest smiles, under a clear blue sky, the genial warmth of the sun tempered by a balmy breeze, and all the requisites of life conveniently at hand; in a land of enchanting beauty, where wealth of vegetation, loveliness of flower, and plenitude of fruit was altogether suggestive of peace and brightness and happiness—there, strange to say, the people’s religion was that of *fear*, of deprecation, of continued attempts to appease. Yet there was not lacking a conviction that the power of the tribal deity would be exercised for the benefit of

his people. And this religion was, singularly enough for such a savage race, a system of *abstractions*. The Powers were spiritual! This people did not deify the wind, the rain, the sea, the lightning or the thunder, the earthquakes; not even the silver moon, nor any other natural phenomena. These were under the control of powers, but were not divine themselves. Nor did they worship idols! Carved and graven images as representatives of the divine they had not. There were carved figures, or rather busts, but these were not gods, but ornaments of chiefs' houses or of war canoes. The Powers were spiritual! But there came in also the doctrine of *possession*. The gods would dwell in the shark, or wing their way over the salt wave in the form of a sea-bird known as the *lawedua*; would enter into a smooth stone selected from the bed of a running stream, or would come in power and take possession of a man. The human frame was a favourite tabernacle of an indwelling deity; there was a distinct class, an hereditary order, ranking next the chiefs, that of the priests; and the spiritual forces loved to incarnate themselves for a brief time in these. Before the assembled people the *Bete* (priest) would go off into shakings, into convulsions, into a trance, and would utter shrill cries and oracular words to which the people would listen with awe. After a time the poor *bete* would shake himself together again, open his eyes, and feel his earthly tabernacle much debilitated by the late supernatural tenant. But drinking a large draught of *yanggona* he would fall asleep, and waking, be as other men. There was one satyr of a deity, Ndautheëna, who used to confine his visits to the gentler sex; and the missionary has been awakened in the dead of night by excited applicants for medicine, such as should dispel the foul fiend and restore the distressed female. Chlorodyne was exhibited, with effectual results. Not the gods alone held commerce with women and with men, but the spirits of the departed could return and exert power over those they had left behind them. In the house of a member and communicant of the church at Nasengi Kadavu, the following incident took place:—A man died of stoppage in his throat, and the natives said that after his death his spirit cried for the soul of his wife to join him in the invisible world. His wife was taken

very ill the same day, and did indeed soon follow him, whether he had really wished it or no. While she lay a-dying her friends filled the house with cries, imploring her spirit to stay with them and be their comfort, and not depart after the shade of her husband.

A number of cases might be cited to illustrate the Fijians' belief in spirits, and to show that their deities were spiritual and held frequent communication with mankind. The people, in truth, have never been altogether free from these ideas and impressions, and at times their superstitions have broken out amongst them with unusual power. And in the more Christianized parts of the country the old notions have come up, intermingled with biblical lore, and asserted the greater power for that. Under no circumstances, heathen or Christian, does the Fijian lose his hold of the other world—his profound impressions of another state of being. In times of general distress, of considerable disturbance and fear, other-world thoughts come very largely into play. In the great epidemic of 1875, when the country became a charnel-house, there came reports of strange dreams and of curious intimations, or even of actual visitations from the spirit-world. A remarkable dream, almost Miltonic in its conceptions, was reported by a young man, Taituse (Titus) of Tokatoka, and it circulated freely amidst the population of the Reiva delta, and made a great impression. The fatal disease had only then begun its fell career on Bau, and had not extended to the Reiva district; but this young man was shown in symbolic dream-pictures what was to happen. From the Point of Kaba he looked across the waters to Bau, and behold! there was a strange ashy rain descending on the town, and in and about amongst the houses were sparks of light and flashes of strange fire. Thunders could be heard growling about the place. In the background and over Bau was a great dark cloud. By him stood one to interpret. "Do you see that?" spake his mentor; "the light shower of ashes denotes the punishment coming on the people of Bau for their sins; the dark cloud above means *wrath* yet to come. Go and tell your own people, and warn them to repent of their sins: if you are negligent, I will send a horse to you that will require it of you." He went

home, but forgot or neglected his commission. In time a dread mysterious pale horse came at full speed across the flat country, and, stopping at Taituse's hut, demanded why he had neglected his duty. The wretched man was profuse in his supplications for mercy, but the speaking horse required that a particular locality should be assigned to him to feed in, and Taituse allotted to him all Vuci (his own native village); and "sure enough," say the people, "nowhere has death made such ravages as at Vuci. On Bau the first effects of the great sickness were serious, but the after-effects became awful; and where Titus saw the fires most prevalent, in that particular quarter of the city the mortality has been greatest." We have given a sketch of the dream, but cannot portray the effect produced upon the mind of the people by it and by the strange correspondence between its predictions and subsequent events. In the mountain regions of the Sigatoka river, where Christianity had been but just adopted, and teachers of the new religion received—there, on the appearance of the epidemic in the hills, the old gods just rose *en masse* (if such a phrase is applicable to immaterial beings) and drove the intruders away. For the old gods were not altogether thrown over when the new faith was formally adopted. In some places the Fijians never really abandoned the god, but simply relegated him. They did not relinquish all belief (if any) in his existence and power, but dismissed him, announcing that they had adopted the God Jehovah; and so, as a cast-off acquaintance, he passed out of their immediate and public recognition. He did not, however, pass out of existence, but could be recalled again and reinstated in the public recognition of his former worshippers. The Rev. Thomas Baker (martyr of Navosā), in his pioneer journey to the heathen heights of Soloira, found the chief and people actually performing the ceremony of bidding adieu to their ancestral god preparatory to their acknowledgment of the Christian's Deity. "The chief speaker addressed himself to the supposed spirit, and said: '*Salako, ko iko; keitou a daugaravi iko eliu. Ia, ogo sa oti. Keitou sa lotu. Salako!*'—'Thou goest; we used to worship you formerly, but now we do so no more, for we are now Christian. Adieu!' I would just remark that the chief of Vunibus im-

posed a fine upon one of his townafolk on the following Monday for paying some untoward mark of respect to their former deity after they had all agreed to have no further communication with him." These relegated divinities could then at any time come back again, could reassert themselves, speak again through a human medium to the people, and be again believed in by their old followers, or their descendants, with reverence and fear. This was what rapidly took place in the case of the Sigatoka rebels already referred to. They chased their Christian teachers out of their villages with clubs, and when one poor fellow died on the road, they buried his widow and child alive. The old god had reasserted himself in all his pride of place in the mountain fortress of Korovatuma, when his priest rose in the evening glow, and standing on a point of rock, waved with a war fan defiance to the besieging forces of Her Majesty's Government, and cried, "My house in Korovatuma has never known fire. Go home, for your mission here is useless;" eliciting the grand answer which rose up from the valley in a consentaneous shout—"Wait till to-morrow!" This reassertion of the ancient gods has occurred more than once since annexation, and of late has been rife in one or two districts, so much so as to attract the notice of the Government. This we shall touch upon by-and-by.

Missionaries, in watching the growth of the native churches springing up under their care, have always had to deal with cases of discipline in which office-bearers and even teachers have been implicated in acts of sorcery, sometimes of a directly mischievous kind. One teacher, Jone Tuirā, from the most enlightened part of the islands, who had a lifelong training with the missionaries, was continually liable to these supernatural impressions. A good, sincere fellow, you could never be very sure of him for this reason. On one occasion he got into disgrace by making an offering in a heathen temple for the recovery of his child from sickness. Some time after that his preternaturalism took another form, and with awe-struck countenance he announced to an assembly of native preachers that in the windows of his village church a strange light had appeared. On being questioned, he avowed that he believed the weird appearance was the glimmering of that light of God's glory

which had burst in such overpowering brightness upon Paul in the road to Damascus. So fixed was his conviction, and so likely to spread as a marvel over the whole neighbourhood, that the Wesleyan missionary thought it advisable to treat it *au sérieux*, and appoint a committee of sensible natives to inquire into it, and so explode the absurdity, and perhaps cure Jone. Much against their will these men went, ascertained that the light was caused by an unsuspected reflection of a hut-fire from the glossy leaves of an almond-tree, and at the next meeting poor Jone was overwhelmed with roars of laughter. It might have been otherwise. We may report a movement that took place in 1877, while the great annual council of chiefs was sitting at Reiva. In the mountain district of Wainimala town-criers proclaimed in every village that the spirits of their ancestors were coming, and that the day fixed was December 23, when there would begin a four-days' darkness. Before that time all pigs were to be killed, as any left living would be turned into stone by the spirits. "Let no one stop or hinder my message; let it go to the sea on the other side," was the peremptory command of the speaking god. An excitement was caused, pigs were actually slain to save them from the slaughtering spirits, and the ordinary occupations of life were upset for the time being. But the Government thought there might be something more behind it all than the spirit scare, for whales'-teeth had been sent about in connection with the movement, and chiefs had used their *mata-ni-vanna* (official messengers) to carry the tidings. Prompt measures, however, suppressed the whole thing. But here was another instance, following close upon that already cited, of an attempt to bring back the power of the old gods in a district where they had not long been forsaken, and this evidently for a political purpose. Not long after came tidings of fanaticism in a very different part of the group—fanaticism quite of a modern type, and by no means connected with the ancient deities. Here imagination shaped a religion for itself. On the remote island of Matuku revelations were received by a woman, and afterwards testified to by others. At the same time a young man, who had been in prison for stealing, figured in a new character as an archangel. Lesser angels soon

gathered about him, for into other young bloods of the place entered demon-powers; most extraordinary cases of possession took place, much resembling those described in an article on "The Devils of Morzine," in an old number of the *Cornhill Magazine*. These now asserted that they were divinely commissioned as angels, with their knife-stealer as archangel. They insisted on the whole population of the island acknowledging them and receiving baptism at their hands, and to a very surprising extent they were successful. The native minister, a quiet man of more than ordinary intelligence, who had been trained and educated for years by English missionaries, quite succumbed to the gross imposture, and submitted to the travesty of baptism at the hands of the "archangel." He wrote to a brother minister on another island—"Thomas, do not disbelieve the report of this thing; it is true, it is truth itself." Naturally the teachers under him followed his example, and were swept away by the tidal wave of enthusiasm breaking over the island. Only one resisted, and he maintained his ground manfully, protesting stoutly against the imposture and the hysteric mania with which it was embraced. He stood, like Abdiel,

"Among the faithless, faithful only he."

Bands of young people now scampered about the place at night—they were seized with frenzies, and relieved themselves by "furious dancings, yells and howlings, not unaccompanied by the punching of unbelievers." The archangel further began to utter authoritative dicta on various mundane matters, such as raising the price of fowls in commerce with white men, and the rate of copra per bag. Further, that no taxes were to be paid to the Government. A gentleman avers that it was this latter fact that duly impressed his Excellency himself with the serious nature of the movement. Here again the mischief had to be stopped by the appearance on the scene of Maafu (the famous Roko Tui Lau), and the Wealeyan missionary (the Rev. L. Fison), the former of whom quickly deported angels and archangel in his yacht, the *Xarifa* treating them with scathing contempt—and the latter busied himself in endeavouring to restore the tone of the people after

this outburst of "epidemic-hysteric-demonopathy." It was indeed a curious incident, and very suggestive. It was in no way a revival of the old, but an adaptation of the new; and it broke out where least of all (in Fyr) it might have been looked for. It came too with remarkable suddenness, and advanced with alarming swiftness. Mission agents had very little power against it—in fact, were carried along with it. Now the whole thing seems dead. But where and when may not a similar mania spring up, and rage with perhaps more serious consequences?

Let us now turn to things more recent still, to what has been going on during the last twelve months. An old chief, on the Ra coast, Navitilevu, although of no particular importance as a chief, has magnified himself as a *prophet*. This Navosavakadua ("the speaking but once") has been acting, though on a much smaller scale, the part which lately made Te Whiti famous in New Zealand, and necessitated the calling out of militia against him and his Maori clan. Navosavakadua has announced himself as the prophet of the ancestral gods, who are coming to establish the "tuka" (immortality), according to the *ancien régime*. "All who adhere to the *lotu* (Christianity), and such as are loyal to the Matanitu (Government), shall meet with dire destruction." Again comes legislation as to trading, raising the market prices of produce, and there also protrudes the very sting of all, "no work to be done for Government, and no taxes paid." Having made his revelation, he naturally supported it by a miracle. Building a pigsty, he called all the people to witness that in the night-time the gods would fill the sty with swine. To ensure this he diligently caught pigs in the dark, and carried them to the enclosure himself, and when morning broke the pig-fence was filled according to the prediction. Although young men had watched the old villain at his tricks, and laughingly exposed the imposture, the fame of the seer spread from village to village, from the coast into the hill country for miles and miles. The people care nothing for the exposure of the seer's clumsy devices, but believe all the same; for they *want* to believe, the matter jumps with their inclinations, they enjoy the excitement, they revel in the fanaticism. These Fijians are ready to leap and run at the

call of some new excitement, and care not for its patent folly or its glaring incongruities. However, the "powers that be" have deputed Navosavakadua, the prophet, to another part of the group, and have administered rebuke in a very practical form to the most active among his followers—so many strokes of the jack-vine given on a graduated scale. But while this absurd superstition was under way, a more magnificent procedure commenced further down the coast, at Navumtocolō—only in this case it was the deliberate invention of a youth who wished to do a deed of malice under cover of supernatural machinery. Inquiry has shown that this scoundrel (Elijah) burnt, or caused to be burnt, the town in detail, a house or two a day, by means of detonating fireworks thrown into the thatch near the ridge-pole. He gravely pre-announced to the occupants that their dwellings were on the programme for destruction that day, and during the most serious conflagration he beheld a magnificent vision of two majestic angels standing by the burning houses. Before these awful visitants he became as a dead man, till they restored him with benign speech. "They were as white men," he wrote. Elijah gave these angels firearms, and, like Milton's demons, they caused "the smutty grain" to blaze against the foe. With Winchester repeaters they were firing vigorously into the burning houses. The effect of all this upon the people's minds was terrifying in the extreme, and at last they thought the judgment-day had come and sought to form a prayer meeting. Time showed the business to be a rank imposture, simply invented to blind people's eyes. For a time it did conceal the author and the aim of the arson. The danger of this gross superstition lies in the fact that it is possible for an impostor to veil himself while working out his selfish or malicious purpose. As an accompaniment to the events just described, two portents appeared still further down the coast of Great Fiji; one was a talking pot, an old-fashioned earthenware cooking vessel, not the iron pot so much in use now; that as an innovation from a foreign land would not be a fitting medium for the conservative gods of Fiji. In a house stood a real old piece of native manufacture, and when the inmates of the dwelling with their friends were gathered together, the cooking-

pot became vocal and made revelations, the character of which the missionaries could not ascertain, and were told that it was not wise to inquire into. Tales were told of an extraordinary banana-plant, which if touched gave a shock to the hand so that a numbing sensation crept along the arm paralysing it for a time. One after another must needs go and satisfy their incredulity by receiving a proper shock. In one village a man set himself apart to hold *séances* with the dead. In the still hours of night he withdrew to that most cheerful habitat, the local graveyard, and, seated on the barrows of the former generation, he bent his ear attentively to hear what the old people had to say to their descendants. It would seem that at the present crisis they *have* something that they wish to communicate, for next day this self-constituted medium would present himself in the house of one of the townsfolk, and solemnly inform him what message his almost forgotten ancestor had sent him. The most general recommendation that the old people of the remote past had charged him with was that their present posterity need trouble themselves no further about planting. "You have cleared the ground and burnt off the rubbish, just break it up, and leave the rest to us. *We* will plant it and fill it with seed-yams, kumalas, and all necessary food." This intimation being so palatable, it was accepted with an easy faith, and the planting lands have been lying fallow in consequence. But the last phase of all this curious and significant supernaturalism on Navitilevu is still more remarkable. It is what is variously known as the *Luve ni Wai*, or *Kalou Rêrê*, the origin of which names has puzzled the best Fijian scholars, and the nature of the thing itself is a puzzle. A goddess or spirit of some sort enters into young men, and the villages are set by the ears. These young fellows become possessed with the spirit of divination and endowed with one knows not what powers. The possessed of the goddess are rendered invulnerable, a mighty ax-blow fails to tell upon their toughened skin, a spear striking them glances from their naked black bodies as from a brazen targe, and even a leaden bullet fired from a good old "Brown Bess" flattens against their hides. With "second sight" they can tell where a thief is concealed, and will hunt out the

Achan in their midst. Perhaps they seize some innocent person, whom they denounce and hound him to punishment. License soon prevails. This most objectionable form of spiritual intoxication and weird delights has of late been spreading rapidly—native police joining in it, and Fijian officials first reporting its outbreak in their locality, and then participating in the performances.

In concluding this paper we may be allowed to answer a question often asked here—"What is the meaning of all this?" It is a movement hostile to the Government, to the *lotu* or (Christianity). It goes straight back to the primitive ideas, to the old gods, to the spirits of the forefathers of the race, and even of those lately deceased. It means, "Let us throw off the burdens of British rule, and the restrictions of the new religion, and fly back as the unbent bow to our old fancies and our former ways." There is, indeed, far more political than religious feeling in these disturbances, and they carry with them a greater danger to law and order than from their nonsensical nature might at first appear. They most frequently occur in seasons of general distress, and also, as the later examples prove, in times when the native mind is, from some cause or other, in a state of unrest and dissatisfaction. We are not aware that the people of Fiji are anywhere contemplating mischief, nor have we any sympathy with the nervousness which produces every now and again in this country a "native scare;" but we do believe that should any insurrection or defiance of the ruling power take place in this country, it would be accompanied with, and perhaps heralded by, some such impostures and prevalent unreasoning superstitions as those already described; that under cover of these grotesque fanaticisms the movement will go on and the people rush to lawless violence, buoyed by the delirious excitement to which they are constitutionally subject under certain conditions, and fanned by fancied supernatural manifestations and revelations from their unseen world. Should there be at any time friction between Government and people, then the uprising of prophets, or mediums, or possessed men with special revelations, would make the people more unmanageable, and even excite them to rebellion.

The two bulwarks against any such rising tide are the action of authority and the influence of the mission. Quiet, prompt and decisive measures, when taken by the Government, have been very effectual hitherto, for though the Fijians when under fire for their Christianity in the early days of the mission stood persecution wonderfully well, because they really were sincere in their belief, yet they by no means face Government actions boldly in their revivals of heathenism. There is also the Wesleyan mission, with a teacher in every village, and native and European ministers in constant oversight of the same. It is true that against the inrush of some of these fanaticisms the (apparently) best native agents are very weak barriers, and have, indeed, been whirled along with the current, but there have been good instances in which they have made an effective stand and given most timely warning. The whole power of the mission will be exerted against these movements and on the side of order. The mission has unquestioned power, and will be, what it always has been, a valuable, if undemonstrative, ally of Government. A late governor of Fiji adverted to the fact that the Wesleyan missionaries did not entirely concur with his native policy, and he accounts for this by saying that he had deprived them of power and placed it in the hands of the chiefs, and that "such emancipation from clerical control the Wesleyan Church in Fiji will not easily forgive. . . . It may be thought that some of these (European clergy), long accustomed to wield well-nigh irresponsible power, regret its loss." This passage, we may perhaps be allowed to say, does not furnish quite the real reasons for such divergence of opinion as may exist between the parties mentioned; and the present writer happens to be sufficiently well acquainted with the whole subject to be able to say with confidence that the Wesleyan missionaries are really not aware that they have been shorn of any power at all by his Excellency the first governor of Fiji. All the power they really had, or wished to have, they have still; no governor conferred it upon them, and they do not fear that any governor will take it away—if lost, it will be through other means. Therefore they have nothing to forgive Sir Arthur Gordon, on this score at least, and their motives for venturing to differ from him on certain points may perhaps be found elsewhere.

But whatever power they have or may acquire, be it more or less, we are certain that it will be used to stem the currents of evil fanaticism and to foster peace and obedience. This they will do, because they are Englishmen and loyal, and because they have the interests of all classes of the population at heart; because the interests of their work and those of law and order are identical; and, finally, because they are Christian men.

ART. VI.—"THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES."

1. *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* Διδαχὴ τῶν Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. With Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Illustrative Passages. Edited by H. DE ROMESTIN, M.A. Oxford and London: Parker & Co. 1884.
2. *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. A Translation with Notes, and Excursus (I. to IX.), illustrative of the "Teaching" and the Greek Text. By CANON SPENCE, M.A. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1885.

WE place these two editions of the *Didache* at the head of our article simply because they are the only two of any importance published in this country as separate volumes. Each of them shows good and scholarly work. Mr. De Romestin's—half the price of Canon Spence's—aims successfully at meeting the student's requirements. It furnishes him with almost everything he needs, arranged for ready reference in a very compact fashion. Canon Spence's edition contains a considerable quantity of the kind of explanation which a student is apt to pass over as mere "padding," but which probably is of service to the unlettered reader. Of Continental editions the first place must be given to Adolf Harnack's in the Patristic series (*Altchristlichen Literatur*), issued under the superintendence of himself and Oscar von Gebhardt. Hilgenfeld has included the rediscovered treatise in his *Novum Testamentum extra Canoneem Receptum*. M. G. Bonet-Maury, of

the Protestant Theological Faculty in Paris, has published a critical edition. America had the honour of printing the first separate edition in the English language. Professors Hitchcock and Brown's notes are slight and hasty, though useful here and there. There is also an edition by Wünsche, and one or two of less moment. Besides all these we have the *editio princeps* of Bryennios.

The circumstances connected with the finding of the manuscript are well known. We may assume, also, a general acquaintance with the character and contents of the document. It is necessary, however, to mark carefully the structure of the treatise. Some of the most perplexing questions respecting it spring out of its form.

The *Teaching* is divided into two principal parts. The first treats of *the Way of Life and the Way of Death*. It consists chiefly of moral precepts. Its morality may be called rigid; it demands absolute purity of life, and warns sternly and solemnly against vile habits characteristic of pagan society, as well as against ordinary looseness of conduct. Its monitions are couched in terms of absolute but affectionate authority. It addresses the reader or hearer as "my child," and speaks with the plain directness and simple brevity of an instructor to his pupils.

The Second Part relates to the internal economy of the Church. It gives directions concerning the ritual of the two Sacraments and personal preparation for them, concerning private prayer and fasting, and concerning the observance of the Lord's Day. This last injunction seems out of its natural place. By its subject it would rank in the order just mentioned, but in the treatise it comes after the directions upon ecclesiastical government. These directions form a subdivision of the Second Part. The final section treats of the Second Advent, and exhorts to constant readiness for it. The Second Part opens abruptly: "But concerning Baptism, baptise thus." Between it and the first part stands a sort of intermediary chapter, insisting upon obedience to the previous precepts, whilst somewhat mitigating their severity to the level of individual ability. Its last paragraph begins: "But concerning food, &c." The commencement of the Second Part may be

the natural continuance of this mode of expression, or it may be an artificial attempt to tack on the latter set of injunctions to the former.

Two titles are prefixed to the manuscript: *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, and *Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations* (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν). With these titles our difficulties begin. The question of mere translation is perplexing enough. Does the Greek address the *Teaching* to the Gentiles as contra-distinguished from the Jews? or does it refer to "the nations" of Matthew xxviii. 19? But there is an earlier and even more important query: Which of these two headings is the original? and how came there to be two headings at all? Inevitable suspicion is aroused that the form in which we possess this little tractate is not, at any rate, its earliest. Room is thus made for alterations and interpolations. The actual manuscript found by the Metropolitan of Nicomedia is not ancient. It professes to be a copy completed in June, 1056, but it does not indicate its own origin. So far as external evidence goes, we may have the outcome of several recensions, or even a piece of ill-assorted patchwork. These doubts can be decided only by a strict scrutiny of the matter and manner of the *Didache*. The solution of them must affect greatly our estimate of the value of Bryennios' discovery and of its bearing upon primitive Church history.

The break of subject between the two Parts bridged over by the repeated "but concerning" at once attracts attention. In style, too, the Parts differ from each other. In the First Part we have the reiterated "my child," the corresponding pronoun is invariably in the singular number, and the direct imperative or the imperative future is always employed. In the Second Part the paternal address ceases, the second person plural is used much more frequently than the singular, and a strong preference appears for the subjunctive imperative. There is also a slight and scarcely discernible difference of tone that cannot be accounted for by mere difference of subject. A certain glow pervades the latter division which is absent from the former. These discrepancies seem to render it unlikely that both Parts proceeded from an absolutely identical source.

No reasonable doubt exists as to the very early date of the

Ways of Life and Death. A large proportion of it occurs *verbatim* in the Epistle of Barnabas, and an appreciable quantity in the Shepherd of Hermas. There cannot be any wide variation between the dates of these three treatises. Whether the *Pastor* and the *Epistle* plagiarised from the *Didache* or it from them, or all three borrowed from a common fountain, the appropriations must have taken place within a narrowly limited period. But the pseudo-Barnabas and Hermas are two of the very oldest uninspired Christian authors. They cannot be assigned to a later period than the middle of the second century, and Barnabas was probably three or four decades earlier. The comparative priority of the *Epistle* or of the *Teaching* is debatable, thoroughly competent scholars arriving at opposite conclusions. The First Part of the *Teaching* is about one-third longer than the corresponding portion of the *Epistle*. This raises a presumption in favour of the antiquity of Barnabas, as expansion is almost an infallible sign of a later date. The most has been made of this by Harnack, Bonet-Maury, and other advocates of the superior age of the pseudo-Barnabas. Nevertheless, the case is scarcely stated fairly when put in this bald fashion. The principal additions in the *Teaching* consist of entire paragraphs or distinct sentences. On the other hand, its words appear in the *Epistle* with all sorts of amplifications of strikingly inferior literary ability. So palpably is this the fact that Harnack stigmatises the chapters of Barnabas under discussion as “rudis indigestaque moles—without cohesion and without order.” From this confusion he thinks the writer of the *Two Ways* compiled his finished arrangement. It is difficult, however, to believe that any one capable of such a literary *tour de force* would not have preferred issuing a composition of his own. Moreover, on this hypothesis, some remarkable omissions in the *Teaching* would require explanation, notably at the outset, after “Thou shalt love the God Who made thee,” the omission of “Thou shalt glorify Him Who redeemed thee from death ;” and the omission of “as the apple of thine eye,” from the midst of the exhortation to love “every one” [the *Teaching* reads “him” for “every one”] “who speaketh to thee the word of the Lord.” The deliberate or accidental passing over of the reference to

redemption is almost inconceivable, even if accident could be admitted in so painstaking a work; nor can one imagine that the emphatic phrase would have dropped out of the counsel as to the treatment of prophets and teachers, especially as (on the supposition that the *Didache* copied the *Epistle*) remembrance of the ministry is substituted for remembrance of the day of the Lord, and the entire booklet shows a decided wish to obtain for the clergy at least adequate recognition.

Did, then, the *Epistle of Barnabas* borrow from the *Didache*? We should answer this inquiry in the affirmative as confidently as Archdeacon Farrar does, were it not for the difficulty of believing that any deficiency in taste and the craft of authorship can account for the transformation of the compact and deftly ordered sentences of the one into the loose and rambling verbiage of the other. And this hypothesis fails to explain a number of curious transpositions, perfectly objectless inasmuch as the assumed plagiarism does not attempt to hide itself. Still, the internal evidence hardly justifies a decisively negative conclusion.

The preferable theory would seem to be that suggested by Dr. Wordsworth—a common origin for this portion of both tracts. We are disposed, however, to go a little further. May not the pseudo-Barnabas be quoting from memory? A short and plain compendium of Christian morality would be needed in the very earliest times. Whether this were at first committed to writing or not, it would certainly be taught orally to converts, and would in this fashion spread far and wide, but with variations of order, of phrase, and of length. One of these oral forms has been preserved, with a running commentary of his own, by the composer of the *Epistle*. The First Part of the *Didache* will thus be either the *editio princeps* of this instruction to catechumens, or the result of a skilful endeavour to recover the true oral tradition, and to arrange it as neatly as possible. In either case it comes to us with the stamp of high antiquity.

With this finding the general contents of the document harmonize. The Scriptures cited or alluded to, the sins particularized, the emphatic inculcation of the virtue of charity,

all agree with, if they do not positively point to, a very early date. But, save as fresh and cogent testimony to the anxiety of the primitive church to inculcate and maintain strict morality of conduct, and to the stress it laid upon almsgiving, the First Part of the *Didache* possesses no great value. It is interesting, but that is all. The historic worth of the treatise centres in the Second Part.

The period to which we assign this Second Part must be determined upon evidence furnished by the document itself. It underlies the seventh book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, but that is too late a compilation to help us much on this matter. The directions in the *Shepherd* as to testing professed prophets closely resemble in sentiment and more slightly in word those in the *Didache* on the same subject; hence both treatises must have been produced while one and the same condition of things lasted. The *Didache* affords four principal lines of evidence respecting the date of its origin. It was produced when the Church had begun to feel the need of organization at once larger and stricter than had obtained at first, and when Christianity had become sufficiently wide-spread and prosperous to require stringent protection of its hospitality against travelling impostors; when ritual had asserted itself but admitted considerable latitude; when the Love Feast and the Communion still constituted a joint service; when the apostolic and prophetic orders had not yet ceased, and when the rights of bishops, teachers and deacons needed vindication. The scantiest acquaintance with the history of the early Church suffices to posit the origin of the Second Part of the *Teaching* somewhere near the dividing line between the first and second centuries, or, let us say, from 80 to 120 A.D.

Of all these notes of time, the continuance but approaching disappearance of apostles and prophets has the clearest precision. Just here, however, the strongest attack has been launched against the early date. Hilgenfeld and Bonet-Maury condemn our treatise as wholly Montanist or as being vitiated by Montanist interpolations. The names of these distinguished critics, especially that of the editor of the invaluable *Nov. Test. ex. Can. recept.*, lend weighty authority to this theory. Nevertheless, if we may say so with due modesty, it rests upon no

solid basis, but upon the foregone judgement that any approach to evangelical doctrine and experimental religion must have its rise in an heretical source. The real nature of Montanism forms one of the most perplexing problems of ecclesiastical history, and that in spite of the researches of Hilgenfeld himself and of Ritschl. Our knowledge of it proceeds from its foes and from an intemperate apologist in whom it was exaggerated. That Montanism developed into heresy is only too true; that its origin was heretical is scarcely proved; that any doctrine held by the Montanists is, *ipso facto*, heretical, no one will maintain. Yet the hypothesis that the Second Part of the *Didache* is Montanistic fails unless this last proposition is sound. Beyond all dispute, Montanism had its root in genuine Christianity. In its hierarchy it endeavoured to return to the primitive model. If then we find in this ancient pamphlet a ministry resembling both that of the New Testament and of Montanism, and doctrines common to the Scriptures and to the creed of this sect, we must not pronounce arbitrarily that the pamphlet derived them from the later source.

M. Bonet-Maury is the most recent advocate of the theory of a Montanist origin; he has had, too, the advantage of reading Hilgenfeld's argument; we will therefore follow briefly his discussion of the subject. He rests his case upon a "triple comparison" between portions of the *Didache* and the known tenets of the Phrygian heresy. He adduces, in the first place, "the rigorous tone of certain passages of our *Didache*." It commands one or two days' fasting before baptism to the candidate, the administrator, and to "others who can." It prescribes the repetition of the Lord's Prayer thrice daily. It "excommunicates" the man who has a quarrel with his brother until reconciliation. It insists upon believers being found perfect at the Last Day, for "the whole time of your faith will not profit you" otherwise. In all this there is nothing peculiar to Montanism. The pre-baptismal fast belonged to the most orthodox section of the Church. The prayer three times a day is Hebraistic. It is absurd to say that the *Teaching* "excommunicates" the Christian who has a difference with his fellow-Christian. It makes the being "in love and charity with all men" an imperative condition

of admission to the Lord's Supper, but so does our own Communion Office. And the rule is derived legitimately from Matthew v. 23, 24. M. Bonet-Maury does not seem to attach importance to the mere requirement of Christian perfection, but he does to the warning that that faith is profitless which does not endure to the end. It would be the veriest work of supererogation to show that the warning is thoroughly Scriptural.

Compare now the Montanist hierarchy with that of the *Didache*. Both have apostles, both prophets, both bishops who rank third in order. In their own judgment this is the strongest point made by both Hilgenfeld and Bonet-Maury; and both cite St. Jerome, "Apud nos Apostolorum locum episcopi tenent; apud eos episcopus tertius est; habent enim primos de Pepusa Phrygiæ patriarchas; secundos, quos appellant Cenones; atque ita in tertium, id est pene ultimum locum, episcopi devolvuntur." The patriarch of Pepusa has taken the place of the apostles, the Cenones that of the prophets, the bishops still form the third estate in this later development of Montanism. The first transformation may be accepted; the second we think extremely doubtful; but as the gist of the argument relates to the subordinate position of the bishops, it is not worth while to dispute about it, though the comparison shows a dangerous hiatus unless it can be proved.* The argument from the rank assigned to the episcopacy has no validity unless the precise point in debate is first assumed. The primacy of the bishop was not assured until apostles and prophets had disappeared. Allow a late date to the *Didache*, and the resemblance of its hierarchy to the Montanist becomes highly significant. But we cannot employ the position of the bishop to bring the origin of the treatise nearer to ourselves, because that position accords perfectly with the earliest suggested date. However, there is no need to discuss the

* The reasons assigned for the identification of the Cenones with the prophets are the derivation of the word from *κοινωνία*, as signifying the Lord's Supper. Hence it is argued the Cenones (*κοινωνοί*) were those "prophets who presided at the Communion and lived upon the common offerings." But there is no reason whatever for assuming that it was the special duty of the prophets or any class of them to administer the Sacrament; and prophets certainly existed side by side with the Cenones. How one class of them took the second place once occupied by all, and how the rest fell wholly out of the hierarchy does not appear.

matter further, as M. Bonet-Maury, in his closing sentence, calmly saws off the branch on which he was sitting—"Hitherto, *save in the epistles of Paul*, we have nowhere met with a classification which so much as approaches that of our author." The italics are ours. The reference, of course, is to 1 Corinthians, xii. 28—"And God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets," &c.

Finally, the *Didache* anticipates the immediate coming of the Lord, and the Montanists did the same. Unfortunately the error of the imminence of the Second Advent was shared by the entire Church. The signs of this Advent are, according to the *Didache*, the multiplication of false prophets, the turning of sheep into wolves, and the appearance of "the deceiver of the world as a son of God." Neither the doctrine nor the similes have any exclusive connection with the Phrygian heresy. Lastly, we are bidden to notice that both the *Didache* and Tertullian employ the phrase, "the fire of testing." The thought is so common in the Fathers and similar expressions so abound that the coincidence counts for very little. But, supposing the early origin of the tract, Tertullian may have borrowed the language, though the supposition is quite unnecessary, especially in view of 1 Cor. iii. 11—"the fire shall try."

If the "triple comparison" fails altogether to convict the *Teaching* of heresy, every one must acknowledge that no traces of other tenets and observances of Montanism are discoverable in it. For example, except in the Sacramental prayers, there is but a single mention of the Holy Spirit. The inspiration of the prophets is innocent of dreams and visions. Bishops and deacons are to be honoured with the prophets and teachers, a collocation impossible to Montanism, which regarded prophecies as immeasurably superior to all other methods of instruction. Not a syllable is spoken concerning marriage or the relations of the sexes.* Its asceticism is by no means of

* The incomprehensible passage (xi. 11) about "making assemblies for a worldly mystery," may be an exception. Harnack (pp. 44-47) argues vigorously that it does. The discussion is quite inadmissible in this REVIEW. Else we think we could show good cause for a contrary opinion. On this hypothesis the terms of the *Didache* would point rather to laxity than to abstinence, which is unbelievable.

a rigorous character, especially considering the Jewish-Christian origin of the treatise. And the distinction between venial and mortal sins finds no foothold in it. It is inconceivable that no one of these features should appear in a Montanistic document. Spite of Tertullian's opposition to the *Pastor* of Hermas, that composition favours Montanism to a much larger extent than does the *Teaching*, and the early date of the *Pastor* is practically unquestioned.

Searching, then, for the birthday of our document, we must go farther back than the middle of the second century. If its apostles and prophets are not Phrygian, they must be of the same order as those of the *Acts* and the Pauline *Epistles*. This indication alone suffices to settle approximately the age of the Second Part where we have already fixed it—at about the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. The First Part may probably be some years the earlier. Thus the *Didache* will be the combination of two distinct tracts, which issued, most likely, from the same church, with a short interval between them, and by different authors. In this manner the resemblance and the dissimilarity between the two Parts may be accounted for.

The resemblance just referred to consists chiefly in allusions to the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, and in Jewish modes of thought and expression common to both Parts. The Judæo-Christian source of the treatise has been disputed, notably by Harnack. But no amount of ingenuity and learning can alter the significance of the comparison of the ministry to the priesthood, the precepts about first-fruits, the application of Malachi i. 11, 14 to the Lord's Supper; or lessen the cumulative evidence of numerous quotations from and apt recollections of the Jewish Scriptures, canonical and apocryphal, and the natural adoption of Jewish habits of fasting, almsgiving and prayer. And it is highly significant that the first-fruits "of silver and raiment and every possession" are to be given "according to the commandment."

Our space will not permit us more than a glance at the rather doubtful question of the locality whence the *Didache* sprang. An Egyptian origin commends itself for several reasons, and accords equally well with Judæo-Christian or

with Gentile authorship. It renders easy the connection between our treatise and the Alexandrine Epistle of Barnabas; it explains the emphatic warning against magical practices; and the Sahidic, alone of all versions, has its abbreviated doxology, "Thine is the power and the glory for ever." * This is Harnack's suggestion. Almost the only obstacle in the way of this theory is the permission to baptize in "warm" water "if thou canst not in cold." Some suspicion of a chilly climate is aroused, but the allowance may well be intended to meet exceptional feebleness in a mild atmosphere, or even as a general direction.

The author or authors of the *Teaching* are utterly unknown. One point deserves especial attention—the transparent honesty of the little book. It affixes no assumed name to itself, like *Hermas* or *Barnabas*. It claims no apostolic authority. It speaks with dignity and decision, but obviously does not wish to pass for other than it is. Conscious strength and a secure position could alone explain this self-respect. Hence these instructions must have proceeded from some recognized body or from some individual of commanding station. Is it too much to say that the writer or writers were so confident of the agreement of the doctrine with that of the Twelve that they felt that formal authorization or stolen patronage were wholly unnecessary? The remarkable appeal at the end of the *Two Ways* to the personal judgment of the taught—"For if indeed thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able, that do"—purposely differentiates the treatise from the production of an inspired pen. Nevertheless, the *Didache* occupied for a protracted period a place very little inferior to that of the canonical books. Quoted as Scripture by Clement of Alexandria, standing in catalogues side by side with the veritable books of the New Testament, employed largely for cateche-

* Too much weight must not be allowed to this. St. Gregory Nyssen gives the doxology in this form. In his case it would naturally have a Syriac origin. If the entire doxology be a liturgical addition to the words of Jesus Christ, no great evidential value can be ascribed to any shape of it. A noun might be readily dropped out or added, or one substituted for another. The Eucharistic prayers show the same abbreviation. Now it is far from certain that these prayers were composed by the author of the *Didache*, as we shall see in due course.

tical purposes, it apparently exercised an influence more powerful than that exerted by the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly upon a far narrower field.

The early issue of an avowedly uninspired book, which never received the real honour paid to inspiration, and yet attained as closely as possible to it, contributes a most welcome element to our knowledge of the relation of the Primitive Church to the canon of the New Testament. The student of the history of the canon, reading such a scholarly and passionless text-book as Canon Westcott's, is apt to conceive an uneasy feeling that, although the result harmonized with the truth, the selection and rejection of books for the New Testament followed a half-blind, if not a haphazard, process. The *Didache* furnishes another and most pertinent testimony to the fact that the distinction between inspired and uninspired authorship was in the mind of the Church from the very first. This little work is tainted with none of the extravagance which mars the books attributed to Hermas and Barnabas. If it did not find its way into the canon, there must have been a searching and rigid test of exclusion. And the writings that were admitted thereinto obtain the more strongly established position.

Let us turn now to the contents of the document that lay so long hidden yet so readily discoverable. What light does it throw upon the condition, the doctrines, practices, methods and knowledge of primitive Christianity?

Its moral precepts exhibit a church sternly in earnest in the conflict with the corruption that festered round about it. The injunction "keep thyself pure" was ever before its eyes. The contrast between the comparatively lengthy exposition of "the way of life," and the compression of "the way of death" into a couple of short paragraphs in which sins and sinful characters are heaped indignantly one upon another, regardless of grammatical rules, as though it were degradation even to name them, in itself speaks volumes. The regulations as to almsgiving, fasting and private prayer, should be read with memory of Jewish customs and the Sermon on the Mount. An over-strained literalism may think the counsels on these

subjects too minute and inflexible; but they are not more methodical than the "Rules of the Society of the People called Methodists," or than the Sermon on the Mount, on which they are modelled. One cannot ponder the instructions as to bountiful, self-sacrificing charity, "specially," but far from exclusively, "toward them that are of the household of the faith;" the precepts of universal love, to the brethren "above thy life," to others, even persecutors, so as to "reprove" and "pray for" them; the advice as to gentle and fair dealing with bond-slaves, and as to Christian home-training; and the emphatic yet moderate statement about the equality of all men in the eyes of God and the real rank conferred by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost; one cannot ponder these things, we say, and not receive a deep impression of genuine godliness, high-toned principle, eager desire for the salvation of the world, and resolute determination to foster in all new converts, and the church at large, the perfect Christian life. Nevertheless, some have chosen these features for vehement animadversion. The *Didache* has been accused of dry, barren legalism and of evading "the doctrine of the Cross." The charge overlooks the nature of the book. It is not a compendium of theology, any more than the Epistle of St. James, to which it has been likened again and again.

Upon several matters of interest—the social condition of the Church indicated by the requirements concerning hospitality, charity, the earning of a livelihood, and the payment—as it would seem—of tithes in kind; the eschatology of the document, possible recensions, and many striking phrases and sentences, we may not linger. All the space at our disposal is demanded by its doctrine respecting the Sacraments and the Ministry. Yet there are two other subjects to which we are bound to devote a line or two.

The references to the Old Testament need not delay us. Except as pointing to the source whence the *Didache* originated, they have no particular value. But every trace of citation from or allusion to the New Testament possesses the greater importance the earlier we place the composition in which it occurs. At first reading, our treatise seems saturated with the language and thoughts of the New Testament. Closer

study reveals that the enormous preponderance of references come from St. Matthew, notably from the Sermon on the Mount. Even certain expressions which remind you of other books may have been drawn from the First Gospel—e.g., "Then shall appear the world-deceiver as a son of God, and shall do signs and wonders" &c., seems to send us to 2 Thessalonians ii. 1-12; but there is an equally close parallel in both word and doctrine with Matthew xxiv. 3, 5, 24. We may assert safely that the authors of the *Didache* employed St. Matthew freely. With scarcely less confidence we may say that the author of the First Part was acquainted with St. Luke: "If any one take away thy cloak, give him thy coat (χιτῶνα) also" follows St. Luke's order against St. Matthew (i. 4; Luke vi. 29; Matthew v. 40).^{*} The opening sentences of the final chapter of the Second Part can scarcely be other than Lucan: "Watch over your life, let your lamps not be quenched, and let not your loins be ungirded" (xvi. 1, Luke xii. 35; mark the plurals λύχνοι, ὀσφύεις). Strangely imbedded amongst excerpts from the Sermon on the Mount we find "Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts," which recalls 1 Peter ii. 11 and Titus ii. 12. St. Paul's Epistles unmistakably influenced both divisions of the work, but there is no direct quotation from them. "For if ye are partakers in the immortal, how much more in mortal things" recalls Romans xv. 27, as Archdeacon Farrar points out. The spirit of the counsels as to children and slaves harmonizes exactly with Ephesians iv. and Colossians iii. and iv. 1.† Resemblances to St. John will meet us in

* The most remarkable coincidence is: "Give to every one that asketh of thee, and ask not back." The *Didache* reads: *πᾶντι τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ μὴ ἀπαίρει* (i. 5); St. Luke (vi. 30), *πᾶντι αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ . . . μὴ ἀπαίρει*. St. Matthew (v. 42) omits *πᾶντι* and *μὴ ἀπαίρει*, and reads *δός* for *δίδου*.—A reminiscence of Acts iv. 32 is thought to be seen in iv. 8, "thou shalt share all things with thy brother and shalt not say that they are thine own." But besides that this is the kind of statement sure to be made in any oral account of the results of the Pentecost, a narrative certain to be carried into all quarters, the *Didache* has *ἐπίς* instead of *ἐλεγον*, and *ἴδω* for *ἰδω*. Hence it appears that we have rather a reminiscence of the event than of St. Luke's history of it.

† Minute and delicate verbal and sentimental coincidences are numerous—e.g., compare "work and eat" (xii. 5), with 2 Thess. iii. 10; *παρελάβες* (iv. 13) with *παρέλαβον* (2 Thess. iii. 6), and "having proved (*δοκιμάσαντες*) you shall know him—

the Eucharistic ritual. There are one or two other faint traces of the Fourth Gospel and three Epistles of St. John, but for various reasons they are hardly to be relied on. And possibly "they who endure in their faith shall be saved" may be derived from Mark xiii. 13.*

At the other subject we must glance more briefly still. Twice semi-public confession of sins is recommended. *The Way of Life* ends with a direction to confess transgressions "in the church," and a similar clause occurs in the precepts concerning the Lord's Day worship and the celebration of the Eucharist. It would be quite possible to understand the second injunction as referring to such a "general confession" as belongs to the current Communion office; but the first does seem to hint at separate acknowledgment of individual sins. In view of some comments upon this passage, it is worth while to notice that the confession is made before the congregation, "one to another," not to any minister, and that there is no sign of any human absolution. The closest analogy to the practice here indicated is perhaps the meeting of all the Bands according to the original Methodist custom.

As we have already noticed, the Second Part of the *Didache* opens abruptly: "But concerning baptism, thus baptize." One cannot but suspect a gap here, which is hidden rather clumsily by copying precisely the form of the last precepts of the First Part; if, indeed, that precept itself "concerning food" be not a later addition to the *Two Ways*, when more stringent regulations against meat offered to idols were thought expedient than those laid down by St. Paul. Be this as it may, the suspicion of a hiatus is increased by the next words of the baptismal rubric, "Having said before all these things" (προειπόντες). Invariably some confession of faith was required of the candidate for baptism before the administration of the Sacrament. "All these things" would refer naturally

for you shall have understanding (οὐνοῦ)—right and left" (xii. 1), with 1 Thess. iv. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Cor. vi. 7, Greek. Each coincidence is slight in itself, but the cumulative evidence is far from weak, and these are only specimens.

* ἡρωμείας . . . σωθήσονται: ἡρωμείωντες . . . σωθήσονται. The suggestion is Dr. Hayman's.

to such a confession; the participle would mean "having rehearsed," and would attach to the neophyte. As it now stands, the participle must signify "having taught," and allude to the celebrant. But even so we cannot imagine that baptism would be allowed to a candidate who had been instructed only in the external duties of Christianity. If the words "all these things" include the preceding or following rules, or both, they must, we think, have also a wider connotation. The creed to be recited may have fallen out of the *Didache*, may have been contained in another well-known document, or *perhaps* may have been left to be supplied verbally. The entire absence of rehearsed articles of belief is quite inadmissible.

The directions about Baptism attract attention chiefly on account of their simplicity and liberality. The baptismal formula comes *verbatim* from St. Matthew, with the addition, however, of "in living water." But though baptism in a stream is preferred, baptism in a bath (cold or warm) or by affusion is permitted. Baptizer and baptized and "any others that can" should fast previous to the ceremony—the earliest mention of a custom that, as time went on, increased in severity towards the candidate, though afterwards not so many others bore part in the fast. On the other hand, there is no anointing with oil. The important point is that the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration finds no foothold. This is noteworthy, as that *corruptio optimi* sprang up at a very early date, as the "regenerated unto God" of Irenæus testifies. In a subsequent section the Lord's Supper is forbidden to all except them "that have been baptized into the name of the Lord." This repetition of the simple Scriptural phrase intimates that in the thought of the writer the New Birth and Baptism were not connected as they now are in High Anglican and Romanish teaching.

The directions about the Eucharist, or the combined Supper and Agape, occupy two chapters. They are extremely difficult to follow because we have nothing but critical sagacity to guide us in allocating the various parts to the Sacrament and the Love Feast respectively, and because we do not seem to be in possession of the whole Office. Take the latter difficulty first. The only rubrical directions order the exclusion of the

unbaptized, and permit "the prophets to give thanks as much as they wish" (ὅσα θέλουσιν, in whatever manner and at whatever length they will). This rubric apparently blocks the readiest explanation of the remarkable omissions—viz., that the *Didache* preserves merely such portions of the Service as directly concerned the congregation. Yet no word is said about the person or persons who should administer the Sacrament; and, more strange still, we have no approach to or substitute for the Prayer of Consecration, and no reference to the solemn words wherewith our Saviour instituted the Supper. On whatever supposition we account for their absence, we are bound to conclude that we have before us an incomplete ritual. Justin Martyr, writing probably some half-century later, informs us that the Lord's Supper was conducted by "the president." At any rate while the ecclesiastical orders were in process of formation, this "president" might not be always, or even generally, the same officer. If an apostle were visiting the Church, naturally he would preside, or a travelling or stationary prophet. In some congregations there might be more than one prophet, or the temporary presence of an itinerant prophet might not depose the usual "president." On any of these conjectures we might regard the Communion Office of the *Didache* as designed solely for the congregation, among which a prophet or prophets might happen to be. The precept giving them full liberty of utterance would then signify that they were not to be bound as ordinary communicants by the prayers prescribed to the people. This hypothesis, we admit, is by no means free from difficulty, but perhaps it best harmonizes the curious omissions with the rubric of liberty.

The Eucharistical directions of the two chapters we are now examining prescribe three prayers; one "concerning the Cup," one "concerning the Broken Bread," and one "after being filled" (μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι);—i.e., in addition to the two injunctions mentioned above. The first two prayers are evidently sacramental. The third would as evidently belong to the Agape but for its position after them, thus reversing the usual order of Sacrament and Agape. "After being filled," one would think, must refer to the Love Feast, as also the thanks to the "Omnipotent Sovereign:" "Both food and

drink Thou gavest to men for enjoyment, that they may give Thee thanks; but to us Thou hast vouchsafed spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Servant." Nevertheless, the place of this third prayer constitutes a strong objection to this view, and a prayer after the reception of the elements commends itself as appropriate. We confess to a growing feeling, caused by repeated reading and careful study of these three prayers, that the final one is properly sacramental.

The high estimation in which our treatise holds the Lord's Supper, the jealousy with which it guards the table, and its severe though flexible ritual render its complete ignorance of sacerdotalism and transubstantiation the more weighty and welcome. In the fourteenth chapter the term "sacrifice" occurs three times, to the intense delight of certain theologians. It might be maintained with good show of reason that the word designates the entire Sabbath worship. But let us acknowledge, as on the whole we should, that the reference is to the Communion, and still nothing more comes of it than "this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." Surely the formal Eucharistic prayers should govern our interpretation of a doubtful phrase, and in them all is "spiritual" from first to last. The straits to which the *Didache* puts Romish and Romanizing theologians receives striking illustration in Dr. Hayman's article in the *Dublin Review*. The last clause of the third Eucharistical prayer reads: "Let grace come; and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David! If any one is holy, let him come: if any one is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen." Aught more innocent of transubstantiation could not be conceived. But observe an ingenious manipulation. For "grace" read "Christ" (*Χριστός* for *χάρις*). Now lift "Maranatha" so that it immediately follows "come," and is immediately followed by "Hosanna!" the clause "and let this world pass away" apparently vanishing nowhither. Then "see how the sense brightens up. The earnest appeal, 'let Him come,' is followed by the cry, 'He cometh!' (Maranatha) and that by the voice of adoration, as *come* in 'Hosanna,' &c."—"The whole then forms a testimony to the Lord's Presence really apprehended and adored by the

people." The solemnity of the subject forbids mirth; instead of amusement we cannot but feel pity not unmixed with indignation. If only something had been written which was not written, how peculiarly grateful it would have been to the Ritualist! The violence sought to be done to these sentences proves that the actual teaching is soberly evangelical. But the absurd outrage on the words of our venerable tract must needs go further; the exhortation "let him repent" becomes "the banning of all save the holy"! A strange notion of synonyms Dr. Hayman must have. The position of "Maranatha" seems false to him, but has he never seen 1 Corinthians xvi. 22, with which verse the clause in the *Didache* presents a suggestive parallel and contrast?

Distinguishing the Eucharistic prayers from the two rubrical directions accompanying them, a difference in style and tone from the rest of the treatise makes itself felt. They seem to be quoted from some older, probably oral source. To suppose them the composition of the author of the Second Part of the *Teaching* would throw them out of accord with the plan of the compilation. It reports but does not create. Instinctively the petitions recall St. John. The resemblances may not be sufficient to satisfy the claims of an exact criticism, but they linger in the ear and on the mind. "The holy vine of David;" "as this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, and having been gathered together became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom;" "we give thanks to Thee, Holy Father, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast caused to tabernacle in our hearts;" "spiritual food and drink;" "remember, Lord, Thy Church . . . to perfect her in Thy love"—now the words and now the thoughts bring the beloved disciple to the memory. It is too daring a speculation to call these supplications and thanksgivings possibly his; but may they not have been written by one of his scholars?

The discovery of Bryennios greatly helps us in the study of the long and much debated question of the origin and significance of the orders of the present Christian ministry. Before comparing its witness with our previous knowledge, and endeavouring to appraise its controversial value, we will exhibit as briefly

as may be the information which the *Didache* imparts to us. The "apostles" existing at the time of its composition were indisputably of a lower rank than "the Twelve." They itinerated amongst the churches, and did not remain at any one place beyond the second day. Whether their principal duties concerned the evangelization of the heathen or no, they could not have had much to do with the internal government of each individual society. Besides, their class was not to endure permanently; we see it on the verge of extinction. These remarks apply also to the travelling prophets, with some modification as to the nearness of their disappearance. But a prophet might determine to abide with a particular church. In that case he was "worthy of his meat," though it was all the better if he could find remunerative employment.* Still, the first-fruits rightly belonged to him; "but if you have not a prophet, give to the poor."

The chapter about worship on the Lord's Day divides those about apostles and prophets from the one of which the opening paragraphs are as follows:—"Elect (ἐκλογισατε, Acts xiv. 23; 2 Cor. viii. 19) therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek, and uncovetous, and true, and approved, for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Therefore do not despise them, for they are the honoured of you with the prophets and teachers." The thirteenth chapter, too, classes together prophets and teachers as alike worthy of their meat.

So far as our treatise carries us, these bishops and deacons may have received their formal appointment from the congregation, or they may have been submitted to some higher authority for approval or for ordination, or for both. On this point no fresh light is thrown. Only it is clear that the selection of the ministry belongs, in the first instance, to the congregation, acting directly or representatively.

"Elect therefore:" The preceding section treats of the worship of the First Day of the week, the breaking of bread,

* Respect for authority compels this clause. But chapter xii., which commands a man to support himself by handiwork, seems to us to relate solely to travellers who were not prophets, or whose good faith was doubtful. The thirteenth chapter contrasts with these the genuine prophet to whom the tithes were due.

and the prohibition of the Communion to unreconciled disputants. The "bishops and deacons," then, were to be charged with the conduct of church-worship, the administration of the Lord's Supper, and the exercise of discipline. Though the inference looks wide, it is scarcely avoidable. They are declared expressly to discharge functions identical with those of "the prophets and teachers." Hence their duties included "the ministry of the word." The warning against despising them points in the same direction. In every way they were to be the successors of the prophets and teachers, and to be accounted worthy of equal honour. An uninspired ministry steps into the place of an inspired one. The change must not be allowed to lead to any diminution of respect for the ministry. At this inchoate stage no more than this caution was required. Differences of manner in the fulfilment of the various offices were left to adjust themselves as circumstances demanded. It is important to notice the collocation of prophets and *teachers*. St. Paul (1 Cor. xii. 28) ranks "teachers" just below "prophets." The likeliest distinction between these two classes assigns speaking "in the Spirit" to the first, and exposition arising from the ordinary influence of the Holy Ghost upon human faculties to the second. Thus understood, the office of the teacher prepared for an uninspired ministry. At any rate, it is abundantly plain that no order of men could be said to do the same service as "teachers," one of whose principal functions was not to "preach the Word."

Since the Pastoral Epistles lay down the rule that the bishop "must" be "apt to teach," "able both to exhort in the sound doctrine, and to convict the gainsayers" (1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 9), one would imagine that no doubt could be made but that the ministry of the word pertained essentially to the office of a bishop. Lately, however, the theory has been started, in England by Dr. Hatch, in Germany by Harnack, which renders the bishop primarily a financial officer. This theory is supported by a wealth of learning and labour and antiquarian research that casts into the shade even its originality and boldness. Neither of these scholars denies the teaching functions of the bishop, but both dwell so minutely and so nearly exclusively upon his custody of the

collections and his administrative work that the reader begins to fancy that the Poor-Steward, by virtue of the power of the purse, obtained the episcopal chair and crook. Obviously we cannot enter into the general question at the end of an article. Dr. Hatch's hypothesis has most pertinent and valuable elements of truth which can never again be overlooked. Perhaps it does show how "the supremacy of the bishop" arose; but it tends to hide the central fact that, first and foremost, the bishop was a minister of the Gospel. Non-conformists may watch with peculiar interest and some amusement the process of "taking a bishop to pieces," but they cannot, any more than Churchmen, consent to sacrifice the essential character assigned to it by St. Paul. That is common to all the churches.

The *Didache* observes perfect silence about the financial functions of the bishops. We may infer from it that, as the prophets and teachers were entitled to the first-fruits, so also were the new officers. We may surmise that the prophet did not himself absorb all the gifts of the congregation, but acted as its almoner after his own modest wants were supplied, and that the bishops succeeded to this duty as well as to the others. We may see in the qualification "uncovetous" a hint that the church funds were under their control, though this is not a necessary deduction. But, according to our treatise, their main business concerned public worship, the sacraments, and discipline. Beyond our text we cannot now go.

An objection to this view may be drawn from the conjunction of bishops and deacons without distinguishing their respective cures. The diaconate, it is often urged, had, as such, no public spiritual functions; the deacons "served tables." Certainly the wording of the *Didache* ascribes duties of the same kind to them and to the bishops. If the narrow limits of diaconal functions can be demonstrated from other sources, there would be no real difficulty in regarding them as mere assistants to the bishops, their offices being determined by their superiors. Still, the plain sense of our treatise cannot be set aside lightly, however perplexing may be its relation to other facts.

Apostles, prophets, teachers, bishops, deacons: here is a

happy agreement with the New Testament hierarchy, but we miss from it the "elders." Only one tenable explanation of this peculiarity has been offered, and against it scarcely an audible voice has lifted itself. "Bishop" and "presbyter" denote an identical class, but viewed from the two standpoints respectively of office and of order.* If this is not so, the absence of the presbyter is utterly unaccountable, and there is no intermediate order between bishops and deacons, without which the hypothesis of prelacy breaks down hopelessly. The full force of the testimony of the *Didache* is perceived when we mark the plural noun "bishops." The directions indisputably apply to separate congregations, or, at most, associations of churches. The precept commands the election, not of a single officer, but contemplates the possibility, if not the certainty, of there being more than one in any church (Acts xx. 28). The phraseology could not have been employed if the writer had been thinking of an ecclesiastic of an essentially higher rank than any one else in the church. And it is fair to set side by side with this the parallelism of the prophets and teachers whose number was not limited stringently. The comparison must not be pushed ruthlessly, but it is suggestive. The "bishops" collectively formed the presbytery. Hence the necessity for holding fast to "the ministry of the word" as an integral part of the episcopal office, because the "bishop" of the New Testament and the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* is the typical Christian minister, the preacher of the Gospel and the pastor of the flock.

* Dr. Hatch's hypothesis and Harnack's differ from this and from each other, but they are both opposed to prelacy. Both, on mutually incompatible grounds deny that the right of teaching and exhortation inhered in a presbyter of the primitive church.

ART. VII.—THE ALLAN LIBRARY.

BY the Methodist Conference of 1803, Mr. Allan, of London, was appointed General Solicitor to the Connexion. Thomas Allan was, in his day, one of the most esteemed men of London Methodism. His name appears on the old Methodist Circuit plans as a local preacher, but at his own express desire he was only appointed to the smaller chapels. In them, and in the workhouses of the metropolis, he delighted to preach the Gospel to the poor. Mr. Allan rendered conspicuous service to the Nonconformity of his time by his efforts to secure the improved Act of Toleration passed in 1812. To promote this he waited on all the leading members of both Houses of Parliament. Earl Grey listened to his argument, and then said: "Don't you think, Mr. Allan, that Methodist preaching ought to be placed under Parliamentary restraint?" The lawyer simply answered: "No, my Lord, I think it ought not; but rather to be protected and encouraged as a national benefit."

Some time before the Conference of 1884, this honourable name was brought prominently before the Methodist public. One of his sons, Mr. T. R. Allan, a gentleman of venerable age, long retired from active life, called upon Dr. Rigg and offered, through him, to the Methodist Connexion his splendid library, which it had been the business and pleasure of his later life—during forty years—to collect. This noble gift was accepted with enthusiasm, and is henceforth to be known as "The Allan Library." The cases, which had been lying at the warehouses of Messrs. Tilbury, have been unpacked, and the literary treasures are temporarily arranged in four rooms at the Wesleyan Conference Office, within a few yards of City Road Chapel, where the munificent donor worshipped in his youth.

One of these rooms is devoted to dissertations, of which there are about thirty thousand. These have not yet been put in order, so that their value is not so apparent to a casual visitor, but two large and closely printed catalogues afford some clue to their character and worth. One of these

catalogues contains a list of 14,951 theological dissertations with Scriptural index, pointing out which of the pamphlets contain illustrations of chapters and verses of the Bible, and on what pages these illustrations may be found. Twenty are cited upon the first chapter in Genesis. A general index follows which gives every subject in clear, concise form. How rich the collection is may be gathered from the fact that two hundred and fifty-four Luther dissertations are enumerated. The reformer's home life, his poverty, his table-talk, his writings, poems, scholarship, and very many topics besides, are included in this imposing list. The Pauline collection, and those under the words "Hebraeus" and "Ecclesia" are equally rich. It is evident that there are treasures here which will not be fully explored till some future historian comes to search for all that may elucidate his difficult problems. The other catalogue has 679 pages. It contains 10,375 dissertations with similar indexes. It is especially rich on canon law, Jewish and Christian antiquities.

Mr. Allan has not only given Methodism a library, but a library ready catalogued in the most thorough and scientific way. Experts who look at these catalogues say that no one who has not attempted such a task can have any idea of the world of labour they represent. We have only referred to two of them. That devoted to printed books consists of three parts bound together. There is the principal catalogue, which reaches two hundred and eighty-three pages, a supplement of fifty pages, and a list of Bibles and Biblical literature, with fifty-four pages. The place and date of publication are given in every case, with a careful description of each work. The labour and expense of preparing these catalogues must have been enormous. The first custodian of the Allan Library will thus be spared much labour, and will be able to devote all his time to the arrangement of the volumes and the practical work of his office.

The Biblical section is a notable feature of this fine collection. Here is all the *apparatus criticus* for the finest textual criticism. Methodism was represented by two eminent scholars on the late Revision Company. Her younger ministers already make a good show in the Scriptural examination lists at the London University. This collection will greatly

encourage any rising scholar, and facilitate his work. The polyglots are superb. Cardinal Ximenes holds the place of honour, for though Erasmus somewhat unhandsomely forestalled him by rushing into print with his Greek Testament, he corrected his fourth edition by the Cardinal's great work. The Allan Library has his first edition printed between 1514-15. Only six hundred copies of this *Editio Princeps* of the Complutensian Bible were published. The last part only issued from the press a few months before the death of the unselfish and munificent Cardinal, a rigid upholder of monastic discipline, a stern inquisitor, and a great statesman. A copy of this edition was sold recently for £256. The six folio volumes, with their handsome binding and spacious margins, form one of the gems of the collection. This is a Triglot Bible. Ximenes insisted that the Scriptures should be kept in the three languages used in the inscription on the Cross. The Old Testament is in Hebrew, Latin, Greek, with the Targum or Chaldee version, and a Latin translation of it. The New Testament is in Greek, with the Latin Vulgate. The catalogue gives the names of the editors whom Ximenes employed on this work, three of whom were Jews by birth. The city of Alcalá, where they worked, has given its Latin name to the great Complutensian. The position of the Vulgate between the Hebrew and Latin bears witness to the Cardinal's strange notion that as Christ was crucified between two thieves, so his true Church is crucified between the Synagogue represented by the Hebrew, and the Eastern Church represented by the Greek.

The London Polyglot, executed by Bryan Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, also in six volumes, presents a still more imposing show of learning. Ten languages are employed in the course of the work. In Jeremiah the right-hand page has the Syriac, with a Latin translation, on its upper half; the Arabic, with its Latin translation, occupies the lower half. On the opposite page the Hebrew, with a Latin translation under each word, the Vulgate, the Septuagint, and a Latin translation are all given on the upper half; whilst the Targum of Jonathan and the Chaldaic paraphrase, with a Latin translation, are below. This great work was published by subscription under Cromwell's patronage. When the Protector died two leaves of the preface were cancelled so as to transfer the compliments

formerly paid to Cromwell to Charles II. There are therefore both "Republican" and "Royal" copies. The Allan Library possesses the more scarce and valuable "Republican" one. The Antwerp Polyglot, by Montanus, in eight volumes, published at the expense of Philip II. of Spain, is also here, and that of Leipsic, by Reineccius, which is far the best of all the small polyglots that have been published.

The Hebrew section is headed by a manuscript of 222 leaves, dated 1136 A.D. It contains the Prophets and Hagiographa. The printed Hebrew Bibles range from one published by Bomberg, of Venice, in 1521, to the Jewish School and Family Bible, printed in London in 1851-1861. Montanus and four other scholars of eminence were responsible for that published in 1572, the year before the last part of his polyglot was issued from the same press. It is called from its printer—the "First Plantine Edition." Bibles edited by Der Hooght, Honbigan, Kennicott, Philippon, and other eminent scholars are included in the list. The Babylonian Talmud, published in Amsterdam in 1644-1648 in twelve folios, and the Mishna, published at the same place in 1698-1703 in six folios, may be mentioned here.

The codices are of great value. The Vatican is represented by six volumes of the largest quarto size printed in Rome; there are also the Sinaitic, Alexandrine, Claromontane, and the Codex Bezae. There is also an exact copy, edited by Dr. Scrivener, of the manuscript presented by Beza to the University of Cambridge. This list, therefore, contains all the first-rate codices. Among the "Edited Texts" there is a copy of each of the first five editions of Erasmus' Greek Testament. All were printed by Froben, of Basel, who prevailed upon the great scholar to undertake this work to forestall that of Ximenes. These five editions are of great interest, because they enable us to note the changes Erasmus gradually introduced. In his first edition he boldly put his own Greek version of Revelation i. 15-20. His MSS. were defective, but he re-translated the passage from the Vulgate. This piece of work and his interpolation of Acts viii. 37, have held their place up till now. His second edition does little more than correct misprints caused by his haste in preparing the first. In his third edition, 1 John v. 7 is first

inserted, and a few various readings are for the first time given in the margin. The fourth is corrected by the Complutensian. The five editions can be compared with ease in the Allan Library.

Stephens' famous texts are here, and the beautiful second Elzevir edition of 1633. Its text is little more than a reproduction of Stephens', but it has great interest because the preface asserts that it is the text "*ab omnibus receptus*;" hence comes our name *Textus Receptus*. More than forty "edited texts" are included in the catalogue. Here is the first edition of the Septuagint, published at Venice in 1518, by Aldus and Andrea, with editions of Old or New Testament by Breitinger, Reineccius, Wetstein, Griesbach, Lachmann, Scrivener, Tregelles, and Tischendorf. The Apocryphal books of both Old and New Testament are well represented. A beautifully executed photolithograph of the Ambrosian codex of the Peshito will be valuable to scholars. The Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic and Armenian versions are excellent specimens. Versions sometimes furnish evidence as to the omission of words and clauses which is as clear as the original Greek manuscripts could give. The selection made for this library covers almost the whole ground. Both Coptic and Basmuric are included under the Egyptian versions. The name of Ulfilas, the great Bishop of the Goths in 348-388 A.D., is twice given under the Gothic versions. More than four pages of the catalogue are filled with Latin versions arranged under three branches: those "before St. Jerome (*Itala*);" "St. Jerome's Version down to the Reformation by Luther;" "Versions and Vulgates since the Reformation." There is an imposing display of critical material here. Two beautiful MSS. are enumerated under the second head: one of the thirteenth century is on vellum with sixty-eight small miniatures; the other is of the fifteenth century, and includes the Apocrypha. The "elaborately flourished initials" on each of its 477 pages bear witness to the skill of some old *scriptorium*. The *Biblia Maxima*, published in 1660, is in ten folio volumes. The second of Koberger's Latin Bibles, published at Nürnberg in 1477, is a very fine volume, and with the manuscripts of the *Biblia Latina* will form one of the show-pieces of the library. There is also a copy of the

Editio Princeps of the present Vulgate, published at Rome in 1592, by order of Pope Clement VIII.

Six pages of the catalogue are filled with German, Dutch, and Flemish Bibles. After Gothic comes Old High German, then German from the invention of printing to the present day. The mere enumeration of the last division covers more than four pages. It is an epitome of the Reformation. Here is the first translation made into the Swiss vernacular by the Reformers of that country. Zwingli himself assisted Leo Juda in this task. The volume was published at Zürich in 1524. It must have cost much labour, for it is the whole New Testament, with what it modestly calls "very learned and judicious prefaces, and the most difficult passages briefly but well explained." A register is added showing how to find in it the Epistle and Gospel for the whole year. In 1525 was published the first Old Testament in the Swiss Vernacular, that also is here. Two editions of Ludwig Hätzer's German translation of the Prophets are included. The first was published in 1527. Two years later this poor Anabaptist was beheaded at Constance. The edition of his work which appeared in 1530 has the touching prayer "O Got erlös dye gefangenen"—"O God redeem the prisoners"—on its title page. The wail of the persecuted fanatics is here.

A German Bible, of about the year 1483, is one of the curiosities of the collection, because of its quaint coloured woodcuts. They are lavishly spread through the volume, and are at least original. Two may be mentioned as illustrations of all. The first represents the Creation. It is, perhaps, a rash thing to attempt to explain the picture, but there is a ring of observant angels, with God at the highest point of the circle. All eyes are fixed on a scene of surpassing interest. Poor Adam lies in the centre in profound sleep, whilst some one very like the leading figure above, apparently the Second Person of the Trinity, is helping Eve out of the side of our forefather. She has already risen fully formed to her waist, and her long flaxen hair falls upon Adam's breast. If this artist is a faithful delineator we must revise Milton's description :—

"Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve."

Jacob's vision represents heaven with its castles and the river lying between Jacob and the further shore. The ferryman is waiting with his boat to carry over the pilgrims. But the ladder! Whoever could have imagined that heaven was so near? Three angels, one beneath another, fill almost the whole length of this ladder. They are all bound upwards or the results might be disastrous, for the angels do not seem to have learned to climb either gracefully or quickly. These remarkable illustrations may be recommended to the tired students of codices, polyglots, and versions. They may be trusted to unbend the mind and suggest some new ideas.

In the English division there are capital reprints of Wycliffe's first translation of the New Testament from a MS. written about 1530; also of his Bible, and the original edition of his New Testament, as well as of the original edition of Coverdale's Bible, and of the first edition of our Authorized Version. The second edition of Matthew's Bible, two folio editions of the Bishop's Bible, the Genevan version, and many of the great editions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are also included, so that there is rich material here for the history of the English Bible. In French there is a large collection from 1541 to 1845, with three editions of the famous metrical version of the Psalms by Clement Marot and Theodore Beza. They were sung in Court and street, by ladies and gentlemen and by common people, and became the hymn-book for many great field-services of the Reformation. The library contains two editions of these Psalms with tunes, which will interest the musicians.

The Table of Contents shows that besides the languages to which we have referred there are versions of the whole or part of the Scriptures in fifty-four European languages, fifty-five Asiatic, five African, six American, and twelve Oceanic and Polynesian languages. The Bohemian Bibles were printed in 1488, 1596, 1613, and 1722, so that their value is great; the Hungarian collection ranges from 1541 to 1794; there are two Italian Bibles and two New Testaments of the sixteenth century, two Bibles and one New Testament of the seventeenth. The value of this part of the Biblical collection will be sufficiently seen from these particulars.

About a hundred and eighty works are classed under "Bible Bibliography." Here are all the great Continental and English works on this subject from Stunica's Animadversions against Erasmus, published in 1520, to Steven's Account of the Bibles in the Caxton Exhibitions and Mr. Boyce's "The Higher Criticism and the Bible." Dr. Moulton's and Dr. Westcott's books on the English Bible are in the list, with Scrivener's Introduction to New Testament Criticism, Tregelles' Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, and many other works representing all shades of opinion. Some Bible pictures deserve special notice. Here are Bolsvert's designs from Hugo's "*Pia Desideria*," emblematical representations of figurative passages of Scripture, especially the Canticles, printed at Antwerp in 1629; Albert Dürer's "Little Passion of Our Lord," consisting of thirty woodcuts by C. Deis; Holbein's "Dance of Death," exhibited in fifty-five fine wood engravings; Picart's plates in a folio Bible of 1715; Sichem's pictures of the childhood of Christ; and a fac-simile reproduction of the *Biblia Pauperum* beautifully executed by Berjeau.

Turning from these gems of historical art to the great theological works of the library, its riches become still more striking. The editions are superb. Bindings, type, and paper are alike the best possible. It is hard to find any *lacunæ* in the collection. Here are the works of the Apostolical Fathers in Greek and Latin, published at Amsterdam in 1724, in two fine folios; the two Letters of Clemens Romanus and the Epistles of Ignatius edited by St. Heyns. There are two fine editions of Origen; Athanasius' works are in three folios, published in Paris in 1608, and edited by the monks of St. Bernard; Augustine's works, with a Life and general index, are in eleven volumes, due to the same learned community, assisted by the Congregation of St. Maur. They were published in Paris from 1679 to 1700. The writings of Ambrose are in two folios, prepared by the same industrious Order; Chrysostom in thirteen, edited by Montfaucon; Jerome in eleven, by Vallarsius; Gregory Nazianzen in two; Clemens Alexandrinus, the fiery champion of the truth in Egypt, in two volumes; Pope Gregory in four. St. Bernard is represented

by two folios, published in Paris in 1690; Duns Scotus by twelve, published in 1639; Thomas Aquinas, the angelical doctor, by twenty-five folios in splendid binding; Anselm's principal writings are in one folio, but there are several copies and translations of his "*Cur Deus Homo.*" This bald enumeration will give some idea of the treasures of the collection. The *Bibliotheca Bremensis*, with all the supplements and sequels, contains about seventy volumes; the *Bibliotheca Maxima* of the Fathers twenty-nine; two other sets have fourteen volumes each.

This library is especially rich in Reformation literature. Here it is supposed to have gathered everything of special value. Luther's works in Latin are in seven splendid folios, printed at Wittenberg from 1545 to 1557; and in German in twenty-three volumes. Other writings of the great Reformer fill more than five pages of the catalogue. There are two editions of Melancthon's complete works, followed by more than a page of separate writings. The edition of Calvin in nine folios, bound in vellum, forms one of the most handsome sets of the collection. Zwingle's works fill four folios and a number of separate volumes. Eck, Cochlaeus, Bucer, Buddeus, Bugenhagen, are all well represented. The Confessions cover nearly six pages, arranged under the names of places. Catechisms occupy more than two pages. In these alone there is a whole history of theology. Cherubino's Collection of Papal Bulls, from Leo to Innocent X., are in four folios, published at Rome in 1638.

Baronius' "*Ecclesiastical Annals*" are in thirty-eight folio volumes, with continuation, indexes, &c. No one who looks at these ponderous tomes will wonder that his work lay open to Casaubon's criticism, or be surprised that he became the literary lion of Rome. There are two quarto editions of Sarpi's "*History of the Council of Trent,*" published in Amsterdam in 1736 and 1751, with Le Platt's "*Monuments*" of the same Council, in seven volumes. Ciacconius' "*Lives and Deeds of Popes and Cardinals*" are in four folios, published at Rome in 1677. Gerson's works, in five folios, will introduce their readers to the great Chancellor of the University of Paris, who played such a prominent part in the Council of

Constance. Bossuet's writings are in fifty-four volumes. Madame Guyon, the French saint and mystic, has bequeathed us forty volumes.

We may now turn to the more general works included in this splendid library. For textual critics and theologians it is almost perfect. General readers, however, will find that they have not been forgotten. In history the collection is very rich. The Greek ecclesiastical historians are here in a fine edition. The Venerable Bede is given both in Latin and in a translation. Strype's complete works are in the Clarendon Press edition of twenty-seven volumes. Bishop Burnet's "History of the Reformation," and "History of His Own Time," in thirteen volumes. Neale's "Eastern Church," Collier, Milner, Fuller, Milman, and Gibbon, are all here. We have also Hale's "Chronology," D'Aubigne's "Reformation," Mosheim's "Institutes," and many other historical works; Grote's, Thirlwall's, and other histories of Greece; Lingard's "England" in ten volumes, Macaulay's in five; Fox's "Acts and Monuments" in eight volumes, his "Book of Martyrs" in three. Huber's "English Universities," translated by F. Newman; and Longman's fine edition of "Year-Books for the Reign of Edward I." also deserve mention.

There is already a good nucleus of Methodist literature. Wesley's "Christian Library" is in fifty volumes, his own works in thirty-four. The Lives of Wesley include Hampson's, Coke and Moore's, Moore's, Whitehead's, Southey's, Tyerman's. A volume of sermons, preached before the Society for the Reformation of Manners, includes that by the Rector of Epworth; and there are the "Annals of the Charterhouse," and the "Life of Thomas Sutton," the founder of the school to which John Wesley cherished a life-long attachment. The writings of many Methodist preachers, past and present, are found in this section. The collection is already good, so that it will be comparatively easy to complete it as it ought to be completed in a Methodist library. Henry Moore, Jabez Bunting, and Benson are included in the memoirs.

On travel and biography there are some very fine works. Captain Cook's "Three Voyages Round the World"

are described in eleven substantial quartos, with maps and illustrations. Du Halde's "China" is in four great folios, and a "History of China" in twelve volumes. We may also mention Chesney's "Expedition to the Euphrates," Marco Polo, Mungo Park, Huc's "Travels in Tartary and in China," Curzon's "Armenia," Stanley's "Sinai and Palestine," Burton's "Zanzibar," and Vambéry's "Travels in Central Asia."

The biography includes the Lives of Dr. Johnson, James Hutton, Granville Sharp, Thomas Binney, Brainerd, Coleridge Patteson, Stanley's "Arnold," "Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, Principal of Glasgow University," Brougham's "Historical Sketches of Statesmen," "Life of Archbishop Chichele," and many other books of interest.

There is a capital section of books on hymnology; another on liturgical services; another of catalogues and books on the librarians' art, which will be very useful both to the custodians and to readers who wish to find the resources of other collections. The donor of the library has evidently felt deep interest in American history, for there is a specially valuable collection of works on the different States. Topography and philology have not been forgotten.

Among more miscellaneous works we may mention the *Corpus Juris Romani*, *Juris Civilis*, and *Juris Canonici*, in ten volumes; Blackstone's "Commentaries;" Miller's "Dictionary for Gardeners and Botanists," in four vols.; the "Penny Cyclopædia;" the "Acts of Assembly of the Church of Scotland," in twenty-seven folios, and of the Free Church, in thirty-one parts: a splendid English edition of "Luther's Table-Talk," in folio; Yarrel's "History of British Birds," in four volumes; "British Fishes" in two; Milman's "Annals of St. Paul's;" Raynour's "Troubadour Poetry," Layamon's "Brut," and *Cædmon*. An edition of Young's "Night Thoughts," with marginal designs by Blake, is noticeable for the positions in which the angels throw themselves, and as illustrating the genius of the eccentric artist-poet: one herald blowing the summons to Judgment into the ears of a skeleton is a remarkable piece of work.

Among the more general books on theological subjects the set of Archdeacon Hare's works and the writings of William

Law, in nine volumes, may be mentioned. Hooker is here, with Paley, in six volumes; Waterland, in six or seven volumes; the Bridgwater Treatises, on the "Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God in the Creation," in thirteen volumes. Archbishop Leighton's works are in four fine quartos, the writings of Jonathan Edwards in eight volumes. Pusey and Newman are well represented in the list. The Woodrow Society publications comprise the early writers of the Church of Scotland, in twenty-four volumes. In philosophy there are Grote's "Plato" and his "Aristotle," with works by Mansel, Mill, Maurice, M'Cosh, Chalmers, &c.

Even such an enumeration as we have given does scant justice to this magnificent collection. Every visitor to the library will notice that these volumes are bound in the most substantial style, so that they are ready at once for use. A more handsome show of books we have never seen.

Some curiosities of the collection should be mentioned. The library contains Henry VIII's "Assertio septem Sacramentorum adversus M. Lutherum," published at Westminster in 1521. This precious volume, with its wide margins and fine type, is bound in old calf, stamped with the royal arms, and preserved in a case. Above it lies Luther's Answer, a much more modest volume. Charles V. is represented by various ordinances against the heretics of his time. A little volume of eighty-four pages attracts attention because it was at one time in the library of the Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg. It is called "The Little Picture Bible," and has on each page three simple Bible texts in which pictures take the place of certain words as in our children's papers. There is a key to these puzzles at the end.

Two of the books have fragments of chain attached to them, showing that these precious volumes were once fastened to some desk to save them from theft. The links of one chain are quite three inches long. The back of the volume to which it is attached is made of boards into which nails with big projecting heads are fastened. The folio is the *Scala Cæli*, written by Joanne Junior, of the Order of Preachers, and printed at Ulm in 1480. It treats of various Christian graces which are supposed to form the ladder to heaven.

It is hoped that the Allan Library will become to Methodism.

what Sion College Library is to the Church of England. That library, founded by Dr. Thomas White, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, in the reign of Charles I., is at present in a state of transition. Its historic home in London Wall has given place to some large warehouses, and its new buildings on the Embankment are not yet ready. We understand that it has about sixty-five thousand volumes, and that any one who is properly introduced by a Fellow may have access to its treasures.

There is another famous London library which some Methodist preachers have found of great service. Its founder, Dr. Williams, was one of the first young men who offered themselves for the Dissenting ministry, after the troubles caused by the Act of Uniformity. For nearly twenty years he was the pastor of a church in Dublin, but in 1687 he was compelled to leave Ireland to escape the hatred of the Papists. He spent the rest of his life in London, where he became the adviser of William III. in his Irish policy, and the constant champion of the Nonconformists. On his death, in 1716, he left his property, largely due to the wealth of his two wives, to various charities. He bequeathed his own numerous and valuable collection of books, with those of Dr. Bates, one of the most learned and accomplished bibliographers of the time, which he bought for £600, for the use of Nonconformist ministers. The library was opened in Redcross Street, Cripplegate in 1729, and removed to Grafton Street, Gower Street, about twenty years ago. It contains about 35,000 volumes, and has been generously thrown open to all who furnish proper references to the librarian.

Methodism is at last provided with a splendid library. As yet the books have no proper home. That, however, the Methodist people will not be slow to provide when some scheme for the efficient working of the library is matured. Then it will begin to exert its influence in Methodism. Every effort will be made to extend its advantages to ministers and people both in town and country. The trustees hope to purchase those modern books which may be necessary to complete the library. If desirable, arrangements can also be made with other libraries so that subscribers may obtain the best contemporary literature. Its tables may be supplied with the

leading magazines and reviews, so that the literary activities of Methodism may find ample stimulus. It is not too much to hope that before long other generous friends will follow Mr. Allan's noble example. The materials for Methodist history, which have had no proper store-house, could be gathered together here to the great advantage of all future workers in this field. Such a collection would be of the greatest value, and it is not too late to make it complete. Other departments may also be enriched and perfected. Methodism owes a great debt to the generous donor of this splendid collection, and she will not fail to do everything that may secure the fullest usefulness for the Allan Library.

ART. VIII. — THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST IMPORTANT METHODIST SECESSION.

1. *History of Wesleyan Methodism.* Vol. I. *Wesley and his Times.* Vol. II. *The Middle Age.* By GEORGE SMITH, LL.D. London: Longmans. 1858.
2. *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, from the First, held in London, by the late Rev. John Wesley, A.M., in the Year 1744.* Vol. I. London: John Mason. 1862.
3. *The Ecclesiastical Principles and Polity of the Wesleyan Methodists.* By WILLIAM PIERCE. Revised by F. J. JOHNSON, D.D. Third Edition. Wesleyan Conference Office. 1873.
4. *The Wesleyan Polity Illustrated and Defended.* By CHARLES WELCH. London: Mason. 1829.
5. *The Progress of Liberty amongst the People called Methodists. To which is added the Outlines of a Constitution.* By ALEXANDER KILHAM. Alnwick: J. Catnach. 1795.
6. *A Collection of Pamphlets and Broadsheets in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Rigg.* Various dates.

CHARLES WELCH, in his work on *The Wesleyan Polity*, divides the constitutional history of Methodism into three epochs. The first, from 1738 to 1791, he describes as

that of Wesley's autocracy; the second, from 1791 to 1797, as that of "an unlimited, unamenable, ministerial aristocracy;" and the third, from 1797 onward, as that of "a limited or restricted aristocracy." This division fairly represents the changes which have resulted in the establishment of a unique Church system. Our chief attention in this article will be given to the second of these epochs, especially as introductory to the third.

The autocratic character of Wesley's rule will not need to be demonstrated. In 1766 some restless spirits girded at the authority which he possessed as the founder of the United Societies. They muttered that he was exercising arbitrary power, acting like a pope, and "shackling freeborn Englishmen." With that "cool spirit" which characterized him, he first formulated the charge in full expressness, and then answered it. He succinctly recited the history of the origin of the societies, explained the creation of Stewards, Preachers, and Conferences; and then claimed the power of admitting into and excluding from the societies, of choosing and removing stewards, of receiving or not receiving "helpers," of appointing them when, where, and how to help him, and of desiring any of them to meet him when he saw good. His grasp on the organization he had created was complete. Wesley was always distinctly conscious of his peculiar position. He says: "To me the preachers have engaged themselves to submit. . . . But they are not thus engaged to any man, or number of men, besides. To me the people in general will submit. But they will not yet submit to any other." Whether Wesley believed that a just despotism might be the best form of government may be a matter of speculation; in the case of the United Societies he saw that it was the only form of government then possible. But he prepared the way for another form to follow when his power should pass away.

It would be a mistake, however, to characterize Wesley's rule as mere and sheer despotism. When a despot eagerly seeks the advice of his subjects his despotism is mitigated. Those who have studied Wesley's character have noticed one feature which prevented him from becoming an ecclesiastical tyrant. He craved for companionship and human sympathy,

and he sought and welcomed information and advice without respect of class or conventional grade. In describing the "select bands," he tells us of the free conversations which took place therein, and quotes that text which is the death-knell of despotism: "In the multitude of counsellors there is safety." The "select bands" were his first cabinet councils. Soon their place was supplied by another assembly. Out of the class-meeting the leaders' meeting arose. Strictly speaking, the sole business of the leader was to see each person in his class once a week in order that he might inquire into his or her spiritual condition, to receive what each was willing to give towards the support of the Gospel, and to meet the "assistant" and stewards once a week. But in these weekly meetings the leaders found that whilst they kept the spirit they were loosed from the letter of the law. If they abused their privileges they were withdrawn, and the meetings were reduced to dull routine. "But," says Wesley, "it is common for the assistant, in any place, when several leaders are met together, to ask their advice as to anything that concerns either the temporal or spiritual welfare of the Society. This he may or may not do, as he deems best. I frequently do it in the large societies." In addition, Wesley had another consultative council composed of men of his own choosing, on whose wisdom and sympathy he relied for the government of his societies. In the "Minutes" for 1766 he says: "In 1744 I wrote to several clergymen, and to all who then served me as sons in the Gospel, desiring them to meet me in London, to give me their advice concerning the best method of carrying on the work of God." As time went by he increased the number of those whom he summoned, until at last he gave a general permission for all his preachers to attend the assembly which became known as "The Yearly Conference of the People called Methodists."

It must always, however, be clearly understood that during Wesley's lifetime the leaders' meetings and the Conference, in respect of administration and legislation, were merely committees of advice. The leaders sometimes forgot this, and, as in the often-cited Dublin case, they had to be sharply reminded of their proper work. The relations of Wesley to the Con-

ference were also distinctly defined and turbulent spirits were reduced to submission by pointed exposition. The early "Minutes" show that, at the beginning, the Conference was merely a deliberative assembly. As the Societies increased, and proved too numerous for Wesley's personal inspection and regulation, the duties of the Conference became legislative and executive. But the final decisions were Wesley's, his conclusive assent was the one absolute necessity, and those who carried the decisions out did so as his "assistants" and representatives. In the Conferences of Wesley's day preachers were admitted "on trial," and, after trial, into "full connexion" with the Conference; "assistants" were chosen "helpers" enrolled, preachers stationed; the condition of the various funds was investigated, and practical advices were given for the improvement of the preachers and the better regulation of the societies. It is impossible to read the records of the "Conversations" without perceiving the patriarchal spirit which pervades them. They echo the tone of Wesley, and the transactions of the Conference are clearly his "act and deed." When the assembly dispersed, the "assistants" returned to their circuits to carry out his directions. In his name they said who should preach and who should be restrained from preaching, they appointed and displaced leaders, they admitted and expelled members, and controlled the spiritual and temporal affairs of the societies.

From a consideration of these facts we are able to understand the conditions of Wesley's autocracy. It was a despotism mitigated by the counsels of the governed. We know from his own statement that he adopted this method wittingly. He was anxious to gently habituate the societies to the rule of the preachers lest they should be scattered at his death. To prevent this he permitted his "assistants" to exercise his authority, arming them, as it were, with a power of attorney, but stepping in when interference was necessary, and expressing his decision in some clean-cutting sentence that was an end of all controversy. It was his intention to transfer his power to the Conference at his death, and thereby to secure the perpetuation of the original constitution of his societies.

We have said that in the early Conferences the preachers investigated the condition of the various funds. That we may understand the development of the Methodist Constitution, it will be necessary to glance at the financial economy of the United Societies. In the "Minutes" for 1766, Wesley shows how his purchase of the lease of the Foundry led to the creation of stewards. In Bristol the erection of a "preaching-house" resulted in the division of the society into classes, and the "penny-a-week" contribution, which is part of the definition of Methodism. As the Society expanded its financial necessities increased. The employment of lay-preachers involved an expenditure which had to be met by the societies in which they laboured. In their case the apostolic principle of "maintenance" was adopted. No salaries were paid; "allowances" were made which were supposed to meet the preacher's weekly needs. It was not until 1752 that such "allowances" were given. Up to that time the stewards of the different societies furnished the preachers with their travelling expenses; beyond this they received no money, except such sums as might be given them personally as voluntary contributions. The evil of such *douceurs* will be at once perceived. In 1752 it was agreed that each preacher should receive £12 per annum, to provide himself with necessities; and gradually the usage became general. But a difficulty arose. Men distinctly marked out as suitable for the work of preaching offered themselves to Wesley. But they were married. It was not without difficulty that proper provision for preachers' wives was secured. At the Conference of 1769 it was stated that many inconveniences had arisen from making them chargeable to the circuits to which their husbands were appointed. After much deliberation, a plan was devised by which their needs were met. Proceeding upon the assumption that the annual cost of a wife was £10, it was decided that each society should subscribe according to its ability to a common fund, and that out of this fund the several sums of £10 per wife should be paid. Amounts ranging from £7 10s. to £2 10s. per quarter were levied on the societies, and provision was thus made for thirty-six wives. It was directed that the overplus should be divided amongst

such of them as had children, according to their necessities. As we turn over the pages of the "Minutes," we find that the "overplus"—that Methodist phenomenon—soon disappeared. The assessment on the societies was insufficient, and various funds had to come to the rescue.

The cost of maintaining the preacher's children was—at this time—a charge upon the circuits where the fathers were stationed, but a special arrangement existed for their education. In June, 1739, the foundations of a school were laid in the middle of a wood, known as the King's Wood, which crowned a hill standing a few miles from Bristol. In 1741 the building was completed; and in 1748 it was enlarged. It was designed to be a school for the benefit of Methodist children. In addition to the boys received as boarders, provision was made for the sons of preachers. In 1788 the Conference directed that the number of boarders should be reduced as soon as possible to ten, and the number of preachers' sons should be raised to forty. The "boarder" element finally disappeared. The school was supported chiefly by the contributions of the societies. At the Conference of 1774, when the Kingswood Collection was under review, it was asked, "Can nothing be done for the preachers' daughters?" In 1780 £6 each was given to four of them to be expended on their education at home, and the same amount was granted to applicants in succeeding years. In 1787 one boy received £6 for a similar purpose; and in 1789 the distinction between boys and girls, in respect of such allowances, disappeared.

The principle of bare maintenance might act well as long as the worker was able to work; but when age and feebleness compelled him to desist it broke down. This difficulty was perceived and provided against. A fund known as "The Preachers' Fund," was established, and in the "Minutes" of 1765, rules are laid down for its management. To it the preachers contributed out of their scanty store, and from it they received small annuities when "worn out." Their widows also shared its merciful aid. The societies supplemented the preachers' subscriptions by voluntary contributions. The financial straits through which the societies

passed were so severe that the moneys of this fund were sometimes diverted from their proper object. From 1781 to 1790, a portion was appropriated to the support of the preachers' wives; and in 1791 it became necessary to pass a law forbidding this practice in future. At Wealey's death the capital of the fund, which was invested in the Book Room, was swallowed up in paying sundry sums of money due to the executors of Charles Wealey, and it was only by keeping an immovable hand upon the Book Room that the managers of the Preachers' Fund were able to save it from ruin. The bearing of these facts on the management of the Book Room in after years is important.

The moneys contributed by the societies for the maintenance of the preachers was expended within the bounds of the different circuits under the direction of a quarterly meeting of officials. It is difficult to ascertain the precise date when quarterly meetings were instituted. The societies were grouped together in circuits in 1746, and it is probable that these important meetings were established soon after that time. They are first mentioned in the "Minutes" for 1749. The constitution of the quarterly meeting was for a long period undefined, and governed by local usage. The amounts raised by some of the circuits was quite insufficient to maintain their preachers, and means had to be devised for supplementing the circuit contributions, and providing funds for aggression and defence. From the first what is known as the "Connexional spirit" ruled in Methodism. Originating in a common spiritual experience, it was nourished by the personal influence and presence of Wealey and his preachers, and strengthened and confirmed by mutual suffering and by mutual aid. We are concerned now with its expression in the realm of finance. At the head of the early Methodist Connexional funds must be placed that which was formed from the contributions of the societies to the "Yearly Collection." The first suggestion leading to the establishment of this fund seems to have been made in the Conference of 1749. In 1763 an appeal in behalf of "The General Fund" is inserted in the "Minutes." By the aid of

this fund debts on preaching-houses were liquidated, local preachers were released from financial obligations when sent out to itinerate, the poorer circuits were supplied with preachers, and riotous mobs were quelled by the removal of cases of disturbance to the King's Bench when justice was denied by the local magistracy. At first the "General Fund" was supported by private subscriptions and collections, but in 1770 every member in England, Scotland, and Ireland was advised to contribute a penny a week for one year, the rich paying for the poor; those who were so minded contributing further weekly. The following year, in consequence of the embarrassed state of the fund, a collection was made in every preaching-house. In 1790, owing to certain irregularities in the administration of the fund, an adjustment of claims took place, and the objects upon which its moneys were to be expended were distinctly defined. Wealey valued this beneficent and necessary fund very highly, and ceased not to urge his people to contribute to it. It is represented to-day by the Home Mission and Contingent Fund of Methodism, of which, however, the scope and functions are much more strictly defined as well as very largely developed.

In addition to the moneys contributed towards the maintenance of the preachers and their families, and to the General Fund, large amounts were collected for the erection of preaching-houses. To the æsthetic observer the spectacle of an old Methodist preaching-house administers a disagreeable shock. Without beauty in itself, it is often found in a dim alley, and is approached by a dismal passage. There are not a few of these "houses," however, which are microcosms of Methodist history. The question of the legal settlement of his "preaching-houses" occupied much of Wesley's thoughts. At first he supposed that it would be enough if he vested the estate in trustees, giving them the right to appoint preachers who should minister therein. With all his acuteness, Wealey lacked "vulpine sagacity," and it required a sharp reminder to awaken him to the danger of this form of conveyance. He then determined to convey the estate to trustees, reserving to himself, his brother Charles, and sometimes William

Grimshaw, the right of appointing preachers to them; the right reverting to the trustees at the death of the survivor. But as the yearly Conference grew in importance, and the work of stationing was practically done through the assembled preachers, Wesley began to alter the terms of his deeds. It was now legally provided that the right of appointment should pass at his death to the Conference. This arrangement seemed so satisfactory that, in 1763, a form of trust deed containing this provision was published in the "Large Minutes," and Wesley used all his influence to secure the settlement of his preaching-houses on these lines. In addition to the right of appointment, another important matter was guarded by this model deed. It was provided that the appointed preachers should preach "no other doctrine than is contained in Mr. Wesley's Notes upon the New Testament and four volumes of Sermons." With this settlement Wesley was content. In 1778 someone suggested to him that the trustees might abuse their power after his death. He replied, "We need take no thought for the morrow, God will provide when need shall be."

It is fortunate that there were those in the Society who possessed more worldly wisdom. It was clear to many that the phrase "the yearly Conference of the people called Methodists" had no legal significance, and that it would be a fruitful source of controversy when Wesley died. In 1783 the fears of the preachers became so excited that sixty-nine of them, in a written document, requested him to draw up a deed specifying what he meant by the undefined term. After considering the matter he did so, and on February 28, 1784, the famous Deed of Declaration was enrolled in the High Court of Chancery. The deed fixed the meaning of "the Conference," and defined its duties, rights and powers. It contains the names of one hundred preachers who are declared to be "the Conference," and fifteen clauses follow, an admirable summary of which may be found in Southey's *Life of Wesley*. Notwithstanding certain demurs, it was generally felt that by the Deed of Declaration the destruction of the Methodist societies had been averted.*

* *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, Feb. 1881. Article by Rev. Dr. Osborn on "The Deed of Declaration."

On the 2nd of March, 1791, John Wesley died, and on the same day, a circular letter, signed by five of the preachers, was written to the "assistants" throughout the Connexion. It contained Wesley's dying injunction, which was that each preacher should continue in his station until the time appointed for the next Conference at Manchester. The receipt of this letter filled the societies with mourning. For awhile nothing was heard but the voice of lamentation; then, when the first pang of grief was assuaged, wise men began to look into the future with acute concern. It was impossible to abstain from action during the interval preceding the Conference. There were many who deemed it prudent to strike out a line of ecclesiastical and constitutional policy for the direction of the Conference when it should assemble. We have hinted that the Deed of Declaration had not satisfied all persons. There were some who preferred the "old plan," which provided that in the event of Wesley's death, all the preachers in England should repair to London within six weeks, and, after solemn fasting and prayer, should draw up articles of agreement, to be signed by those who were determined to act together. Those who declined to sign were to be dismissed "in the most friendly manner possible." Those that remained were to choose by votes a committee of three, five, or seven, each of whom was to be moderator in his turn. The committee was to "propose preachers to be tried, admitted, or excluded; fix the place of each preacher for the ensuing year, and the time of the next Conference." It is singular that such an oligarchal plan was preferred by some to the more liberal provisions of the Deed of Declaration. We presume that the secret is to be found in the appeal to the imagination contained in the proposal to submit the future economy of Methodism to the vote of "all the preachers." There was something fascinating in the theory of universal suffrage, especially at a time when the heart of the nation was stirred by the voices of the advocates of "the rights of man." A glance at the "old plan" shows that after the preliminary demonstration of the fact that each preacher possessed a vote, the government would have been left to a small cabinet of moderators possessed of formidable powers. It is no wonder that shrewd men

welcomed the more generous provisions of the Deed of Declaration, and rejoiced that the "old plan" had been superseded. But although the "plan" was gone its suggestive influence remained. Before the end of March an important meeting was held in Halifax. It was attended by nine assistants, and the results of their deliberations were embodied in a letter which was scattered through the Connexion.* From it we learn that two questions relating to the future government of the societies were discussed. First, Was it expedient to appoint "another king in Israel?" or, secondly, Was it better to adopt government by committees? The first was answered promptly in the negative. In reply to the second, many suggestions were made. Finally, after concluding that vacancies in the Conference should be filled by seniority, and that the President should be chosen for one year only, it was suggested that committees should be appointed to include all the circuits in the three kingdoms, "to manage the affairs of their respective districts from one Conference to another." The letter proceeds:—"Let these committees, during the time of Conference, appoint their own presidents for the ensuing year. And let their names be inserted in the 'Minutes,' that they may convene the committee, in case of the bad behaviour or death of a preacher, or any other emergency. Let each of the presidents bring an account of their proceedings to the Conference, and there let them be finally determined." Suggestions were also made whereby the number of clergymen and supernumeraries should be limited, lest the government should fall into the hands of men who were not strictly "travelling preachers." This circular reveals the fears agitating the minds of some of the principal men in the Connexion. They wished to guard themselves against autocratic rule; they were equally anxious to secure a Conference of itinerant preachers, and they sought to provide means whereby the disciplinary power of the Conference might be exercised during the interval which intervened between its annual assemblies. The letter produced vigorous discussion, its suggestions were widely

* Dr. Bigg's Collection.

approved, and, to a great extent, it determined the policy of the Connexion.

Whilst the preachers were deliberating on the best mode of governing the people, some of the people were pondering the mode in which they would best like to be governed. They had submitted to the mild despotism of Wesley, and to the acts of discipline which his assistants had performed in his name. Now it became a question whether they would exhibit a similar meekness when such acts were done in the name of the Conference. The crisis foreseen by Wesley had come.

When the Conference met in Manchester, William Thompson was elected President. His election signified that there was to be no "king in Israel."* Another step in the same direction was taken when Joseph Bradford produced a letter from Wesley, dated April 7, 1785, addressed to the preachers whose names appeared in the Deed of Declaration. In this letter Wesley besought them "by the mercies of God," never to avail themselves of the deed to assume any superiority over their brethren; and, in particular, to have no respect of persons in stationing the preachers, in choosing children for Kingswood School, in disposing of the yearly contribution and the Preachers' Fund, or any other public money. When this letter was read, the Conference unanimously resolved that all the preachers in full connexion with it should "enjoy every privilege that the members of the Conference enjoy." This wise decision knit the preachers into the closest unity. The leading suggestions of the *Halifax Circular* were adopted. The kingdom was divided into districts, and the following directions were given as to their management:—

"The assistant of a circuit shall have authority to summon the preachers of his district, who are in full connexion, on any critical case, which, according to the best of his judgment, merits such an interference. And the said preachers, or as many of them as can attend, shall assemble at the place and time appointed by the assistant aforesaid, and shall form a committee for the purpose of determining concerning the business on which they are called. They shall choose a chairman for the occasion; and the decision shall be final till the meeting of the next Conference,

* See No. 125 of this Review (Oct. 1884.)

when the Chairman of the Committee shall lay the minutes of their proceedings before the Conference. Provided, nevertheless, that nothing shall be done by any Committee contrary to the resolutions of Conference." ("Minutes," vol. i. p. 249, 8vo. ed.)

The Conference engaged to follow strictly the plan which Wealey left at his death, and gave directions for the better management of the Preachers' Fund and the General Collection. In connexion with the latter, the district committees were directed to settle the temporal accounts of their respective districts annually, either on the Saturday before the Conference or at such time as was most convenient. This direction shows that the district committees were not considered exclusively as disciplinary bodies, but that administrative as well as disciplinary functions were to be exercised by them. At the Conference of 1792, further regulations were passed relating to the organization of the district committees. The method of electing chairmen was improved, and means were provided by which, on the complaint of either preacher or people, any preacher might be placed on his trial, and, if found guilty of improper conduct, be suspended or otherwise dealt with, as the case might seem to require, until the next Conference. In 1793, the inconveniences which arose from summoning all the preachers in a district to decide cases which might not be of great public importance, were obviated. It was arranged that in case of a charge against any preacher, he and his accuser should each be at liberty to choose two preachers to represent them, and that the four thus chosen should meet together, under the presidency of the chairman of the district, and decide the matter. In this way the "minor district meeting" arose, which was soon proved to be of immense value in the economy of Methodism.

During the time when the Conference was maturing its legislation on district meetings, the existence of Methodism was threatened by two opposite dangers. Wesley's assertion that as soon as he was dead the Methodists would be "a regular Presbyterian Church" was a hard saying to those who had become accustomed to his episcopal rule. The ordinations of Coke and Mather confirmed the impression

that he favoured a form of church government, in which some ministers were the ecclesiastical superiors of their brethren. In ordinary practice the distinction between an "assistant" and a "helper" was severely marked, and, in fact, the whole genius of primitive Methodism favoured the adoption of the episcopal form of government. In addition, we have seen that the "old plan" recommended the separation of certain preachers to the office of rulers. We are not surprised, therefore, that some of the senior preachers, acting, doubtless with the best intentions, went so far as to elaborate a plan for the creation of what has been called "a Methodist hierarchy." In the library of Headingley College there is a manuscript containing notes of a meeting which was held at Lichfield, on April 2, 1794. At that time Methodism seems to have had no existence in the city of St. Chad. It was therefore deemed a fit place for the assembling of a conclave whose proceedings had to be conducted in secret. The meeting was attended by Dr. Coke, A. Mather, T. Taylor, J. Pawson, S. Bradburn, J. Rogers, H. Moore, and Adam Clarke. After considerable discussion, a plan for the creation of an order of "superintendents," who should have power to ordain deacons and elders, was agreed on. It was suggested that the Connexion should be formed into seven or eight general divisions, that superintendents should be set over them, and that each superintendent should visit the principal societies in his division at least once a year, that he should have authority to execute, or see executed, all the branches of Methodist discipline, and after having consulted the preachers who were with him, to determine all cases of difficulty till the Conference. If he judged himself to be inadequate to determine in any given case, then he was to have authority to call in the President of the Conference to his assistance. These arrangements strongly commended themselves to those present at the Lichfield meeting, or to the large majority of them. Moore, however, contended that no steps affecting the interest of Methodism ought to be taken without first consulting the Conference. It was ultimately decided to refer the question to that assembly. The news that this secret meeting had been held soon spread. The landlord of

the inn at which the preachers met was much agitated by the proceedings of his guests. He puzzled himself to divine what their business was, and almost decided that they were conspiring against the King, "his crown and dignity." But a traveller, who chanced to pass that way, recognized them, and spread the tidings wherever he wandered. The societies received the news with alarm, and began to murmur ominously. When the proposals of the Lichfield meeting were produced in Conference, they provoked a tempest. The suggestions were rejected at once, "as tending to create invidious and unhallowed distinctions among brethren;" and when they became more widely known the contemptuous cry of "No bishops" rang through the Methodist societies. The proposals disappeared in a storm of derision. The doctrines of the supremacy of the Conference, and the equality of the preachers were seen to be essential to Methodism, and this venturous attempt caused them to be held with a more intelligent enthusiasm.

Whilst the preachers were thus guarding their rights against a powerful section of their brethren, questions were being raised which concerned the relations of the preachers to the great mass of the Methodist people. The hour had struck when it was to be decided whether the societies would submit to be governed by what Welch calls "an unlimited, unamenable, ministerial aristocracy." It was argued that such a mode of government was effete, and earnest men busied themselves with attempts to decide upon a more excellent way. Many suggestions were made, and "constitution-building" flourished. It will suffice if we confine ourselves to a description of the proposals of the extreme, and of the moderate, men who showed their opinion at this interesting crisis. We may select Alexander Kilham as the representative of the former. When Wesley died, Kilham was only thirty years of age. He was by conviction "a real Dissenter," and he was an able, enthusiastic controversialist, deeply imbued with the democratic spirit. It must be allowed that as the Methodist constitution then stood there was much in it that was open to adverse criticism. This

was admitted by many of the preachers. The exclusive ministerial management of Connexional finance was open to suspicion. A feeling existed in the minds of some of the leading preachers that a division should be effected between temporal and spiritual affairs, and that the former should be placed more completely in the hands of lay officers. These facts must be borne in mind while we try to sketch the scheme of reform which Kilham advocated.

That scheme is to be found, in its completest form, in *The Progress of Liberty*. Beginning with spiritual matters, Kilham suggests that the rules of Society and of the bands, together with those for preachers and people, contained in the "Minutes" of Conference should be revised. Then, with a coolness that appals a modern Methodist, he continues: "Would it not also be necessary to examine that clause in our deeds which requires every preacher to conform in his preaching to the doctrines contained in Mr. Wesley's Notes on the New Testament, and his four volumes of Sermons? Is there nothing in the notes, or in those sermons, that militates against the Scriptures which are the only sufficient rule of our faith and practice?" He naively proposes that the Conference should ask the people throughout the Connexion to give an opinion on the standards, and then the alterations which they approved might be effected. Passing to the vexed question of the admission and exclusion of members into the societies, he asserts that they ought to be received and excluded by the consent of the people. In small societies this might be done without difficulty; in large societies the people might speak through the leaders' meetings. As to the appointment of leaders, he suggests that, having been named by the preacher in the leaders' meeting, the person so nominated should be appointed to a class for a season that the members might have time to approve or object to the change. He also advises, with some lack of insight into human nature, that in the large societies a plan of rotation should be "fixed" for the leaders to meet the classes as "we supply our circuits." He insists upon the necessity for increasing the interest of the leaders' meetings, and he indicates a number of points in which their proceedings might be improved. Then he deals with the local preachers. He

argues with great soundness that before their admission they should be examined in doctrine, and approved by the leaders' meetings. In those towns where there were several local preachers the travelling preachers should meet them and instruct them. This section of the *Progress of Liberty* contains suggestions of great value. We cannot but smile, however, at the question, "Would there be any sin in examining the sermons of the travelling preachers in those meetings, with meekness and fear, that all might be edified?" Admitting that, on account of the itinerancy, it was impossible to allow the societies to choose their own preachers, he argues that in respect of receiving and continuing them, satisfaction should be given to the people. He would rigorously guard the entrance to the ministry. Before a local preacher was called into the work, or a preacher on trial was admitted into "full connexion," the opinion of quarterly and district meetings should be ascertained. The need of such precautions is argued on the alleged ground that at the preceding Conference a few preachers who had not been proposed in the district meetings, and many that were not named in the quarterly meetings, had been brought into the ministry. To remedy this defect he proposes that delegates from the quarterly meetings should attend the district meetings that they might declare the sense of the former on this important subject. Not only so. The people ought to be heard when they declared in a number of circuits that different preachers in "full connexion" had not abilities for the work; or that their character, after being tried for a number of years, was a reproach. Further, the people, by their representatives in the quarterly meetings, should in some measure determine when a preacher should become a supernumerary or superannuated.

Admitting that in respect of doctrine and discipline the Methodists throughout the country were one body, Kilham contends that in matters of "an indifferent nature" the societies were independent of each other. Such questions as hours of worship, and the administration of the Sacrament should be considered at a general assembly of the society, a vote should be taken, and the question decided. When the whole society could not assemble, then the vote might be

collected by the leaders. Remembering the circumstances of the societies at the time when Kilham wrote, we are surprised to note his illustrations of "indifferent matters."

The pamphlet then deals with the constitution and general improvement of quarterly meetings. A delegate from each society should attend them. Allegations against the character, doctrine, or abilities of travelling or local preachers; all matters relating to the divisions of circuits, and the continuance of the preachers in the circuit for a second year, should then be considered and decided. As it seemed to the writer very probable that the Conference would soon appoint lay delegates from the quarterly meetings to attend the district meetings, suitable persons should be chosen. In the quarterly meeting immediately after the district meeting, everything that concerned the circuit should be laid before the brethren, and, if necessary, the Conference should be petitioned. In order to improve the district meetings, Kilham proposes that two delegates from each circuit should attend, one to manage the spiritual and the other the temporal concerns of the people. The delegates being assembled, the character of the ministers should be searchingly examined, the stations of the preachers in the district should be drawn up for submission to Conference, the state of the circuits should be considered, and it should be determined as to which preachers should attend Conference. Lastly, the delegates from the quarterly meetings should have full liberty to choose out of their body one or two lay delegates to attend Conference in order that they might transact the spiritual and temporal affairs of the districts they represented. Kilham thought that one district meeting in a year was sufficient. In cases of emergency an extraordinary meeting might be called, and the matter settled.

Turning to financial affairs, Kilham asserts that if the collections were properly managed they were more than sufficient to supply the needs of the Connexion. As one means of effecting this better management, he insisted upon the publication of detailed accounts of expenditure in connexion with the various funds. Descending to detail, he advises that the leaders, in concert with the assistant preacher,

should choose society stewards, and society stewards should choose circuit stewards. The moneys contributed in the classes should not be touched by the preachers; if taken by them, a note from the leader to the circuit steward should specify the sum that no mistake might occur. In the quarterly meetings all matters of finance should be transacted openly. All extraordinary expenses should be properly considered. If only a part could be paid, the sum which was judged necessary should be specified, with the amount allowed by the circuit, that the Conference might know how much had to be granted for deficiencies. When an extraordinary collection was made in the circuit, the preachers should read to the societies the state of their finances as drawn up by the circuit stewards, and desire the members to give what they designed to subscribe to their leaders that it might be brought to the next quarterly meeting. True to his policy of keeping all moneys out of the hands of the preachers, he suggests that lay delegates should carry the amounts contributed for the Yearly, Kingwood, and Preachers' Fund collections to Conference. In the district meetings, temporal affairs should be prepared for Conference. Then that assembly would only have to receive the reports from the various districts, and pay the sums minuted for ordinary deficiencies. A little time might be spent on extraordinary deficiencies. The rough plan of the stations, embodying we suppose the suggestions of the districts, was to be prepared by the delegates from the preachers; and then Kilham emerges into the clear light of indisputable truth and says that time would be saved if as few alterations as possible were made in that plan. As his proposals tended to make the Conference a clearing-house and court of registration, it is no wonder that he considered that its business might be transacted in a week, and that it was not necessary for many preachers to attend its sessions.

We have given this analysis of the *Progress of Liberty* in order that we may bring into full view the proposals it contains. It will be seen that many of them were of practical value, and are perfectly consistent with the healthy development of the constitution of Methodism. Some of the less drastic of them were almost immediately adopted. It is very unfortunate that the merits of Kilham's pamphlet are obscured

by the incessant attacks which he makes on the intellectual and moral character of his brethren. His accusations are both oblique and direct. They should have been urged in Conference, and supported by irrefutable evidence. But Kilham does not seem to have perceived the need of such evidence. Rumour was enough for him. For some time he had been engaged in the bush-warfare of anonymous pamphleteering. Screened from observation, he had shot his darts, and witnessed the irritation of the men whom he assailed. Taking to the open, whilst losing his shelter, he retained his recklessness. In addition, he was afflicted with a fault not uncommon in vigorous young writers—he mistook abuse for argument, and coarseness for wit. It was no wonder that at the Conference of 1796 he was summoned to the bar of the House to sustain his accusations, and that failing to do so, he was excluded from the brotherhood he had so mercilessly assailed. It must be clearly understood that he was tried for his accusations against the preachers, not because he had proposed reforms in the constitution of Methodism. About 5,000 persons, out of a membership of 95,000, retired with him, and formed the nucleus of the Methodist New Connexion.

The minority sympathising with Kilham's extreme views was small. A very much larger number of the Methodist people, however, were anxious to use the opportunity furnished by the crisis that had arisen to urge upon the Conference their claims for moderate but invaluable concessions. It was fortunate that the preachers were sufficiently wise to discriminate between the points which were vital to the existence of Methodism, and those which might be conceded without endangering the system they were pledged to defend. The close student of the "Minutes" from 1791 to 1797 will not fail to detect the presence of this spirit of discrimination in the deliberations of the Conference. The times were perilous. The nation was given up to restlessness and revolution. Extreme doctrines touching the "rights of man" were being preached by enthusiastic orators, and it was impossible to exclude the sound of their strident voices from the councils of the church. If the Conference had taken up a position of obstinate resistance to the moderate claims of the people, the societies would have

been scattered; if it had been weak enough to yield to the extreme demands of revolutionists, the Methodism of Wesley would have disappeared. In this, as in so many crises of English history, the mode of government by compromise was adopted, and the societies were established on an immovable foundation. The concessions which were demanded and granted are to be found chiefly in the Plan of Pacification, which was passed in 1795, and certain regulations which were made at the Leeds Conference of 1797. It will be sufficient if we indicate the broad outlines of the constitutional changes then effected. In respect of temporal matters, it was decided that the accounts of the Yearly Collection and of the affairs of Kingswood School should be published in detail. That before bills for the support of preachers were brought to the district meeting, they must meet with the approval of the quarterly meeting, and be signed by the circuit stewards; that no circuit was to be divided till such division was approved by the quarterly meetings concerned; that no other temporal matter affecting the circuits was to be transacted by the district meetings until the approbation of the respective quarterly meetings, signed by the circuit stewards, was first given. These changes immensely increased the importance of the quarterly meetings, and made them "the sources from whence all temporal regulations, during the intervals of the Conference, must originally spring." On the question of the admission and exclusion of members it was agreed that the leaders' meeting should have a right to declare any person on trial improper to be received into the society; and that no person should be expelled for immorality till his offence had been proved at a leaders' meeting. This regulation effectually curtailed the well-nigh boundless power which had been exercised by the assistants as Wesley's representatives, and gave guarantees against the undue exercise of their prerogatives. It was further determined that no person should be appointed a leader or steward, or be removed from his office, unless in conjunction with a leaders' meeting, the nomination in the case of appointment to rest with the superintendent. As to the local preachers, it was decided that no person should be received on the plan without the approval of a local preachers' meeting. These provisions strengthened

the quarterly and leaders' meetings, and gave shape to a new assembly, which subsequently became an integral part of the Methodist organization. Proceeding from the lower courts to the highest, it was enacted that new rules passed by the Conference for the societies at large should be read at the quarterly meetings immediately after the Conference, and in case any quarterly meeting objected to the enforcement of such rule, it should not be imposed upon the circuit that year. If, however, after the Conference had gathered the consensus of the opinions of the Connexion on the value of the rule, and, with all the facts of the case before it, confirmed it at its next annual assembly, it should be binding on all the societies. In respect of the part to be taken by the societies in the trial of a preacher an important concession was made. If a preacher was suspected of being immoral in conduct, or erroneous in doctrine, a special meeting, consisting of the preachers of the district, and the trustees, stewards, and leaders of the circuit to which he belonged, was to be summoned, and his character and doctrinal views were to be investigated. This meeting had power to suspend him; and, under certain conditions, the trustees, stewards, and leaders had the right to appoint another Methodist preacher in his place until the ensuing Conference. The supreme power of expulsion, in accordance with the terms of the Deed of Declaration, rested in the hands of the Conference. As to admissions into the ministry, it was arranged that all candidates must be approved by the March quarterly meeting. This important provision placed the key of the entrance into the ministry in the hands of the societies, as represented by their quarterly meetings, and effectually prevented the abuses which were so caustically pointed out by Kilham. As to the theory of lay-delegation, the Conference declared that "it could not admit any but travelling preachers, either into the Conference or the district meetings, and preserve the system of Methodism, particularly the itinerant plan, entire." Glancing over these provisions, whilst we do not fail to perceive the privileges which still remained in the hands of the Conference and the preachers, we are impressed with the fact that, at this stage of the constitutional development of Methodism, a great system of weights and forces passed into the possession of the societies.

Perhaps we shall be excused from the charge of rhetorical exaggeration if, on searching for a historical parallel to the proceedings of the Conference of 1795 and 1797, we style the documents containing the concessions then made the *Magna Charta* of Methodism.

We have given to this article a title which recognises the secession led by Kilham as important. Its importance consisted chiefly in the settlement of principles to which it led. Among many good practical suggestions, of which not a few were either adopted at the time or have been adopted since, Kilham's proposals included three which were fundamental, and which the Conference could not accept. The Conference would not accept the principle that the minister was to be essentially little, if anything, more or other than the hired preacher and officer of the Society, pecuniarily dependent, on the one hand, and, on the other, denuded of all pastoral authority or prerogative whatever. Nor would they be parties to the breaking up of the Conference as the common pastoral council of the Connexion, in which the united brotherhood of ministers consulted with each other as to their special and distinctive duties and responsibilities, and kept watch over each other as well as over their common charge. Nor would they consent to introduce the principle of elective republicanism into every church meeting, and even into the spiritual fellowship meetings, as, for example, in the choice of leaders for the "classes." On these principles the "New Connexion" was constituted. The result of the respective principles of constitution for the two Connexions, the "old" and the "new," is to be found in the development and in the present position and condition of the two communities. In no spirit but that of friendliness and entire good feeling would we refer to these matters of old history. But old as they are, they are of cardinal importance, and for Methodists their interest can never be exhausted, nor their lessons become obsolete. We wish nothing but well to the "New Connexion." But now and again we have to chronicle, with the advantage of the fullest information, the epochal chapters of Wesleyan Methodist history.

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY.

Religion without God, and God without Religion. I. Positivism and Mr. Frederic Harrison. By WILLIAM ARTHUR. London: Bemrose & Sons. 1885.

THE claims of Positivism are enormous. It claims to have advanced beyond Christianity itself, and to be destined to take its place in the world. What is there to justify these claims? How does Positivism differ from Materialism, Pantheism, and Agnosticism? Any one wishing an answer to these questions will do well to consult Mr. Arthur, who draws his knowledge of Positivism from Comte himself, and expounds his subject with rare faculty of illustration. "The writings of English Positivists are not my sources. I go to the master." The English disciples know better than to reproduce the intensely French arrogance of the master. Mr. Arthur gives two instances (pp. 10, 68) in which Miss Martineau in her abridgment tried to soften or improve on Comte. Comte, however, is not always taken at his own estimate. On this point Stuart Mill and Spencer may be consulted. Neither of these writers is willing to yield the obedience claimed by Comte. Perhaps this is a partial explanation of the recent battle between Spencer and Mr. Harrison, the fervid disciple. Comtists boast of Humboldt's respect for their master. Mr. Arthur happens to possess the copy of the *Politique Positive*, presented to Humboldt by Comte, with the inscription "A. M. le baron Alexandre de Humboldt hommage de l'auteur," &c. "Humboldt had cut open two leaves, partially cut one or two more, and not another." Judge Stephen says, "Humanity spelled with a capital H (Mr. Harrison's and Comte's God) is neither better nor worse fitted to be a God than the Unknowable with the capital U. They are as much alike as six and half-a-dozen. Each is a barren abstraction."

Perhaps the first impression made by Mr. Arthur's exposition of Positivist polity, philosophy, and religion will be that the critic does nothing but find fault. But this is inevitable from the Christian standpoint, if the whole system is to be described. English Positivists do not present the whole system. Certain parts are kept back for the present. But we want to know what the end and outcome is to be. The end is the Positivist polity, which is to supersede kings, parliaments, and represen-

tative government altogether. In it the spiritual and secular powers are carefully separated, but the second is subordinate to the first. At the head of the first is the Supreme Pontiff, who is to reside, of course, in Paris, who nominates the whole of the clergy as well as his own successor. He is assisted by a graduated hierarchy of superiors, deans, &c., who control all education and worship. The secular power again is a hierarchy of chief bankers, ordinary bankers, merchants, manufacturers, farmers. The four Superiors, next to the Pontiff, preside over the Italian, Spanish, German, and English Churches (mark the order). Europe is to be divided into about sixty-four republics, of which France is to have seventeen. Scotland, Ireland and Wales are to be severed from England. The chief function of the bankers, &c., is to protect and support the Pontiff and priests. The polity, in fact, is a centralized despotism of the most extreme kind. The whole idea is borrowed from the Middle Ages, to which Positivism would in this respect take us back; or, it is the Hindu caste-system pure and simple. Mr. Harrison does not say much on this part of Positivism. We invite him to expend his eloquence on so inviting a topic. Positivist "philosophy" seems to us an extraordinary misnomer. We thought that the special office of philosophy had always been to penetrate through phenomena to causes, and so to discover explanations. The new philosophy consists in the renunciation and interdiction of all inquiry into causes. Why must we not ask the *Why* of anything? Because the answer inevitably leads up to God. "Comte had a certain sagacity, by virtue of which, when at sea, he scented the approach of land. The moment you mentioned Cause he scented a First Cause." Mr. Arthur's criticism of the law of the Three States is very effective. He contends that the Three States are not universal, not necessary, not necessarily successive, not mutually exclusive. Extraordinary as Positivist philosophy is, it is outdone by Positivist religion, a religion which, after renouncing and cursing metaphysics, worships a metaphysical abstraction—Humanity, which uses the old words, "religion, worship, prayer, priest, temple, sacrament, immortality," &c., while emptying them of all their old meanings. Such use of language may be honest, but it is certainly confusing. A good definition of Positivism is, "Catholicism minus Christianity." It is this, and nothing else. What is new in it is not true, and what is true is not new. With all our desire to be generous, we cannot possibly see how the boasted altruism of Positivist ethics goes beyond the golden rule of Christ. To notice all the points made by Mr. Arthur would be to write a treatise as large as the one we commend to our readers. His work is thorough and his analysis complete. Whoever masters this powerful book will be invulnerable against Positivism and will have made a good advance also in the special argument against Agnosticism to which this first instalment of Mr. Arthur's great argument is in effect an introduction.

The Tongue of Fire; or, the True Power of Christianity. By
WILLIAM ARTHUR. Author's Uniform Edition. London :
Bemrose & Sons. 1885.

The eighteen editions through which Mr. Arthur's work ran on its first appearance nearly thirty years ago prove the hold which it at once took on the mind and heart of the Christian Church, and the new editions which are still called for show that the impression was not superficial. It is Mr. Arthur's most characteristic work, the most perfect expression of his spirit. His is indeed a tongue of fire, but the fire is not wild fire. It burns only to enlighten and purify and warm. We do not doubt that many will be glad to possess a favourite work in so becoming a form.

A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament. Being an Expansion of Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Dublin. By
GEORGE SALMON, D.D.

At last we have an English Introduction to the New Testament worthy of the name. The time of our dependence on foreign scholars in this field is at an end. In knowledge at first hand and thorough treatment Dr. Salmon is not behind the best Germans, in sound conclusions and pungent argument he is far before them. His moderation of tone adds weight to his judgments. He never presses a point too far, looks fairly at all difficulties, and does justice to the merits of opponents. The one question discussed throughout the volume is the date and authorship of the several New Testament books, a question anterior to, and independent of, their inspiration. The question is discussed on purely historical grounds; external and internal proofs are considered, just as would be done in the case of ordinary books. In the end Dr. Salmon abides by the old positions. Even the closing verses of St. Mark are defended as genuine. Whether opponents like the result or not, they will find it hard to meet the arguments adduced in support, or to question the judicial impartiality of the discussion. What Dr. Salmon says of the fourth Gospel well characterizes the tendency of criticism now to revert to the old conclusions. "The date of the fourth Gospel has been receding further and further back in the second century, so that now hardly any critic with any pretension to fairness puts it later than the very beginning of that century, if not the end of the first century, which comes very close to the date assigned it by those who believe in the Johannine authorship."

Let us briefly indicate the contents. The first three lectures give a
[No. CXXIX.]—NEW SERIES, VOL. V. NO. I. M

very clear and graphic account and criticism of the theories of the Tübingen school. This school makes loud boasts of its objective historical character. Really it is built on *a priori* assumptions, one of which is the impossibility of miracles. Neither Renan nor Strauss will look at a narrative that professes to relate anything supernatural. The discussion of the external testimony to the Gospels is supplemented by a very able lecture on the internal signs of their antiquity. The ninth lecture gives a description of the intricate theories respecting the origin of the Gospels, which it would be hard to rival for clearness and animation. The question of the Johannine books is discussed in six lectures with an exhaustiveness worthy of their importance, and, we venture to think, with triumphant success at every point. The other books are then discussed in order. 1 The authenticity of 2 Peter is defended against Dr. Abbott's rash attack with great keenness and power. "Dr. Abbott's whole tone is amusingly like that of one correcting a schoolboy's exercises; and he constantly assumes that his author could have got up his Greek in no other way than that by which his own pupils acquire the language—namely, the use of lexicons and the study of ancient authors. Thus he censures 2 Peter for using a word not recognized by Liddell and Scott; though surely this writer's want of acquaintance with that excellent book may be excused as his misfortune, not his fault." A note adds, "Perhaps the lexicon used by Peter was Rost and Palm, or the Paris thesaurus, both of which give the word in question." Dr. Abbott's attempted proof that 2 Peter borrowed from Josephus impressed others than Dr. Farrar. We commend to notice the exposure of the attempt in pp. 638-648. Incidental questions discussed are The Original Language of St. Matthew, Apocryphal and Heretical Gospels, Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. We wish the author had carried out his intention to add a lecture on non-canonical books known to the early Church, and had divided his cumbersome volume into two. The only fault we have to find with his work is that there is no more of it.

We have noted more examples of pleasant raillery and keen satire than we can give. On the feature of "the false prophet" that he permits no man to buy or sell who has not his mark, we have the note, "Neither Farrar's nor Renan's explanation of this is so natural as that we have here a plain prediction of boycotting; and sure enough *καρτέλλος* makes 666." "There are three rules by the help of which, I believe, an ingenious man could find the required sum in any given name. First, if the proper name by itself will not yield it, add a title; secondly, if the sum cannot be found in Greek, try Hebrew, or even Latin; thirdly, do not be particular about the spelling." By the first and second rules Bishop Fitzgerald found the beast's number in Dr. Salmon's own name (p. 300). "It is not only to the orthodox that the doctrine that we have no genuine remains of Paul is inconvenient; it must also embarrass those who look for arguments to prove an Epistle to be un-Pauline."

CLARK'S FOREIGN THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY.

Revelation : Its Nature and Record. By H. EWALD. Translated by Rev. T. GOADBY, B.A.

The Doctrine of Divine Love. By ERNEST SARTORIUS. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR.

Encyclopædia of Theology. By Dr. J. F. RÄBIGER. Two vols. Translated by Rev. J. MACPHERSON, M.A.

The Old Testament Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom. By C. VON ORELLI. Translated by Rev. J. S. BANKS.

The first two works mentioned are translations of old works. The volume of Ewald's is part of a larger work, introductory, in fact, to his scheme of theology. Not only on account of this fragmentary character, but also because of the difficulty of Ewald's style and the peculiarity of his views, it is doubtful whether the volume will be as useful as the able translator anticipates. Ewald undoubtedly accords to Scripture a unique position in the world's religious literature, and his reverence for it is sincere and profound, but the grounds of this attitude are not made at all clear. Clearness, however, is not Ewald's forte. If we must take great men as we find them, the present volume is not a bad example of the great scholar, both in his weakness and strength. Dr. Sartorius died in 1859. The title of his work does not indicate its contents. It is neither more nor less than a brief system of theology, with the idea of divine love for its starting-point. Under the three heads of, creating, redeeming and renewing love, all the ordinary doctrines of Christian faith are discussed. The whole work is the production of a choice spirit, and ought to find as many English as it has found German friends. Love, both human and divine, breathes through it. Dr. Rübiger's work is a very comprehensive review of what in England is a new branch of theological science. The first volume treats of Theological Encyclopædia in general, nearly half of it being taken up with a history of its treatment in the past. The second then discusses exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical theology in detail. There is not much room for the intrusion of lax views; but where these appear they are noted by the translator, who further proves his competence for the work he has undertaken by additional notes and discussions. The work is, on the whole, a very useful addition to the Library. Orelli's work is a systematic exposition of the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. These prophecies are regarded as forming a definite unity (*The Old Testament Prophecy*), of which the establishment by Christ of God's Kingdom on earth is the subject. The development of this grand system of prediction is traced chronologically in a very masterly way. Faith, scholarship, reverence, enthusiasm, are

all present. The author is an accomplished Oriental scholar, and everywhere expounds the original text. His aim is, in the first place, to ascertain what the text means taken by itself, what it must have conveyed to contemporaries. This is not so difficult as is sometimes supposed. We have only to look away for the moment from the final fulfilment. At the same time Dr. Orelli always insists that the original words of prediction demand, and can only be fully explained by, the fulfilment. The distinction between the form and substance of prophecy is carefully drawn. One of the most interesting features of the work is the way in which it is shown how prophecy takes its colour and shape from the circumstances of the age. The subject and the mode of treatment should secure for the volume a hearty reception.

Scenes from the Life of Jesus. Lectures by E. LEHMANN,
Director of the Union for the Inner Mission at Leipsic.
Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

Works like this give us a glimpse of German Christianity on one of its most attractive sides, a side little known in this country. We import so much German speculation and metaphysics that we are apt to imagine that there is nothing else. But it is not so. German religion is no less remarkable for the simplicity and ardour of its devotion. Its rich hymnology, its deep vein of mysticism, the character of its preaching; prove this. There is much less of the "intellectual" element in the German than in the English pulpit. The sermons of some of its greatest thinkers and most dangerous theorists are as practical and simple as any one could wish. Pastor Lehmann's devotional lectures belong to the same class. Their natural, fervent, spiritual tone is most refreshing. Their themes are such as go direct to the Christian heart—Jesus a Home Friend, King of the Heart, Ruler of the Storm, the Physician, Conqueror of Death, Gethsemane, Golgotha. The treatment is worthy of the themes. Free from the mawkish sentiment which offends in many works of devotion, the present volume must do good, and good only.

The Joy of the Ministry: an Endeavour to Increase the Efficiency and Deepen the Happiness of Pastoral Work. By
Rev. F. R. WYNNE, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

The addresses contained in this volume were delivered by the author, a Dublin canon and incumbent, to a "party of divinity students and young clergymen." This explains the constant references to "clergymen" and "curates," as well as the colloquial freedom of the style. However, the experiences described and the counsels given bear upon others than clergymen and curates. The addresses are distinguished by a thoroughly evangelical spirit, as well as by great earnestness and freshness of tone. The speaker's experiences are fresh from life, his words come straight from

the heart. Every page reveals the devoutness of spirit, the love for souls and Christ, the passion for doing good, which are the salt of ministerial life. Nothing but personal experience could give such familiarity with the temptations, the joys, and griefs of ministerial work as this volume discovers. The suggestive, sensible counsels given respecting a minister's personal religious life, his studies, preaching, ministry to the young, visitation of the sick and from house to house, are such as all young ministers will do well to lay to heart. For example, "Very fallacious is the idea that we must take pains with our sermons and addresses to grown-up people, but that anything will do for children. If we want really to help them, we must give them our very best. . . . Let the little people find it more interesting to listen to you, and to answer you, than to interchange their whispers and their pinches." With charming frankness the writer catalogues the troubles of a "clergyman's position" thus, "critical and quarrelsome parishioners, troublesome school-children, obstinate and ignorant churchwardens, domineering rectors or (more terrible still!) rectors' wives, managerial fellow-curates, huffy organists, unmanageable choir-singers."

The Englishman's Bible. By THOMAS NEWBERRY. Part I.—
Gen. to Deut. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

The object of this work is "to give as far as practicable the accuracy, precision, and certainty of the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures on the page of the Authorized Version." The apparatus for doing this has a somewhat elaborate appearance. First, a brief account of the elements of Hebrew grammar is given. Then a system of signs is constructed by which to convey information respecting tense, number, articles, &c. Emphatic words are printed in different type. Certain Hebrew words are given in the left-hand margin and their translation on the opposite side. The text is printed in paragraphs. The work must have cost its author immense labour. We doubt whether it is possible to put a merely English student in the position of one who can use the original intelligently. Indeed, the author himself wisely says, "as far as practicable." At the same time, we have no doubt that if a reader will only master the method here adopted he will come considerably nearer the original. The mental discipline alone would be valuable.

The One Mediator. By Rev. J. S. EVANS, Hamilton, Toronto :
W. Briggs.

The twenty-four chapters of this volume discuss every aspect of the Atonement, defending the orthodox positions with much intelligence and force. The wealth of quotation from other writers on the subject is extraordinary. It would be hard to name any one who is omitted. This feature, however interesting in some respects, is somewhat overdone. We cannot commend the exposition given of Rom. v. 11-21. The writer denies

that physical death is part of the penalty of sin, and explains "for that all sinned," ver. 12, "on account of the sinfulness which passed from Adam into the human world, all have sinned personally." His theory seems to be that sinfulness is transmitted by natural law. But how could this be defended at the bar of justice except on the ground of some unity of the race, which we understand the author to deny? We are sorry he has appended this exposition to a book which might otherwise render good service.

Lectures, chiefly Expository, on St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians, with Notes and Illustrations. By JOHN HUTCHISON, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

These lectures are quite models of continuous pulpit exposition—scholarly, yet popular in style, omitting nothing essential in the line of thought, yet avoiding the minute details of a commentary. They are as pleasing to read as they are instructive and edifying. The preacher uses and freely quotes the works of the best English and German expositors without surrendering his own judgment. To be called upon to consider and choose among the opinions of the best interpreters, must be an admirable training in Scripture knowledge for congregations as well as for ministers. We would not forget also the preacher's habitual courtesy of tone to expositors whom he cannot follow. He does not fall into Dr. Arnold's mistake of supposing that the Apostle cherished a mistaken expectation of Christ's speedy coming. "Paul's 'we,' as the clauses connected with it show, is to be understood simply as a broad, universal 'we,' which each age may, or rather must, apply to itself." On 1 Thess. v. 23, he takes the trichotomist theory of human nature as seriously meant. The exposition of the "Man of Sin" and the "Lawless One" is marked by great sobriety and candour. After showing reason against the application to the Roman emperors and the Papacy, the preacher says, "We seem to be directed to look for the coming of one who shall combine in himself—in what way we cannot know—the two elements of unbelief and superstition." The notes at the end give interesting extracts from various authors. The headings of the chapters and the pathetic "half-lines" often quoted are always in excellent taste.

The Life of Jesus Christ. By Rev. JAMES STALKER, M.A. Also, *The Life of St. Paul.* By the same Author. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1885.

We are not surprised to see these two Lives of Mr. Stalker's, which appeared a year or two ago in Messrs. Clark's excellent series of "Hand-books for Bible Classes," republished in an improved form, better adapted for general circulation. These books are admirably conceived and written. We should scarcely have imagined it possible to have presented to us in

such brief compass pictures so full and yet so clear and vivid. To those who, for want of time or opportunity, cannot avail themselves of the larger Lives of Geikie, or Farrar, or Conybeare and Howson, Mr. Stalker supplies an excellent substitute. And students of the larger volumes will find it an advantage to have "the main features and the general course" of the life of Christ and of His great Apostle exhibited in a single view so complete and true as that furnished by these delightful volumes.

The Religious History of Israel, a Discussion of the Chief Problems in Old Testament History as opposed to the Development Theorists. By Dr. F. E. KÖNIG. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

Dr. König examines and refutes one by one the arguments adduced for the Kuenen theory of the development of the Old Testament religion by a natural process out of pre-existing heathenism, demonstrating the continuity of Old Testament teaching throughout. The work is none the worse for its brevity. It deals in suggestion rather than in exhaustive discussion. We wish the translation were worthy of the matter, but it is not. German idioms meet us on every page. The good discussion of the derivation of the tetragrammaton (p. 52 ff.) is unintelligible in parts through imperfect translation. We suppose that a "robust connection of great but dissimilar ideas" (p. 56) means a "violent" connection. What is meant by "the historical consciousness of Israel" being "laid upon the balance"? "Totalism" (p. 179) is a new and strange word. "The worship of Jahveh with that of idols was freely combined" (p. 119); is not the English order; and much more. The work in itself is a valuable contribution to a great controversy.

The Bible True to Itself: a Treatise on the Historical Truth of the Old Testament. By A. MOODY STUART, D.D.
Second Edition London: Nisbet & Co.

This work, like the previous one, is directed against the new critical theories. The argument, however, is more elaborate both in plan and execution. The four principal topics are Deuteronomy, the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the order of Old Testament development, and the unity of Isaiah. The orderly, cumulative character of the argument may be gathered from the treatment of the second point. The author undertakes to show that in the four books beside Deuteronomy there are no words which Moses could not have used, no facts which he could not have recorded, no religious ordinances that he could not have instituted, no civil laws that he could not have enacted, no explanations which he might not have given. On the third topic also he acutely

remarks that "Moses and the prophets" is reversed into "the prophets and Moses" by the new school. The argument for the unity of Isaiah is also very forcibly stated. The author's name is guarantee enough for the spirit and style of the volume, which is a profitable one both for head and heart.

The Shadow of the Hand, and other Sermons. By W. A. GRAY, South Free Church, Elgin. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Co.

Sermons of high promise, alike thoughtful, spiritual, and eloquent. It is not often that such fidelity in doctrine and intellectual culture meet together. The sermon (also called "Seclusions") which gives its name to the volume is based on "He hath covered me in the shadow of His hand," suggesting protection, preparation for service, chastening, individual care and bereavement. Under the fourth head we read, "While I rest in the shadow of the hand, God, of course, has the whole of me; but there is another side to the relationship. I have the whole of God. 'I am my Beloved's,' but 'my Beloved is mine.' There a concentration for my part on God, but there is also a concentration (or as good as a concentration) on God's part towards me. . . . The secret place of the Most High is for me, with all its treasures of special interest and special grace, just as if none had entered its shadow but myself. All the soul for God—that is one truth! All God for the soul, if the soul is God's—that is the other!" The second sermon, "The Two Voices," on "And the voice said, Write. Yea, saith the Spirit," is also worked out with much skill and force. The idea of a divine voice and man's response is applied to "the production of divine scripture, the acceptance of divine truth, the performance of divine commands, the enjoyment of divine privileges, the welcome of divine prospects." The volume will be enjoyed not only by preachers, but also by thoughtful Christians eager for spiritual food of the best kind.

The Question of Questions: Is Christ Indeed the Saviour of the World? By Rev. T. ALLEN. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Mr. Allen has not taken the best way to serve the cause of Universalism, which he has so much at heart. To begin with, he commits the fatal error of stating the doctrine which he attacks ("the popular creed" is his vague phrase) at its very worst. He says, "It seems perfectly clear that the popular view requires us to believe in the final loss of the vast majority of our race." The doctrine, fairly stated, requires nothing of the kind. Some of the motives for writing the present book sound strange "To the mass of men Hell has become a name and little more (not seldom a jest); to the sceptic it has furnished the choicest of his weapons; to the

man of science a mark for loathing and scorn." Must we then give up every doctrine of which this can be said? What sort of a religion would these classes accept? Mr. Allin also ignores the difficulties of Universalism, and his arguments in its support are as weak as his language is strong. For example, he says that the doctrine attacked is inconsistent with the Divine Omnipotence. "When you tell me that it is possible for the human will to resist the divine, you are in fact denying that He is Almighty" (p. 21). In this case, to believe that man has sinned at all is to deny God's omnipotence, for undoubtedly sin is a resistance to the divine will. "Merely to state this doctrine in *any form* is to refute it for very many minds." Then the present book is quite superfluous.

The Expositor. Third Series. Vol I., with Etching of Bishop Martensen. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

The new series well deserves the "great success" which it has achieved. The brief reviews of new works in the field of Biblical literature are a specially valuable feature. Information of discoveries in Biblical archaeology is promised, and such information is given in the present volume. At the same time we are glad to learn that "the great aim of the magazine will be, as before, to furnish expositions of the Word of God from the most scholarly and reverent writers of the time." Fidelity to this aim will secure even greater success in the future. An "Expositor" must not degenerate into a reviewer of things in general. A few of the "Biographical Studies" seem to us scarcely up to the mark.

The Jews; or, Prediction and Fulfilment: an Argument for the Times. By T. H. KELLOGG, D.D. London: Nisbet & Co.

An argument for the literal interpretation of prophecy in relation to the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. The argument is put with more brevity and moderation, and, we may add, with more grace of style, than is often found in works on the same side.

The Mystery of the Kingdom Traced through the Four Books of Kings. By ANDREW JUKES. Part I.—First Book of Kings. London: Longmans.

Mr. Jukes is well known as an advocate of a mystical meaning in the historical part of Scripture. His views on the subject, which are explained in a Preface, remind us of the old Alexandrian allegorizings. That they find acceptance in some quarters is proved by the fact that the present small volume is in the third edition.

PHILOSOPHY.

Microcosmus : an Essay concerning Man and his Relation to the World. By HERMANN LOTZE. Translated by ELIZABETH HAMILTON and E. E. CONSTANCE JONES. 2 vols. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark.

THE publication of Lotze's *Logic and Metaphysics* by the Oxford University Press has been speedily followed by the translation of his master-work. The *Microcosmus* may almost be described as a system of universal philosophy, having man for its centre, and expounding his relations to the universe of which he is the sum and crown. No one could be better qualified for the discussion of so gigantic a theme than the late Professor Lotze. To a thoroughly scientific training he added a perfect mastery of philosophy and history, and a special genius for abstract thought and brilliant exposition. Dr. Flint says of him : " Among his gifts must be reckoned an intellect singularly active and acute, and equally capable of abstraction and analysis, a fertile conceptive faculty, a susceptible imagination, a delicate sense of beauty and enthusiasm for moral excellence." His fairness, honesty, and truthfulness are just as conspicuous as his intellectual gifts. Undesignedly his *Microcosmus* ranks among the greatest apologetic works of the age. In it an impregnable philosophy and a reverent faith meet together. It is surely a sign of the times that such a work should be translated by two ladies. Miss Hamilton, who died just before her portion of the task was completed, was a daughter of Sir William Hamilton, of Edinburgh, and seems from the character of her translation to have inherited some of her father's gifts.

The subjects of the nine books are the Body, the Soul, Life, Man, Mind, the Course of Human Life, History, Progress, the Unity of Things. While each book is a complete study in itself, rich with the fruits of knowledge and thought, the whole work is a literary Cosmos in artistic unity and beauty. Perhaps the deepest impression made by it is that of the vastness and many-sidedness of man's relations to the universe. The microcosm is shown to be inseparably linked on every side to the macrocosm. Dr. Flint justly says : " No one could realize more thoroughly than Lotze does that the interdependence of the sciences and the interconnection of the various orders of facts in the universe are close everywhere, but especially close within the microcosm ; that man cannot be understood unless studied in a comprehensive manner and Catholic spirit ; that no single aspect of human life is intelligible by itself, but only through its connection with all its other aspects, and even with the general system of nature and the character of the First Cause."

The five chapters of the first book discuss *Conflicting Theories of Nature, its Mechanical Aspect, the Basis of Life, the Structure of the Animal Body, Conservation of Life.* Fearless justice is done to the part played by mechanical laws everywhere. There is nothing in their action inconsistent with the teleological idea. The two systems are correlative, not contradictory. "He finds mechanical action and law everywhere present in the structure and operations of the universe, yet everywhere evincing that they are subordinate to ideas and ends." Lotze says: "We grant the mechanical view of nature unreservedly, in so far as concerns the examination of the relations between finite and finite, the origin and accomplishment of any reciprocal action whatsoever; we as decidedly deny its authority where it claims acceptance, not as a formal instrument of investigation, but as a final theory of things." The second book, which considers the arguments for the Existence of the Soul, its Nature and Faculties, &c., is full of sound philosophy. The treatment of Innate Ideas reminds us at once of Locke and Kant. "All the matter of our thoughts comes to us directly or indirectly from experience; but that is not the case with the rules by which, connecting, comparing, judging, and inferring, we unite and divide the matter, and pass from one thought to another. The source of these rules is not to be sought without us; the feeling of necessary and inevitable validity with which they impose themselves on our consciousness is, on the contrary, a guarantee that they have their origin in that from which we can never separate ourselves—namely, in the peculiar nature of our mental being."

All this, however, is the mere portico to the temple. In the next two books Lotze deals with his proper theme, *Man and Mind.* It is impossible for us here to do more than indicate the interest of the topics discussed, and the rich suggestiveness of the views expressed. The topics are such as *Nature and Ideas, Development out of Chaos, the Unity of Nature, Man and Beast, Varieties of the Human Race, the Relation of Mind and Soul, Man's Sensitive Nature, Speech and Thought, Cognition and Truth, Conscience and Morality.* We quote only the concluding sentences: "The self-judging Conscience, and the ineradicable Idea of binding Duty which in us accompanies action and feeling, distinguish human creatures, as members of a realm of mind, from brutes whose activity depends upon feeling merely. If we choose to sum up under the name of Infinite that which stands opposed to particular finite manifestations, we may say that the capacity of becoming conscious of the Infinite is the distinguishing endowment of the human mind; and we believe we can at the same time pronounce, as a result of our considerations, that this capacity has not been produced in us by the influence of experience with its manifold content, but that having its origin in the very nature of our being, it only needed favouring conditions of experience for its development."

Books VI. VII. and VIII., discussing the Course of Human Life, History and Progress, will be the most attractive portion of the work to general

readers. The subjects discussed—the Influence of External Nature on Man, the Meaning of History, the Efficient Forces in History, External Conditions of Development, &c.—are subjects on which many pretentious theories have been advanced both in Germany and England. These ambitious philosophers of history are implicitly submitted to a scathing criticism. Buckle makes man little more than the creature of climate and geographical position. While not denying the influence of such conditions, Lotze shows convincingly that they simply modify mood and outward form; they do not touch man's inner nature and character. There is a touch of scorn in some of his sentences here: "We cannot seriously decide offhand that the backward civilization of negroes is due to the blasing sun that beats down upon their heads, and makes it impossible for them to gaze npwards; and by heating their blood to fever-point inspires them with ungoverned passions." In the same way he points out the weaknesses in Lessing's idea, of which so much has been made—the Education of the Human Race. The subject of education here is nothing but a general concept, whereas in education, as generally understood, the same individual advances from one stage to another. At least it must be said that far too much has been made of Lessing's theory. The chapter in which Lotze criticises it (Book VII. chap. 2) is an admirable specimen of refined thought and lucid exposition. "The Efficient Forces in History" include the Influence of Great Men, the Nature of Laws of Social Development, the Compatibility of Freedom with Regularities of Statistics, &c., the Principles of Permanence and Innovation, the Decay of Nations, and the Importance of Tradition. Dr. Flint says: "Perhaps the pages devoted to the consideration of statistical regularities and the problem of human unity are among those most eminently worthy of our attentive study. They admirably exemplify the humility and caution, in combination with courage and ingenuousness, which characterize the true scientific spirit not less than do its intellectual peculiarities." The fifth chapter of the same book gives a brilliant picture of the course which the development of history has actually taken. The Eastern world, the Greek and Roman world, Judaism, Christianity, the modern German world, are sketched in life-like fashion. The artist evidently has pleasure in his work. Is history tending to a goal in the future which will be the perfection of good? Will the forms of modern civilization perish like those of antiquity? Will things go on for ever as they have done in the past? These are questions which speculation once answered boldly, but which Lotze, on mere grounds of science, simply asks. The eighth book treats of Progress under five heads—Intellectual, Industrial, *Æsthetic*, Religious, Political. Each chapter, again, is marked equally by breadth of historical view and brilliancy of philosophical ideas. Dr. Flint says that the chapter on Art "is very inadequately summed up by saying that it represents the colossal as distinctive of Oriental, the sublime of Hebrew, the beautiful of Greek, the elegant and dignified of Roman, the

expressive and imaginative of Mediæval, and the ingenious and critical of Modern Art. It is in reality a most attractive and faithful delineation of the general and distinctive features of art in all these stages." The chief features of the great religious systems of the world are characterized with great skill, and on the whole with great truth. The superiority of Judaism and Christianity is found in their moral teaching. When, however, Prof. Lutze advises the Church to concede all that historical and scientific criticism asks on the subject of miracles and dogma, we emphatically dissent from him. The ninth book is a summing up of the whole discussion. To each of the five chapters on the Being of Things, the Spatial and Supersensuous Worlds, the Real and the Ideal, the Personality of God, God and the World, a summary is appended. "Perfect Personality is in God only: to all finite minds there is allotted but a pale copy thereof. The finiteness of the finite is not a producing condition of this Personality, but a limit and a hindrance of its development."

In a work which ranges over so wide a field there is of course much that we cannot unreservedly accept; but this is comparatively little. As a whole, the work is a truly grand one, full of noble thinking and noble writing. We rejoice greatly that it is made accessible to English students in so admirable a translation. It will certainly tend to the strengthening of faith and the confusion of error. We can assure our readers that our notice gives but the most meagre idea of the rich stores of knowledge and thought to be found in this most wonderful work.

The Social Philosophy and Religion of Comte. By EDWARD CAIRD, LL.D. Glasgow: J. Maclehose & Sons. 1885.

This brief review of the practical portion of Comtism, by the author of the best English exposition of Kantism, deserves more notice than it has hitherto received. It is distinguished throughout by clearness, acuteness, and courtesy. The first of the four chapters gives a clear, dispassionate account of the leading principles of Comte's social polity and religion. The other three chapters are devoted to criticism; one criticizing Comte's opposition to metaphysics and religion, another his doctrine of the relative subjective character of all knowledge, and the third his making Reason subject to Feeling. Comte's mistake and inconsistency in attacking the old metaphysics and theology, while at the same time assuming a metaphysics and theology of his own, are made as clear as day. The only metaphysics to which his argument applies is that of the Middle Ages, which no one, except perhaps some Roman Catholics, now holds. "Notwithstanding this wholesale rejection of metaphysics and theology, however, it may easily be shown that Comte's own theory, like every intelligible view of the world, involves a metaphysic and ends in a theology; and that he only succeeds in concealing this from himself

because he is unconscious of the presuppositions he makes ; because he uses the word 'metaphysic' in a narrow and mistaken sense ; and because he conceives it, as well as theology, to be bound up with a kind of transcendentalism which all the great metaphysicians of modern times agree in rejecting. If, indeed, we could consider Comte's remarks as aimed at the great metaphysicians of his own day—at Kant and his successors—the description, and therefore the censure founded upon it, would be almost ludicrously inapplicable." Great excuse is indeed made for Comte as "a son of his time," and the genesis of his errors is made plain ; but the fact of such errors is fatal to the claims made by Comte himself, and made for him by his disciples. Let us note, by the way, that, according to Comte, both the theological and metaphysical theories are inevitable stages in the development of thought. And yet they were gigantic illusions ! How, then, can we be certain that the third, or Positivist, stage is not equally illusory ? The other Comtist principle—the subjective character of all knowledge—leaves us in the same delightful uncertainty even about Positivism itself. We commend Prof. Caird's discussion of this point, in his third chapter, to the student's careful attention. He here touches another fatal weakness of the Comtist position. Comte's other doctrine, that Reason should obey Feeling, sounds strange enough at first hearing, and the wonder increases under Prof. Caird's criticism. Hume puts the doctrine more bluntly—"Reason is, and ought to be, the slave of the passions." The multitude would put it in the same way, and draw the logical inference. The doctrine is a strange inversion of the world's oldest and best teaching. In connection with a brief but beautiful exposition of the philosophy of Christianity in his last chapter, Prof. Caird exposes the deep injustice done to Protestantism by Comte and his followers—an injustice springing from misunderstanding. Comte indeed is unfair enough to Christianity in making it essentially selfish ; still, he has a lingering fondness for Catholicism, whose polity he copies. But to him Protestantism is pure anarchy. Mr. F. Harrisou's wild tirade against Protestantism, in one of our monthlies some time ago, will be remembered by many. Prof. Caird says : "It is the temptation of writers on social subjects to be least just to the tendencies of the time which precedes their own, and against the errors of which they have immediately to contend. Hence we are not surprised to find that Comte does more justice to Catholicism than to Protestantism, or to that Individualism which grew out of Protestantism." He saw only the destructive aspect of the latter. To the constructive elements he is stone-blind. "Hence, in his attitude towards this great movement he all but identifies himself with Catholic writers like De Maistre ; and his own scheme of the future is essentially reactionary." His Positivist hierarchy is a reproduction of the mediæval one. But if Comte could fall into such misconceptions and be guilty of such gross injustice, what are we to think of the all but infallibility claimed for him ? We find it difficult to

write as calmly as Prof. Caird, who does full justice to Comte's merits. He writes: "Comte seems to me to occupy, as a writer, a position in some degree analogous to that of Kant. He stands, or rather moves, between the old world and the new, and is broken into inconsistency by the effort of transition. . . . To believe that his system, as a whole, is inconsistent with itself, that his theory of historical progress is insufficient, and that his social ideal is imperfect, need not prevent us from recognizing that there are many valuable elements in his historical and social theories, and that no one who would study such subjects can afford to neglect them."

The National System of Political Economy. By FRIEDRICH LIST. Translated by SAMPSON S. LLOYD, M.P. London: Longmans.

List, banished from Wurtemberg in 1822 because he advocated a Customs Union like that afterwards known as the Zollverein, settled in America, and there enunciated the protective principles which have since become all-powerful in the United States. In 1833 he returned to Europe as U.S. consul at Leipzig, and in that capacity gave valuable help in forming the German railway system. He was strongly opposed to our repeal of the Corn Laws, believing that it would enable us still further to encroach on German manufactures. His book, an intended refutation of Adam Smith, sketches the history of modern commerce and sums up its teachings, and then gives the theory of political economy, the various systems and their political bearing. It is a book in the best German style, exhaustive and carefully reasoned out in every detail. Fair-traders and those who still see an opening for Protection will find in it many powerful arguments. It is remarkable that List was quite free from the rabid anti-Gallicanism of the Germans of to-day; he speaks of Napoleon's "Continental system" as a great boon to the Fatherland. Its effects, he says, were wonderfully favourable to German trade and industry; its abolition was ruinous. The book will well repay thoughtful reading.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Journals of Major General C. G. Gordon, C.B., at Kartoum. Introduction and Notes by A. EGMONT HAKE. Author of "The Story of Chinese Gordon," &c. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1885.

THE glory and the humiliation of England are both bound up with the history of General Gordon. As to the humiliation, it is a naked fact before the eyes of the world. On December 14, Gordon closes the last

journal he was able to send off for England with the words "NOW MARK THIS, if the Expeditionary Force, and I ask for no more than two hundred men, does not come in ten days, *the town may fall*; and I have done my best for the honour of our country. Good-bye." Seven weeks later the vanguard of the force arrived, only to find that the town had fallen and that the hero was no more. He had held out longer than the ten days, but the last month's delay in deciding on the expedition had lost all. As to the humiliation, again, the words of Mr. Hake cannot but be noted and remembered. We quote from the introduction to this volume. "The recall of the troops from the Soudan may have been necessary to meet the exigencies of the moment, or it may not; but it is a pity it did not precede Lord Wolseley's letter to Cassim el Mousse Pasha: 'We mean to destroy the power of Mohammed Achmet at Kartoum, no matter how long it may take us to do so; *you know Gordon Pasha's countrymen are not likely to turn back from any enterprise they have begun until it has been fully accomplished*. When that happy event takes place I hope to be able to establish you amongst your own people, and that you and all others will realize that the *English nation does not forget those who serve it faithfully*.'"

That is enough to say here on a painful subject, to which, so far as it may have a merely political or party aspect, we would rather not have referred, but which, as being unhappily immortal matter of history, we could not in this notice ignore. As regards the glory of England, which, despite all public fault or misfortune, is bound up with the character and career of Gordon, there is more to be said. This sad final record of the real man, in his wonderful strength and his occasional inevitable weakness, a weakness which was never more than one of feeling—in his grandeur and his eccentricity, his magnanimity and his irritability, in his keen criticisms of others, and in his much keener scrutiny of his own character and motives, in his unfailing and unsparing truthfulness, unsparing especially to himself, his absolute frankness, his tender and universal sympathy, his quenchless sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men, which even his deepest and most righteous indignation seems never completely to exhaust—this final record, which so wonderfully exhibits the naked soul of the journalist, furnishes a fit conclusion to the whole of his amazing history. That history is absolutely unique, from first to last, so eccentric and bizarre, yet so full of wisdom and heroism, so contemptuous of all mere calculations of self-preserving prudence, and yet so full of insight and inspiration, so essentially Christian, with a Christianity always tender and often sublime, and yet so inconformable with any recognised standard of any special theological school. The profane license of the American press—even of the professedly Christian and denominational press—has not shrunk from assigning Gordon to the class—a recognized class in the States—of "cranks." He was, in truth, an eccentric hero—he never has had or will have a parallel; as a

Christian, he was full of vagaries, and in some respects not without a strong fanatical vein, but a nobler hero, a Christian more essentially true or more purely good and compassionate, has certainly not been known in these modern times. The charm of these journals is that here the man Gordon, as he was, appears in his full and undraped reality. For simplicity and frankness, these journals are incomparable. And nothing can exceed the raciness of the lonely warder's humour.

These journals, however, will not only be read for the sake of Gordon's personality and of the history of the eventful past, they will also be studied because of the light they shed on the problem of the Soudan. The alternatives in regard to that vast territory, and the perplexing questions connected with it, are again and again set forth in all possible aspects in these journals, and statesmen will repair to them for guidance in relation to the future.

Gordon Anecdotes. A Sketch of the Career with Illustrations of the Character of Charles George Gordon, C.E. By Dr. MACAULAY. London : Religious Tract Society.

This collection, made by Dr. Macaulay's practised and skilful hand, cannot fail to be popular. It is a cheap and attractive summary.

Letters from Kartoum. Written during the Siege by the late FRANK POWER, H.B.M.'s Acting Consul, Correspondent for the *Times*, &c. Second Edition. London : Sampson Low & Co. 1885.

We do not wonder that these letters have already reached a second edition. They form an integral part of the tragic story of England and Kartoum. Power was a perfectly brave, manly, true-hearted Irishman—and his name, like that of his friend Colonel Stewart, in whose company he perished, must always live in connection with that of Gordon. Power was a man of many accomplishments and of unweariable energy. The letters to his mother, sisters, and brother here given are most natural and touching. He was all that a brave good son and brother well could be to make those nearest and dearest to him love and honour him.

Autobiography of Henry Taylor. Two vols. 8vo. London : Longmans. 1885.

We are late in noticing these volumes, which, indeed, we had hoped to make the text of a principal article, but more pressing matter has crowded them out. Writing of them when they have been already some months before the public, we shall say but few words. It seems, however, to be a sort of duty to our readers that we should not fail to pay our tribute to the merits of these very interesting and valuable volumes. They

furnish a model of what an autobiography ought to be. Sir Henry Taylor occupied an absolutely unique position in his life. Descended from excellent Border-blood (the blood of the Forsters ran in his veins as well as of others possessing the best characteristics of the Border-gentry), but descended, also, from an excellent superior tradesman-class, in an age when provincial tradesmen were more often than now cultivated men; the son of a gentleman farmer who was also a *Quarterly Reviewer* and a man of fine faculty and character; brought up under the best home-influences and moulded into maturity in the society of noble and religious women of large intellectual cultivation, his education was completed in the public service, chiefly the Colonial Office. He was, in London, the associate of the choicest intellects of his time. Out of London, the Lake circle was his circle of most intimate fellowship. When he published his *Philip Van Artevelde*, he was immediately recognized as one of the chief poets of his age, and became a distinguished person in the general society of London. Through his position in the Colonial Office he became the close associate of statesmen like Lord Lansdowne, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Montagu, with the last of whom he became closely connected by marriage. The Colonial Under-Secretaryship of State he declined. He counted among his most familiar friends Aubrey de Vere, the poet. He was intimate also with men so diverse, and at the same time so gifted and distinguished, as Charles Greville and Thomas Carlyle. But his closest intimacies were with women, most, if not all, of them not only charming but brilliant women. The frankly loving and admiring way in which he lets his readers share his fellowship and correspondence with his wife is equally delightful and wholesome. The autobiography is full of literary as well as of political and general criticism; it abounds in suggestive passages of great discrimination and often of real beauty. The results of the knowledge and experience of such a life as his, so long, so varied, and with such high and choice surroundings, are in these volumes presented with admirable taste, in the finest spirit, and in such a manner as to instruct and educate as well as interest and charm the reader. His observations on Carlyle, with whom he was accustomed to spend much time at Lady Ashburton's, are very discriminating—perhaps more valuable than the personal reminiscences of any other friend of that extraordinary man. As to the Gordon case, however, in Jamaica, Governor Eyre and the rest, we think him to have been wrong. And, generally, his mind seems to have suffered a little from officialism and from a political schooling all of one colour. Sir Henry Taylor is now, we believe, in his eighty-sixth year with his wife still by his side.

The First Earl Cairns. By the Author of "English Hearts and Hands," &c. London: Nisbet & Co. 1885.

The lady who, as Miss Marsh, became known as one of the most justly popular of religious writers has here given us a most interesting sketch

of the late Lord Cairns. This great statesman, this consummate lawyer and advocate, this powerful Parliamentary leader, was perhaps the most exemplary and devoted Christian, the saintliest man, among all the public men of the present century. To find his parallel as an earnest, active Christian might, indeed, be scarcely possible if search were made through English history for centuries past. He is more than worthy to be ranked with Sir Thomas More. Colonel Hutchinson was not of a more consecrated character. And yet he attended Cabinet Councils and led in Parliamentary debates. His devotional habits were of the strictest character. He was also a thoroughly Evangelical Christian. It is a comfort and joy to think of such a succession of Chancellors as Lord Hatherley, Lord Cairns, and Lord Selborne—all godly and devoted men, all Sunday-school teachers. But among the three we cannot but most admire the devoted Low Church Chancellor. We doubt not that this little book will have a wide circulation. We shall, however, be looking out with longing for an adequate biography, of which this slight memorial is, we hope, the forerunner.

The Martyrs of Polynesia. By the Rev. A. W. MURRAY, of the London Missionary Society. London: Elliot Stock. 1885.

Seventeen years ago a brother missionary observed to Mr. Murray how much it was to be regretted that something had not been done to perpetuate the memory and the usefulness of the martyrs of the South Sea Missions. From that time he has cherished the hope that he himself might accomplish this task. Most of his chapters have already appeared in Australian periodicals. The narrative gives the story of the martyrs of Tonga, of the Tahitan Islands, the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, and the Melanesian group. One criticism will be made by all who are familiar with the missionary history of Polynesia. Mr. Murray passes from Tonga to the New Hebrides without a word about Fiji, where some of the grandest triumphs of Christianity have been gained by the sublimest heroism. This is certainly a grave defect in a book which professes to treat of the martyrs of Polynesia. The volume is chiefly devoted to the labours of the London Missionary Society, but an account of Bishop Patteson is also given. If some particulars of the Wesleyan martyrs in Fiji had been added, it would have been seen that the three great missionary societies, through whom Polynesia has been brought to the feet of Christ, were inspired by the same spirit of devotion. The volume contains memorials of European missionaries, native evangelists, and native converts from 1799 to 1871. The story of Mr. Williams, the martyr of Eramanga, is given in detail. He and Coleridge Patteson represent the workers whose names have become household words. Many humbler, but scarcely less noble, labourers are com-

morated here. The chapters are interesting, and give in a pleasant form much information about missionary work. We have noticed one strange piece of tautology in the sketch of Bishop Patteson. "He possessed a rare assemblage of qualities not often found in the same man." The style is generally simple and clear. There are some interesting illustrations.

A Glance at the Italian Inquisition. A Sketch of Pietro Carnesecchi: his Trial before the Supreme Court of the Papal Inquisition at Rome, and his Martyrdom in 1566.
Translated from the German of LEOPOLD WITTE, by
JOHN T. BETTS. London: The Religious Tract Society.
1885.

This sketch was published in Germany in connexion with the recent Luther Commemoration. It shows how the Reformation influenced the inner circle of the Popish Church, for Carnesecchi had been Papal Pronotary, and belonged to a patrician family of Florence. He was an able statesman, a conscientious officer, and a pious man, but it was not till 1540, when he went to Naples and met Juan de Valdés, the Spanish nobleman who became the centre of the Reformation movement in South Italy, and a cluster of noble men and women who shared his spirit, that Carnesecchi began to doubt the Papal doctrines. Giulia Gonzaga, the most beautiful woman in Italy, and Vittoria Colonna, were members of this charmed circle. These friends held that they could continue to be good Catholics, even when they accepted the doctrine of justification by faith. They esteemed Luther as a great and good man, but regretted that he had separated himself from Rome. After the death of Valdés, Carnesecchi spent some time at Viterbo, where Cardinal Pole lived at that time. Many adherents of the reformed doctrine were in Pole's suite, and the works of the Reformers passed from hand to hand. For a year Carnesecchi lived in this happy circle, then he was compelled to visit Venice for medical advice. Here he remained three years. In 1546 he was summoned to appear before the Inquisition at Rome, but Pope Paul III. himself seems to have interfered to stop proceedings. The suspected man felt his danger, however, and removed to France, where he remained for five years. In 1552, he was living alternately at Padua and Venice. Caraffa, who succeeded to the Pontifical chair in 1555, cited him two years later to appear before the Inquisition. Carnesecchi refused to appear. After this Pope's death he secured, with considerable difficulty, a reversal of the sentence which had been passed on him by default. He spent his time in happy intercourse with friends in various parts of Italy, until the ferocious inquisitor, Ghislieri, became Pope under the title of Pius V. Then he sought refuge with Duke

Cosimo at Florence. Here, in 1566, a messenger arrived to claim him for the Inquisition. The duke basely delivered his guest to his enemies, and on October 3, 1567, Carnesecchi was beheaded. His body was afterwards committed to the flames, and his ashes cast into the Tiber. The thirty-four points of accusation against him are given in full in this little volume. The Church which could thus condemn a man for his belief in justification by faith and other cardinal doctrines of Christianity, has pronounced its own condemnation. The victim's bitter experience must have taught him that Luther had chosen the only true path when he made war against Rome. The book is well translated, save in the introduction, where the stilted and obscure English shows that the translator had not yet warmed to his work.

Anno Domini; or, a Glimpse at the World into which Messias was Born. By J. D. CRAIG HOUSTON, B.D. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1885.

This book is written for those who are not able to study larger works on a fascinating subject. The first part is devoted to the Gentile World, represented by Greece and Rome; the second traces the history of the Jewish people from Nehemiah's time, through the conquests of Alexander and the wars of the Maccabees, down to the Herods. The style is popular, and the stores of information are well arranged, so that the book will be read with interest, and will teach its readers to prize more highly the blessings brought by the Advent of the Saviour. The chapters on religious belief and social life strike us as specially good. They are clear, full, and judicious. The title of one section, "Roman Religious Beliefs and Practices," is not very euphonious; some alteration might be made here with advantage. There are various expressions which need another touch of revision. In the last paragraph of the first part, "who was destined to alter all that," sounds commonplace in the course of an eloquent description of the Advent. Palestina, too, is not so good as Palestine.

The Office of the Historical Professor. By E. A. FREEMAN, M.A., Hon. D.C.L., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

This is the inaugural lecture delivered by Mr. Freeman in the Museum at Oxford last October when he took his chair as Regius Professor of Modern History. Among the tributes which he pays to former occupants of his chair that to Arnold has special interest. "It was from Arnold that I first learned the truth which ought to be the centre and life of all our historic studies, the truth of the Unity of History. If I am sent hither for any special object, it is, I hold, to proclaim that truth, but to proclaim it, not as my own thought, but as the thought of my great master. It is

a responsibility indeed to be the successor, even after so many years, of one who united so many gifts. New light has been thrown on many things since his day; but it surely ill becomes any man of our time, who, by climbing on Arnold's shoulders, has learned to see further than Arnold himself could see, to throw the slightest shade of scorn upon so venerable a name." The tribute to Dr. Stubbs, who resigned the chair when he was appointed to the bishopric of Chester, deserves to be quoted in the interest of all historical students. Mr. Freeman says that in a long and careful study of his writings he has never found a flaw in the statement of his evidence. He looks upon Dr. Stubbs as the one man among living scholars to whom one may most freely turn as to an oracle. The lecture discusses the terms ancient and modern as applied to history. Mr. Freeman has never been able to find any clear distinction between the two, and has arisen from all his study of writers who attempt to settle the line of demarcation with increased perplexity. He is inclined to fix the boundary of modern history at "the first beginnings of the recorded history of Aryan Europe, whether we place these beginnings at the first Olympiad or carry them back to any earlier time." This enormous extension of the field of modern history certainly gives the learned occupant of the chair a vast horizon. He intends to deliver two courses of lectures; the first on more general subjects which may interest even those who have not given themselves to minute historical study, the second for more advanced students on the texts of original writers beginning with the Frankish History of Gregory of Tours. Oxford may well be proud of an historian so learned and a professor so zealous as Mr. Freeman.

The History of Herod. By JOHN VICKERS. London: Williams & Norgate.

Mr. Vickers's alternative title is "Another Look at a Man emerging from Twenty Centuries of Calumny;" and his aim is to do for Herod the Great what Mr. Froude attempted to do for Henry VIII. We do not think these rehabilitations, of which Hazlitt set the example, are usually successful; and Mr. Vickers is not likely to engage the sympathy of Christians by giving out that Herod's character has been blackened in order to secure credence for that "monstrous Church legend," the massacre of Bethlehem. Archdeacon Farrar is severely attacked for summing up, in his rhetorical way, the popular estimate of Herod. Ewald's strong language is accounted for by his being a Hanoverian patriot, who, hating the German Empire, hates on principle all monarchs of every date. Dean Stanley alone has anything to say in Herod's favour; but the Dean would hardly acquiesce in Mr. Vickers's description of the king as very English in character, "frank, courageous free spending, and at the same time blundering and easily circumvented

by crafty flatterers, and likely in a moment of panic to fall into excesses of cruelty." The book is clever as a bit of special pleading, but needlessly offensive to the orthodox reader. We join in Mr. Vickers's regret that the "Life" by Nicolaus of Damascus is lost.

Glimpses of Early Methodism in York and the Surrounding District. By JOHN LYTH, D.D. With Illustrations.
London : Hamilton, Adams & Co.

To all Methodists such local histories as this are of absorbing interest, and in the future will be of incalculable value. Much information perishes for want of being put into print. We earnestly wish that the *origines* of Methodism in other great centres were described in as lucid and compact fashion as the history of York Methodism has been described by Dr. Lyth. The local and personal details are admirably rendered. The narrator is unseen. There are no tedious moralisings. In the extracts from the Circuit Steward's Book in the appendix there are some curious items. We only add that York Methodism will not be easily surpassed, and that in the style of its chapels and services it has without exception adhered to the old methods.

BELLES LETTRES.

ART IN FRANCE.

IN *L'Art*,* of which we have received the July and August numbers, we are chiefly struck by the very masterly engraving by Peters of his own "Interior of a Norwegian House in the Thirteenth Century." The work shows none of that scamping of inconspicuous details with which we are only too painfully familiar. We have also received July numbers of the *Courier de l'Art*. The genius of François Millet is, we fear, little known and less appreciated even by travelled Englishmen. M. Charles Yriarte, in his brief but eminently critical monograph,† asserts that even in his own country the "gens du monde" have for the most part failed to understand this great interpreter of rural life; and certainly none but those amongst ourselves who are familiar with at least the external aspect of things in the remoter parts of the French provinces can possibly realize the full power of the poetry and pathos which is latent in his sternly veracious rendering of the every-day incidents of a life which, with all its terrible sordid-

* Paris: J. Rouam. New York: Macmillan & Co.

† *Bibliothèque d'Art Moderne*. J. F. Millet. Par Charles Yriarte. Paris: J. Rouam. 1885.

ness and narrowness, seems yet in the patience and unremitting industry which distinguishes it and the hoary antiquity of the implements by which its routine is carried on to claim kinship with an age of primitive and patriarchal virtue. Some of the engravings in this little work are extremely effective—e.g., “La Lessiveuse” (by Martin), and “Cour de Ferme, La Nuit” (by Ives and Barret), the rendering of the moonlight in the latter being particularly fine.

In *Le Livre de Fortune** we have a series of plates representing designs by Jean Cousin, illustrating a MS. by one Imbert d'Anlezy, seigneur of Dunflun in Nivernais, lately discovered by M. Lodovic Lalanne, in the Library of the Institute of Paris. The MS. was entirely worthless, but the designs, as would be anticipated by all who know aught of Jean Cousin's work, are singularly spirited, graceful and imaginative. They illustrate the various chances and changes of human life, and though there is nothing of the grim earnestness which would have marked the treatment of the same subject by Dürer or Holbein, a note of real seriousness is now and again struck. The plates, which are ably executed, are two hundred in number; about one half, however, of the designs appear to have been left incomplete by Cousin.

The study of the Della Robbia† by MM. Cavalluoci and Molinier, is a careful piece of work, worthy alike of the subject and of the writers. Let us hope that it will dissipate once and for all the misconception which the popularity of these wonderful artists' achievements in terra cotta has rendered all but universal. Luca della Robbia was both by instinct and training a sculptor in bronze or marble, and it was only by stress of poverty that he was driven to devote himself to the particular kind of work with which his name and that of his nephew and grandnephew are chiefly associated. The tomb of Benozzo Federighi by Luca, the statue of St. Lucia by Giovanni della Robbia, and the noble bronze door of the sacristy of the church of St. Maria del Fiore at Florence, with the several bas-reliefs from the Campanile of Giotto, all beautifully etched or engraved in this volume, sufficiently attest the powers of the artists in manipulating hard material.

M. Molinier's *Dictionnaire des Emaillleurs* (Paris: J. Rouam, 1885), contains in commendably succinct form biographical notices of the chief workers in enamel from the Middle Ages (i.e., roughly speaking, from the tenth century) to the end of the eighteenth. The work is mainly designed as a manual for collectors, but it is not without historical value.

* J. Rouam, Paris. Remington & Co., 134 New Bond Street. 1883.

† *Bibliothèque Internationale de l'Art. Les Della Robbia leur vie et leur œuvre d'après des Documents Inédits.* Par J. Cavallucci et Emile Molinier. Paris: J. Rouam. 1884.

Quest. By THOMAS SINCLAIR, M.A. London : Trübner & Co.
1885.

This is a book of fragments, and yet fragments in the main from a jeweller's shop. Striking judgments are given on questions of art, science, morality and religion. We cannot for a moment agree with many of these judgments—they are palpably untrue and unjust. Other themes are treated in a style reminding one of Martin's pictures—originality strays into eccentricity, and whilst a certain power is undeniable validity is wanting. The views advanced are generally boldly speculative, sometimes daringly so, yet they are given with a superb dogmatism. Much, however, as we may dissent from the spirit and conclusions of our author on several topics, we thankfully confess the general power and charm of his work. In these days of book-making it is refreshing to meet with writing so original and stimulative. With rare exceptions the points mooted are set in a very novel and suggestive light. It is impossible to say what is the exact value of a book of this nature, but certainly it gives to the soul a wider atmosphere and is very provocative of thought. We have found ourselves returning again and again to its pages, and feel we must acquaint ourselves with the other productions of a mind so independent and powerful. We can well pardon much that is mystical, dogmatic, and grotesque in a guide who shows us the world from a new point of view.

Companions for a Quiet Hour. Songs of Spiritual Thought.

By GEORGE RAWSON. London : Religious Tract Society.

Those who are familiar with Mr. Rawson's well-known and very beautiful evening hymn of invocation to the Trinity, will be glad to have this collection, which contains many tuneful and charming songs of Christian faith and feeling.

Great Tom, the Curfew Bell of Oxford. *An Historical Ballad.*

By OTTO IDLETHORNE. Paris : Librairie Européenne de Baudry, Mesnil-Dramard et Cie. Successeurs, 3, Quai Voltaire. 1885.

Mr. Idlethorne's spirited ballad on the legend of Osney Abbey will be read with interest by all lovers of Oxford and mediæval tradition.

The Scottish Hymnal. With Appendix Incorporated. For Use in Churches. By Authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. London : Blackwood & Sons.

A Scottish Hymnal is itself a "sign of the times." Such a thing could not have been till recently. For centuries, to sing anything in

Church but the Psalms would have been held to be profane presumption. The modern life, for good and for evil—let us hope, chiefly for good—has touched religious thought and feeling in Presbyterian Scotland. These hymns are a beautiful instance of the good which modern feeling has brought to the "Scotch Kirk." They are an excellent selection, marked by fine taste, by true reverence, and by Evangelical feeling. We scarcely know a more charming or unimpeachable collection.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Work and Adventure in New Guinea, 1877 to 1885. By JAMES CHALMERS and W. WYATT GILL, B.A. With two Maps and many Illustrations from Original Sketches and Photographs. London : The Religious Tract Society. 1885.

THIS beautifully bound and profusely illustrated volume will interest many readers in a notable chapter in the history of modern missionary enterprise, and help them to understand the resources of that vast island which has recently excited so much attention. The second part, entitled "Seven Weeks in New Guinea," is written by Mr. Gill, who took out the first Christian teachers fourteen years ago. It describes a visit paid in 1884, and derives its main value from its interesting references to the vegetation of New Guinea and its observations on the customs of the natives. The description of the birds of paradise, for which the island is famous, will greatly interest young readers. The largest part of the volume is taken up by the journal of Mr. Chalmers. For seven years this heroic man has laboured in this island with his courageous and devoted wife. Mr. Chalmers' life has often been in peril among the natives, but he has steadily refused to carry arms, and has passed safely through all dangers. In the summer of 1878 he landed at one place, accompanied by the mate of the missionary steamer, a daring fellow not the least afraid of the natives. The islanders tried in vain to prevent Mr. Chalmers' visit to their chief. When the missionary reached his house he laid a present on the platform where the chief was sitting, but no word of satisfaction escaped the grim old man. Even little children indignantly refused the beads which were offered. As the two men made their way back to the beach, a crowd followed them. One native with a big round club walked behind, uncomfortably near. The missionary said to himself, "I must have that club, or that

club will have me," and took from his satchel a large piece of hoop-iron, such as the natives most prized. Turning quickly round he presented it to the savage, whose eyes were dazzled as if he had received a bar of gold. Before the man was aware, Mr. Chalmers had seized the obnoxious club with his left hand. The next minute he was marching at the head of the procession, armed with this formidable weapon. They thus reached their steamer without injury. Mr. Chalmers' fine presence no doubt helped to command respect in the perils of his missionary journeys, but good temper and tact have greatly contributed to the happy immunity from injury which he has enjoyed. His journals supply many interesting sketches of native customs. The inland villages seem to be occupied by the aborigines, who have been forced back from the coast by the more powerful race. These people cook the heads of their slain enemies that they may decorate their sacred places with the skulls. Their great spirit—Palaku Baro—lives in the mountains. He causes all things to grow, and is worshipped with offerings of food. The spirits of the dead take canoes and paddle to the mountains, where they remain in perfect bliss, with no work, no trouble, and plenty of betel-nuts. They dance all night and rest all day. The London Missionary Society has done a splendid work in New Guinea. One chapter on "East Cape in 1878 and in 1882," emphasizes the change produced by its labours. When the missionaries first landed the natives lived only to fight. Victory was celebrated by cannibal feasts. The only art in which the people were skilled was the manufacture of weapons. Now there are no cannibal ovens, and tribes that were once arrayed against each other as fierce foemen sit side by side in the mission chapel. At Motu the work which Mr. Chalmers began was carried on after his departure by the first native who had been baptized in New Guinea, assisted by a blind boy who had lived with the missionary at Port Moresby and had an excellent memory. They carefully kept the Sabbath, held services every morning and evening, and never forgot to ask a blessing on their food. The blind boy called the natives to service by ringing a small bullock bell. The two evangelists also visited the temples, where they repeated all they had heard from the missionaries. Mr. Gill gives another remarkable instance of the way in which the truth has been spread. Ruako, a great pirate, the terror of all passing canoes, became a convert. Such was his fame in his days of heathenism that the young men always followed him eagerly, sure that they would have ample plunder. Whoever resisted was put to death. Now this man accompanied Mr. Chalmers, and enchained the natives by his Bible stories from sunset to sunrise. This record of missionary labour and success is full of interest. A concise introduction gives a sketch of the history of the island, with the steps which have led to the proclamation of a British protectorate over a large part of the southern shores. Mr. Chalmers claims that New Guinea should be administered

for the natives. He urges that their rights should be recognized, and just humanitarian laws made for their protection. He says that the country itself would easily bear all expenses of administration.

Official Guide to the International Inventions Exhibition.

London : Clowes & Son.

Histoire de la musique depuis les temps anciens jusqu'à nos jours. Par FÉLIX CLÉMENT. (359 gravures représentant les instruments de musique ; 68 portraits d'artistes ; fac-similés, exemples de notation, &c.) Paris : Hachette.

With a lighting power equal to more than half-a-million candles, and with Sir Francis Bolton sitting at his fire-organ and playing his electric nocturnes and "arrangements" in coloured lights, no wonder that the bulk of the visitors to the Inventories care very little about the inventions, few of which appeal to us as directly as matters relating to food and health did. The want of arrangement, again, which puts parquetry flooring and painting on china into the electric department, is wearying to the visitor ; while many of the exhibits are such as to provoke a smile from the cynical, or even to supply new arguments to the pessimist. What, for instance, can be the use of inventing a way of tanning with alum and bichlorate of potash, the process being finished off with salt, paraffin and resin, and the result being what every buyer of cheap shoes has had occasion to deplore, and what even the Official Guide calls "a saving in time at the probable expense of quality" ? Fortunes are made, no doubt, out of leather thus tanned in four weeks, the old process taking more than a year ; but the man who cares for his country and for our manufacturing reputation will not put his money into such concerns ; he will rather take to planting waste lands, and so providing the tanners of the next generation with a supply of bark at reasonable rates. But more depressing than the futile inventions, of which there are so many, are the destructive ones. The Inventories Exhibition will have done good work if it has led visitors to reflect upon the enormous waste of brain-power, time, material, money, in implements of warfare. Standing by the "Gardner," or the "Gatling," or the uncanny looking wonder invented by Mr. Maxim, or the forty-three ton "Armstrong," made in four layers, each bored out of a solid cylinder, and joined together by shrinkage, one feels that Otto engines, "slag wool," hand-weaving by Irish or Welsh peasants, Austrian china ware,—all is dwarfed into something very like insignificance. Here is Europe bowed down with public debt, yet sinking herself lower and lower under this burden of militarism. We talk gloomily of the competition of America and Australia ; they beat the older nations out of their own markets, because they are comparatively untaxed. It would be instructive to compare the amount spent by the

principal European governments, our own among them, on naval and military appliances with the outlay on education, on the relief of poor and old, on sanitation, on arterial drainage. The figures would assuredly be striking even to the most thoughtless. Take the one question of town drainage; rivers are polluted, and disease is spread by a system which wastes those elements that have for ages enabled China to support her teeming population. If the mind-force which is constantly being applied to the perfecting of guns, torpedoes, and armour-plating were to be turned to the question of deodorizing manure without destroying its fertilizing efficacy, surely some plan would be discovered. The disgrace to our civilization is that gun improvements pay—are fostered and called forth by prizes of all kinds, sewage matters are left unencouraged and unimproved; the present plan, involving much engineering and great costly works, suits every one except those who wish to benefit their country by returning to its soil what has been taken from it. But we have been led to diverge from the Inventories. Next, then, to the prominence of destructive inventions—not grievous, if it makes nations pause while yet there is time—we note the very few foreign exhibits. “Waltham” watches and Russian cigarettes are among the most noticeable objects in a collection which, but for the contributions from India and Siam, would be insignificant compared with what we have seen elsewhere. Of the Electric Exhibition a good many of us had already gone over the greater part at the Crystal Palace and elsewhere; but some of the newest—e.g., the miners’ lamp, with its storage battery, padlocked so as to prevent it from being tampered with, the dentist’s lamp, and M. Trouvé’s electric dark-lantern—are most interesting. The weak point of electric lighting is the cost. Rose’s electric table-lamp seems perfect; but it can’t succeed so long as the cost of putting up in the cellar a battery to nourish six lights is £75, while the cost of recharging this battery is over £10. Here, again, we want mind-force applied to the cheapening of the electric process; and, in the face of colliery explosions like those of a few months ago, it surely could not be wrong for Government to offer a prize for a really serviceable electric miners’ lamp.* To our thinking the pleasantest feature in the Exhibition is the series of contrasts between old and new processes—e.g. the Catalan iron forges (why not the still simpler appliances with which some West African tribes turn out excellent iron?) and the Bessemer steel-making process; the earliest electrical machine (Otto von Guericke’s) and the latest; the printing press of the fifteenth and that of the last quarter of the nineteenth century; above all, Leonardo da Vinci’s girder bridges (who thinks of the great painter as one of the greatest engineers of his day?) side by side

* There is a good deal to be said for lighting mines with luminous paint, and for using the lime-cartridge (shown in the Exhibition) instead of powder for blasting.

with the newest American bridges. Thoroughly modern are all the processes of colour-printing, Woodburytype, &c., than which no class of inventions has done more for the innocent amusement of the masses, and for their art culture as well. Dallas's *Hyaloglyphotype* is one of the simplest and most practical of these. The artist draws on glass with a peculiar kind of pencil, the strokes of which are bitten in by acid, and the engraving thus made can be used along with ordinary type. Of one class of inventions Hornsby's harvester and binder all in one is a type. It is impressive to see one of these marvellous machines reaping a big Norfolk field, and leaving it covered with well tied-up shocks; two men—the one to drive and guide, and the other to help in case of mishap—being all that are required. About another class of exhibits we reserve our verdict until they have been sufficiently proved. Fleuss's breathing-dress, for instance, if it is a real success, is as essential for metallic mines as some thoroughly safe lamp is for coal pits. If the former are free from fire-damp, they are for that very reason fouler than coal pits. A Northumbrian pitman has his chance of being cut off in a moment by fire or choke-damp; in general health he is far above his Cornish brother. "Miners' complaint" destroys almost as many lives as explosions, and it enfeebles the race; yet workers in tin and copper mines are condemned to this, because tin and copper companies having no fear of explosive gas before their eyes, are not compelled to find some means of ventilation. Fleuss's machine passes the air through a filter, and supplies oxygen at will from a barrel in a knapsack: the only question is—"Does it work?" One invention every Londoner would wish to see carried out, Mr. Webb's automatic tidal lock for making the Thames at Twickenham a river and not a cricket ground. We ought to mention the dairy appliances, as the subject has grown in importance with the ruinously low price of corn; nothing will pay but milk and butter, it is therefore absolutely essential that we should be abreast of the times in everything relating to milk and butter. Mr. Long's *British Dairy Farming* will be a useful refresher to those who studied the dairy exhibits at the Inventories.

It was a good thought to eke out the Exhibition by adding a loan collection of musical instruments. The name, Inventions Exhibition, is an instance of "cross division," for there were inventions enough at the "Healtheries" and the "Fisheries;" but though we may quibble at the name, the historical museum of musical art is, in its way, almost perfect. From the St. Gall MSS., showing the chants which Irish missionaries taught to the heathen Allemanni, to the *regals* from the Brussels Conservatoire, and on to the organ painted by Byrne Jones, and Steinway's three hundred guinea grand-piano, nearly every class of musical instrument is represented. Rizzio's guitar, Queen Elizabeth's "virginale," Queen Mary's harp, Brescia lutes, Amatis, Straduariuses,—all this wealth makes us regret the absence of a *catalogue raisonné* with

illustrations, such as the processes referred to above render easy and inexpensive. We hope this may yet be done. Meanwhile, those who desire to go at all deeply into the history of music, should read M. Clément's book. It gives the score of old Armenian and Abyssinian chants, of Horace's Ode to Phyllis, of twelfth-century psalms, and thirteenth-century rondels. M. Clément discusses thoroughly the difficult subject of *neumes*, in which we see something that might easily have become a tonic-sol-fa notation. His portraits of musical celebrities are interesting, and yet more so are his figures of instruments of all ages and countries, including those of the far east. Listeners to the Siamese band, who have wondered how much its music (all in two-four time, like the Hungarian *tchardash*) resembles the European, will find the instruments figured by M. Clément. He has no "views," his aim is to instruct. To read him is like having the musical part of the Exhibition in one's own room.

Bulandshahr ; or, Sketches of an Indian District, Social, Historical and Architectural. By F. S. GROWSE, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service. With Illustrations. Benares : Medical Hall Press. 1885.

Several years ago, Mr. Growse translated from the Hindu the *Rāmāyana* of Tulsi Dās—the popular form, *i.e.*, of the Great Epic, such as one hears it in the bazaars, just as Homer used to be heard in the market-places of old Greece. The translation was highly praised by competent authorities; and two years ago it was followed by his valuable monograph on *Mathurā*, a work which may favourably compare with those of Mr. Hunter. *Bulandshahr*, a smaller book, is valuable because it shows such a thorough insight into the feelings of the natives. Mr. Growse—now, we believe, retired from the service—has all along opposed centralization. It is, he thinks, largely responsible for the want of touch between the district officer and his people which is such an unpleasant feature of ordinary official life. He even attributes the mutiny of 1857 to the diminution of personal influence and its transference to impersonal boards and departments. "The typical collector," he says, "is now expected to forego all personal predilections and local attachments, and to live in roughest camp fashion, so that he may at a moment's notice be moved from one environment to another, without making any perceptible break in the continuity of office routine. Every year he becomes less and less of an independent agent and more of a registered machine, warranted to work with equal regularity wherever it is placed, in absolute dependence on the winding-up of the departmental key." Such a man can never be anything to his people, to whom of course their petty local affairs are all in all; and exactly the opposite of such a man Mr. Growse proved himself in each of his three districts. Mainpuri owes to him the development of brass-inlaying, which, condemned at the Agra Exhibition

of 1867, was highly honoured last year at Calcutta. At Mathurá, too, he left a permanent record of his connection with the place; and this volume tells what he did at Bulandshahr in the way of erecting public buildings and stirring up the inhabitants to build bridges, &c. His maxim is, that no Oriental will exert himself "except under the immediate influence of an individual leader," but that a magistrate, who is not afraid of provoking official jealousy, may depend on being well supported in any local work, provided he asks help as a fellow-worker instead of demanding it as a master. Neither rich Hindus nor Mahomedans, as a rule, hoard their money; either they lavish it on rubbish like fireworks and nautch-girls, or they give it to native schools, which if Mahomedan are foci of sedition, if Hindoo are hotbeds of licentiousness; or else they build hideous structures, like one figured in the book before us. They only need to be put in a better way of spending; and Mr. Growse is very angry with "the official Philistine who ignores the reasonable and universal pride in beautifying one's own town." As he says, "It must be more to the public advantage that a wealthy citizen should be open-handed, even from an imperfect motive, than that he should stifle a generous impulse and keep his money to himself from an over-righteous repugnance to ostentation." As to the native gentry being in debt, he knows this is untrue of those of Bulandshahr, and he charges our civil courts with being the chief impoverishing agents, citing a case of protracted litigation on a frivolous claim brought against the rich Hindu who built the gateway to the new Bulandshahr public garden by "a low Mahomedan attorney, himself a worthy product of our highly civilized judicial system." The claim was so preposterous that it was at once dismissed by the assistant judge; yet on appeal it dragged on for three years at a cost to the defendant of nearly ten times what he spent on his gate. The saddest feature in the case, however, is that the plaintiff, an absolute pauper, was amply provided with funds by rich Mahomedans, simply because he was attacking a Hindu. On this trial Mr. Growse remarks that, though one cannot read with patience the attacks of Bengali patriots, yet the needless expense of our administration, and the sacrifice of local to imperial interests, give a solid basis to their outcry. In his very suggestive preface, which is like an hour's talk with one who knows and is anxious to explain all the ins and outs of his subject, he instances various mistakes—*e.g.*, the customs duties (which, combined with the barbarous hall-marking system, ruin the Indian silversmith to the profit of him of Birmingham, while, by enforced free importation, the native weaver is ruined for the good of Manchester and Glasgow). "It is only India that clamours for equitable trade arrangements; and India has no vote, and therefore no weight in party politics." We commend the following words to the thoughtful consideration of our many readers who are directly or indirectly connected with the country:—"Any other European power would not disguise the fact that India was held for the

advantage of its rulers. It is the affectation of superior morality which makes our occasional lapses into selfishness such an argument throughout the civilized world of the traditional perfidy of the British Government." Mr. Growse would abolish the governorships of Madras and Bombay, kept up simply for the sake of preferment; he pooh-poohs the annual migration to the hills, suggesting that an occasional summer in the Doab would temper the present *fureur de gouverner*. Altogether, his work is not merely a most interesting account of an Indian district, its history, characteristics, capabilities, and population, but an impartial comment on our system from one who knows its weak points, and who fearlessly lays them bare because he knows also the priceless value of English rule. His work in rebuilding and improving is a rare instance of successful tact. His subscription-lists prove how thoroughly he interested the natives in his work, and his phototypes show that the works are not the abominations with which our builders have on Indian soil too often disgraced our name, but are conceived in the best style of native art. There cannot but be something wrong when a man who could compass such results had to do it in the face of persistent, and we are almost inclined to add envious, opposition from his official superiors. The Public Works Department condemned his buildings, and sought in every way to prevent their being erected. One is glad to hear that Mr. Growse is not alone: at Murâr, General Dunham Massy has done a similar work. Indeed, everywhere it needs only "a little active sympathy and co-operation from the local authorities, and a little lifting off of the incubus of an arbitrary and overbearing department," to turn India's ruinous heaps into nobly built cities.

We have given considerable space to this work because it is one of considerable value as well as of great freshness.

Report of the Royal Colonial Institute. Vol. XVI. 1884-5.
London: Sampson Low & Co.

Every year the meetings of the Royal Colonial Institute become more interesting. The papers are read by able specialists, and the discussion is so conducted as to throw cross-lights into all dark corners. The present volume tells us what the British Association did in Canada: the enthusiastic receptions at the M'Gill University; the gift by the Association of £550 for a gold medal for applied science, to be given yearly at that University; the conferring of honorary degrees; the encouraging fact that 31 per cent. of all papers read were of local origin; above all, the junction at Philadelphia with the American Association and the expedition to the Rocky Mountains. It was somewhat of a scramble, and one cannot help echoing General Sir H. Lefroy's regret that the maritime provinces, despite their eager hospitality, were comparatively neglected in the rush westward. As to the assisted immigrants, especially those sent out by Lady Burdett Coutts, the General is fairly hopeful, though

he warns girls that the day of high wages irrespective of qualifications is gone by. In Manitoba Lady Cathcart's crofters are thriving; but the idea of growing only wheat is a mistake; some cattle should be kept on every farm, if only to give winter employment as a safeguard against the isolation which breaks down so many colonists. That is the problem; men like the labourer-geologist from Glasgow who greeted Sir Lyon Playfair with the compliment: "Your name, mon, has travelled further than your wee legs will ever carry you," will succeed in any colony. They would even succeed, in a less degree, at home. But of men from Bethnal Green one is not surprised that some go wholly to the bad, and others grumble and go home, bringing an evil report of the land. Yet land like that of which Mr. Hector Cameron (in the discussion on General Lefroy's paper) spoke as growing twenty-five bushels per acre on what was supposed to be barren alkaline tracts certainly does not deserve to be ill spoken of. Our English climate Mr. Cameron, speaking in January last, called "most horrible and detestable;" but the fact remains that in Canada, far more than here, the proverb holds—*hyems ignava colono*—and idle time needs culture in the colonist and the capacity for making amusement for himself. On "New Zealand in 1884" Mr. Clayden read a most instructive paper. Horse and cattle-breeding has, it seems, a great future in the island; and in wheat-growing New Zealand has quite given South Australia the go-by as to quality, while in the yield per acre she stands far the first. In South Australia it averages 4 bushels, in Victoria 9, in West Australia 11, in Queensland 14, in New South Wales 16½, in Tasmania 20, in New Zealand 26. Mr. Clayden protests against a growing absenteeism, "which threatens us with some of the anarchical evils of landlord-forsaken Ireland. A discontented rabble will bear rule, and the demagogue will be master of the situation." We are glad to hear that at Otago 100,000 acres are being set aside for Skye crofters; but we are sorry the chairman, Sir C. Clifford, should have taken exception to Mr. Clayden's only reference to the natives, whom he spoke of as "*poor Maoris!*" Sir Charles is not correct in denying that great wrong has been done in the matter of land-purchase; and when he says "if in past times small value was given, *it satisfied them*," he ignores the first principle of English law—the protection of those who cannot protect themselves. Of the other papers, on "National Unity," "Western Australia," "British North Borneo," &c., we have no space to speak. The latter, read by Sir Walter Medhurst, is deeply suggestive. The Company looks forward to a large Chinese population, *on which it may rely in contests with the natives*. It will be a sad thing if England forgets that the Dyaks and other tribes have rights; and it is ominous that, while we are free to "protect" the Sultan of Brunei, "if we tried to protect him of Sulu, the Spaniards or Dutch might object"! This North Borneo Company stands to that vast island in just the position in which the East India Company stood to Hindostan. Let us hope that the new Company

may preserve the native from extermination as successfully as the old one did.

History of Art in Phœnicia and its Dependencies. By G. PERROT and C. CHIZEZ. Translated by WALTER ARMSTRONG, B.A. Oxon. With 640 Engravings, 10 Steel and Coloured Plates. Two vols. London: Chapman & Hall.

Since the antiquities from Cyprus (unfortunately not including the Cesnola collection) have been displayed in the British Museum, we have come to care more than we did before for Phœnician art. In Cyprus the so-called Etruscan or pre-Hellenic style has a strong dash of Phœnician, which itself shows so many Egyptian affinities that several of the things figured in these beautifully illustrated volumes would be set down by the uninitiated as Egyptian. The explanation is that in art the Phœnicians were of all people the most imitative. Their native sculptures were the rude, coarse Cabiri and child-gods found all over the Mediterranean; they borrowed from Egypt and from Assyria; and, having taught the Greeks to work on Egyptian and Assyrian lines, they actually proceeded to borrow by-and-by the new forms in which Greek genius had embodied its ideas. As to the origin of the Phœnicians, M. Perrot can add little to Lepsins and Renan. Tradition brings them from the Persian Gulf, where, in Strabo's days, two of the Bahrein isles were called Tyre and Arvad. Whoever they were, they spoke a language closely akin to Hebrew, while differing so wholly from the Jews in religion and general culture. The chapter on "Tombs and Ideas about a Future Life" shows many parallels and more contrasts between Phœnician and Hebrew thought; while, throughout, the profuse illustrations give us a clearer idea of the subject than could be gained from pages of letterpress. The coloured plates (enamel, glass, &c.) are of much artistic merit.

How to Make the Land Pay. By HENRY P. DUNSTER, M.A., Vicar of Wood Bastwick, Norfolk. London: Longmans.

This is a lively little book with a somewhat misleading title. The Vicar of Wood Bastwick professes to describe "profitable industries suitable to all holdings large or small." But "flower growing for cut flowers," "flower farming for perfumery, &c.," "bulb growing," "mush-room growing," &c., are certainly not such. Some of them need a big town close by; others need exceptional conditions of soil and climate. Lavender, for instance, is grown at a profit at Mitcham; it has not been found to succeed elsewhere. Poultry farms, again, seldom pay; though hints on poultry-keeping are much needed by the labourer. Mr. Dunster thinks the low price of wheat will continue, and he is sure we cannot go back to protection. The whole matter is just now in the

air; and to whatever part of Mr. Dunster's book we may take exception, what he says about fruit farms and pulping machines has stood the test of experience.

Egypt and Syria: their Physical Features in Relation to Bible History. By Sir J. W. DAWSON, C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S.
London: The Religious Tract Society. 1885.

This is a real addition to our knowledge of Egypt and Syria. All Biblical students should have this valuable little volume, which forms one of the excellent series on *Bypaths of Bible Knowledge*. The questions of geography and geological formation are treated by Sir J. W. Dawson in a scholarly and interesting way. The description of the resources of the Nile Valley, and the sketch of the coast of Palestine as seen from Joppa, are good specimens of the manner in which the more general features of the country are treated. The discussion of the site of Golgotha is painstaking and judicious. The writer thinks that the Skull Hill, about a hundred yards outside the northern wall of Jerusalem, meets all the requirements of the Evangelical history. It is a knoll of rock of rounded form covered with shallow soil and grass. Its general contour, with certain old tombs which resemble the sockets of eyes, gives it a remarkable resemblance, when viewed from certain points, to a skull partly buried in the ground. All the subjects treated are handled in the same thorough and workmanlike fashion. At the end of the book there is a list of some of the principal Biblical topics discussed in the volume, and a good Index. The illustrations give additional value to a work of great interest. Sir J. W. Dawson devoted special attention to these less-known features of the geology of portions of Egypt and Palestine during his residence in the East in the winter of 1883-4.

The Record of Ruth. By the Author of "A Modern Minister," &c. London: Elliot Stock. 1885.

Ruth, the daughter of a linen-seller at Jerusalem, who is betrothed to Judas Iscariot, sees Jesus, who comes to purchase linen in her father's shop in Jerusalem; she loves Him, and becomes His disciple. Judas, moved with jealousy, betrays Christ to His enemies. That is the plot of this story. We think that the writer's ingenuity and descriptive power, which are both considerable, might have been better employed than in writing such an improbable and purposeless piece of fiction.

WESLEYAN CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS.

1. *A Sketch of the History of Wesleyan Methodism in some of the Southern Counties of England.* By W. W. POCKOCK.
With an Introduction by Rev. J. H. RIGG, D.D.
2. *Memoir of William Feckman, an Earnest and Successful Evangelist.* By the Rev. GEORGE VANCE.

3. *A Preacher's Library : Hints on Theological Reading.* By the Rev. J. S. BANKS.
4. *Rambles and Scrambles in the Tyrol.* By E. R. H.
5. *Fought and Won : a Story of Grammar School Life.* By RUTH ELLIOTT.
6. *May's Captain.* By HELEN BRISTOW. London : T. Woolmer. 1885.

1. We are glad that Mr. Pocock's papers have been gathered together in this little volume. They were read with great interest when they first appeared in the *Wesleyan Magazine*, and their republication will be of no small service to the cluster of country circuits which have been planted in what was long known as the Methodist wilderness. Here, besides, they are supplemented and rounded off by many pages of additional and very interesting matter. After a brief sketch of Mr. Wesley's labours in this district, Mr. Pocock describes the means by which Methodism has become comparatively strong in these towns and villages. At the time of Wesley's death the Portsmouth circuit, with three preachers and 430 members, embraced the whole of Hampshire with great part of Surrey and Sussex; in 1883, twenty-six circuits with forty-two preachers and 5,795 members occupied the same ground. It is hardly twenty years since the first well-sustained effort to reach this rural population began. Between 1871 and 1883 the number of ministers and members in that part of the Methodist wilderness which is under the care of the *Second London District* has been doubled. Chapels have been built, Sunday-schools formed, and a wonderful harvest has been reaped considering the difficulty of dealing with such a population. Mr. Pocock gives some pleasant sketches of the men and women by whom this great work has been accomplished. James Horne, the Methodist local preacher settled in the village of Normandy, who used to prepare his sermons whilst thrashing in the barn, was one of the most devoted men this district has ever known. He had the heads of his sermon chalked upon the door whilst he plied the flail, and thus prepared for his two or three services every Sunday. He often walked twenty miles to the places where he preached, and would often go five or seven miles to visit the sick and dying in the neighbouring farms and villages after his exhausting services. There was scarcely a house in the district, from the squire's to the humblest cottager's, in which he had not prayed with the inmates. The Introduction shows why Wesley was unable to devote much time to this neighbourhood, and describes the constitution of the committee under whose care the latest developments of this work have been carried out. The sketch given, first of the principles and methods of Wesley's day and afterwards of the methods employed at the present time prepares the reader to appreciate and understand this splendid home-missionary work, of which Mr. Pocock is, in a good measure, the historian. If other Methodist districts are as zealous and watchful in similar labours, the like results may be

reaped in all parts of England. We heartily commend this book to all friends of country Methodism. If it should stimulate others to do what Mr. Pocock and his brother have done to support the work by their wise counsels and their generous help it will bear the best results.

2. Mr. Vance has prepared a pleasant sketch of *William Feckman*, a devoted Irish layman who, for half a century, laboured as an evangelist with great success. The little biography gives some of his letters, and his sermons and addresses. This memorial will be prized by many who had no personal knowledge of this laborious and self-denying missionary. Any one who knew the late Dr. Campbell, who laboured so successfully as the chief evangelist of Irish Methodism, will at once associate his name with that of William Feckman.

3. Mr. Banks has met a real want by his *Hints on Theological Reading*. Young preachers, and in fact all who wish to read a little divinity, will find useful counsel in this pamphlet. The breadth of the subject only allows brief notes on the many books named, but some of these are such as at once to awaken interest. Dean Stanley's splendid lectures on the Eastern Church are well described as "the best specimen of the author's genius for historical painting." They contain "the most vivid picture of the external history of the Nicene Council to be found in any language." We are glad to see Bishop Wilberforce's *Addresses to Candidates for Ordination* mentioned among devotional works. It is certainly one of the most inspiring books we ever read. The advice given about the formation of a preacher's library is sensible and suggestive.

4. It would not be easy to find a more attractive present than *Rambles and Scrambles in the Tyrol*. It is beautifully and profusely illustrated, full of pleasant glimpses of Alpine life, and written in a very happy vein. This delightful book ought to be popular. It will teach many a capital lesson to the young people who are fortunate enough to have it in their hands.

5. Ruth Elliott's name is so well known to young readers that *Fought and Won* is sure to receive a hearty welcome. Forceful as it is, however, we think it both improbable and overdrawn. A school-boy who constantly resorts to brandy to fit him to bear the strain of preparation for an examination must be reckoned as no small novelty. We fancy that even the warmest friends of temperance must feel that this description of school life is exaggerated.

6. *May's Captain* is a pleasant, well-sustained story which will greatly please children.

CORNHILL MAGAZINE (July, August, September).—Baring-Gould's story, "Court Royal," is remarkable, even from the author of *Margery of Quether*. The descriptive power is overwhelming; the originality and interest of the plot make this a noticeable piece of work. It is, however, somewhat weird and overdrawn. The shorter articles deserve special notice. That on "Hair-device Workers," in the July number, gives a capital account of an industry which is now almost extinct. The "Impressions of Holland," in the September Magazine, are fresh and racy.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (June 15).—In a series of articles on "The Future of the English Power" M. Cucheval-Clarigny writes about our Indian Empire and the struggle with Russia. After speaking of the incontestable superiority of England as a naval power, he says that the organization of our Anglo-Indian Empire is the *chef d'œuvre* of English policy, yet the perfect harmony with which the immense machinery works must not be allowed to conceal its frailty. The actual situation is said to be the result of Lord Palmerston's conduct in 1838, when, in order to prevent Herat from falling into the hands of the Persians, he humbled and ruined Persia, and threw her into the arms of Russia. In Herat, population, manners, language, belief, all are Persian, whilst the place is only a source of embarrassment to the Ameers of Cabul. Then the attitude of the present Ameer is discussed. The writer says that the Ameer hesitated even to accept the invitation of Lord Dufferin, and shows what pains were taken to honour and flatter him. Yet Abdurrahman did not commit himself. He remembered his exile at Samarcand, when Russia gave him a pension of 25,000 roubles, and evidently felt that the strength of Russia made it important for him to be on good terms with that victorious and aggressive power, especially as his own people sympathize with her. The Afghans, he says, hate England; and it was necessary to take careful measures to secure the safety of our Delimitation Commission whilst it was in the country. Russia carefully guards the religious liberties of her Mussulman population, and thus make herself popular, because nothing more quickly inflames the hatred of the Mohammedan than any attempt to proselytise. Whatever we may think of these statements it is evident that our policy needs to be firm and far-seeing.

(July 1).—The second part of M. Cucheval-Clarigny's article on "The Future of the English Power" is devoted to the Australian Colonies and the conflict with Germany. The various stages of German annexation in New Guinea are noted. M. Clarigny holds that the attachment of Australia to the mother-country has been greatly weakened, and that it would be dangerous to submit it to another trial.

(July 15).—"A French Department," by M. René Belloc, describes the peasants, clergy, and great landlords of the French provinces. The writer says that in France, the capital is a greater contrast to the rest of the nation than in any other country of the world. Paris is an aggressive republic which claims complete autonomy. It boasts that it is cosmopolitan, and does not despair of breaking the bonds which attach it to the rest of the country. It has already imposed three or four revolutions on France. Even though its population is continually increased by removals from the country, the air of Paris seems to change the language and the character of these new-comers. The article shows, however, that the provinces have a society of their own, very lively, very remarkable, and less disposed than ever to submit to the formulas of the makers of systems. In many places the peasant is still faithful to the manners and to the dress of his fathers, a stranger to ambition, free, and quiet in his pleasures; he moves on with an even tread, making the soil richer by his labour. But an invincible attraction is drawing him towards new destinies. The country is in the course of a complete transformation. The land is better tilled, the people physically stronger. The influence of the *curé* is still very great. The history of a village revolves around its steeple. A stranger who knew the provinces only from the literature of politics, and had persuaded himself that religion was dying out in France, would be surprised to see each village grouped peaceably round its church. The clergy sometimes have unwisely interfered in political matters, but they are much less compromised in this respect than the philippics of the Extreme Right and Left would lead one to suppose. M. Belloc describes the good and bad characteristics of the great land-owners. They have neglected the smaller proprietors and farmers, and must show more energy and more capacity or the sceptre will slip out of their hands, and the cultivators will seek other counselors.

(August 1).—In a second paper, M. Belloc shows that the rural population of France is ignorant, scattered, and still affected by ages of serfdom. Their limited interests confine them to a sphere almost as narrow as that of horses whose eyes are

covered in order that they may go round in some mill. They are both obstinate and timid, defiant and taciturn. Their children scarcely make sufficient progress in the village schools to enable them to write their own names when they enter the army. They scarcely see any newspapers except the cheap revolutionary journals which can be had for a sou, and spend their winter nights in reading some poor and badly printed book obtained from the library of the nearest town. Yet, with all their ignorance, the French rural population has plenty of good stuff. Under more favourable conditions, M. Belloc thinks that the peasants will soon have their eyes opened by the force of truth and the exercise of power. Two nations have been living beside each other on the same territory, one accessible to general ideas, easily bound to a common centre, and forming no small factor in the State; the other is passive, and allows itself to be dragged into conflicts which it does not understand. It is dowered with rights which it does not prize, and though stirred sometimes in great crises by a wave of national feeling, it quickly falls back again into its apathetic ways. Statesmen march to the discovery of an unknown country, so different are the peasant and the bourgeois from each other. One class is, in fact, a perpetual source of wonder to the other.

(August 15.)—In a brief article "On the Death of Admiral Courbet," M. Viaud (Pierre Loti) pays high tribute to that French soldier, whom he regarded as the embodiment of all the sublime old words of honour, of heroism, of self-abnegation, of patriotism. He describes the consternation which spread through the fleet when it was known that their commander was dying, and the simple religious ceremony, with the tears of the sailors over "that great figure of duty, almost incomprehensible to our age of little men."

LA NOUVELLE REVUE (June 15).—"The Rôle of France in the Sahara and the Soudan," by M. Marcel Frescaly, advocates a vigorous commercial policy. From Senegal and Algeria France can easily penetrate into the heart of Africa. By pushing forward from two sides at once, she might do much to make herself the uncontested mistress of vast territories. The article traces the history of French influence in Africa, and concedes to England the palm in all exploration of the Dark Continent. It shows that the price of merchandise is such as to encourage a great commercial movement. France, M. Frescaly says, must not fail to take her proper position in an age when nations are struggling to found colonies. Besides the advantages which she herself would reap, he pleads for the Soudan also. Its inhabitants would renounce the odious and impoverishing slave-trade if the commercial resources of the country were thus developed. Vast regions, now almost uninhabited, would be repopled, and commerce would thus greatly increase. The Touaregs, who are the great obstacle to commerce in the Sahara, finding French influence predominant in the markets where they are bound to buy provisions, might supply escorts to protect the caravans. The continent would thus be delivered from its worst freebooters.

(July 1.)—M. Le Myre de Vilers' article on "Colonial Policy" tries to moderate between the two parties into which public opinion in France is divided on colonial matters. Some regard colonies as a panacea for all evils, others hold that they entail enormous expense, for which there is no adequate return. Algeria and Cochinchina have cost 8,300 million francs; eighty millions is the estimated gain of her colonies to France in industries, &c. These possessions entail an annual expense for administration and occupation of 200 millions; so that the advantages of protection to French commerce, &c., are greatly out of proportion to the expense entailed upon her. The interest on the vast sums expended on colonial possessions reaches the enormous sum of 322 millions. Yet the writer does not advise their abandonment. He urges that the prejudices of the natives should be more fully regarded, local independence given to settlements, and changes introduced methodically and gradually without wishing to reform everything. He shows that England has understood and acted upon the doctrines of Montesquieu, and has given her settlements a constitution appropriate to their needs. She has not tried to apply the regulations of her home administration to the settlements among savage people. Our immense empire, with 201 millions of subjects, costs only fifty-one million francs; one million for civil service, fifty for military stations and arsenals at Gibraltar, Hong-Kong, &c. The article refers to the

great advantages we reap, in commerce and in other ways, from our colonial empire, and urges that the French parliament should now give due attention to this great subject, renounce their present policy, and return to the true principles of liberty and colonial independence.

(July 15.)—M. Henri Joly contributes a sensible article on education, in which he shows how the attempt to force French education into one mould has broken down in its endeavour to realize a chimerical fancy. It proposed to form educational cycles, arranged so that the first should give primary instruction common to all; the second should be devoted to science, history, geography, modern languages, morals; the third to classical studies. Scholars were to pass from one cycle to another at a definite age. But this plan was successfully resisted both by the professors of mathematics and of science, who showed that it would seriously interfere with success in their subjects. M. Joly strongly pleads for a complete separation of the different kinds of instruction. He holds that neither the social nor economic condition of France will allow any great number of children to pass from one branch to another. The article points out that though classical education tends to form an *élite*, yet the most sure and truly democratic mode of introducing that equality which the democracy desires so much, is for every one to do the duty of his position well.

(August 15.)—An interesting article on "The Influence of England upon France since 1830," shows that our tourist habits have made the French, naturally the most sedentary of people, flock to watering-places. Our manners and our culinary arrangements have also been largely adopted. Such artistic work as that of Kate Greenway has furnished the model for keepsakes and Christmas numbers; and French architecture has become more cheerful and more healthy under English influence. English literature in all departments has profoundly influenced and even modified the national genius of France.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (August).—In a short paper on "The Musical Life of London," Herr Krause gives an interesting account of the great bi-centenary Handel commemoration at the Crystal Palace last July. He acknowledges the honour in which this country held the great composer during his lifetime. When Pope heard of him, he exclaimed, "A German and a genius? I must see him." England at that time had all the gifts of a great power save musical genius, and warmly welcomed Handel to her shores. Herr Krause notes, in passing, that the great composer's monument in Westminster Abbey gives the date of his birth as 1684 instead of 1685. The recent festival is well described, and a high tribute is paid to the choir, the conductor, and the leading singers. Herr Krause says that the sight of choir and audience makes a man pause, because comparisons fail him. Our German critic often visited St. Paul's and the Abbey with pleasure, but regrets that all hymns, psalms, and responses are accompanied by the organ. He says: "Both cathedrals, indeed, possess glorious instruments, and especially the organist of St. Paul's, Professor Dr. Stürmer (evidently a mistake for Dr. Stainer), knows how to make his part efficient without overpowering the choir; but the organ is now, for general accompaniment of choral singing, the least suitable instrument, and the *a capella* choir the most worthy intermediary between priest and people."

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (August 16).—Signor Gabelli's article on "The New School of Penal Direction in Italy" is a careful study of the latest ideas about the treatment of criminals. This school tries to discover the special character of each criminal. Its anthropology may be useful, but it adds a second canon that no one is responsible for his conduct, because all human action is the fruit of consequences over which the man himself has no control. It thus totally denies free will. Signor Gabelli argues that whatever these theorists may teach, man will continue to believe himself both to be free and responsible, and will feel the approval or condemnation of his own conscience.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (July).—"Is Christianity Declining?" by Dr. Parkhurst, is a short article which furnishes some striking proofs of the general advance society has made in religious feeling and conduct. A Dr. Woods is mentioned, who could reckon forty intemperate ministers among his acquaintance about fifty years ago. Another gentleman had a list of 123 intemperate deacons in Massachusetts; forty-three of whom became confirmed drunkards. In 1811, whom

Dr. Griffin became pastor of Park Street Church, Boston, it was so unfashionable to attend an Evangelical service, that gentlemen of culture and standing who were anxious to hear the eloquent preacher on Sunday evenings went in partial disguise, sitting in obscure corners, with caps drawn over their faces, and wrappers turned inside out. In 1800, there were 3,030 Evangelical churches in the United States; in 1880, 97,090; 27,000 were added between 1870-80. In 1800, there was one Evangelical communicant to every fourteen-and-a-half inhabitants; in 1880, one to every five. In 1810, Bishop Meade, of Virginia, said that in every educated young Virginian he expected to find a sceptic, if not an avowed infidel. When Dr. Dwight became President of Yale College, in 1745, only five of the students were church members. In 1880, of 12,063 students in sixty-five colleges, 6,081 were professors of religion. In 1830, there were half a million Sunday scholars; in 1880, six and a half millions. In 1810, missionary contributions produced 200,000 dollars; in 1880, for home and foreign missions, 129,000,000 dollars were raised. The 70,000 missionary communicants in 1830 had become 850,000 in 1880. Such figures show what splendid work has been accomplished.

(August).—"A Profane View of the Sanctum," by M. J. Savage, exposes some of the defects of American journalism. "The great body of correspondents at the national capital have," Mr. Savage says, "come to wield almost a despotic power. Each day they hold in their hands the distribution of political news for the whole country." They are often more anxious to make a point against the Administration, or in favour of "our paper," than to send accurate reports. A correspondent is, in many cases, prized according to his success in supplying information to his office a couple of hours before any other paper has it, or in worming out some Government secret. In reporting sermons there are strange doings. One clergyman found himself almost involved in a charge of heresy before the church courts, because a newspaper had reported the first half of his discourse, in which he stated the position of some heretical opponent, and had omitted his reply. There had not been enough space for all, and the reporter had simply cut the sermon in two to save himself the trouble of condensing. Sometimes an ingenious reporter will supply a sketch of a sermon which he has not heard. A friend of Mr. Savage's, who had been treated thus, was actually quoted by an English review as an illustration of the depths to which the American pulpit had fallen. The way in which outrageous crimes are described, with the most loathsome detail, tends to increase the volume of crime. There is evidently much room for improvement in American journalism.

METHODIST REVIEW (July).—Dr. Wheatley's paper on "The Republic of Mexico" gives a cheering view of its religious prospects. President Diaz, an Aztec of pure blood, is a firm friend and protector of the missionaries. Intolerance and lawlessness are not quite dead, though they have lost much of their bitterness. Five years ago Bishop Harris had an interesting conversation with Diaz about the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico. Popery is beginning to lose ground. For many years there has been a growing feeling against the priesthood which finds vent in lampoons, ballads, and pasquinades. The Mexican priests are badly educated, and traffic in all holy ordinances. If the laws of their own church were enforced, most of them would be excommunicated. Many have families; some are married. There are bishops who baptize the children of these priestly marriages, though others groan over such degeneracy in the clergy.—We notice that our article on "The Last Testimony to the Atonement" has been reprinted in this number.—Dr. Wheeldon, for twenty-eight years editor of this Review, died on June 8, 1885, at the age of seventy-seven, just a year after he had resigned his post.

(September).—Nothing in this number calls for special notice.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH (July).—Professor Tigert of Vanderbilt University, in an article on "Methodist Episcopacy," severely criticizes Dr. Atkinson's *Centennial History of American Methodism*. The interest of this book centres in its account of the conduct of Asbury and Coke in 1784. When Dr. Coke reached America, and told Asbury that Mr. Wesley had ordained him Superintendent, and sent him to set apart Asbury as his colleague, the great pioneer-preacher expressed considerable doubt about the wisdom of such a step, and said that he would only accept the office if the travelling

preachers on the continent approved. A Conference, therefore, assembled in Baltimore, at Christmas 1784, which discussed and approved Asbury's ordination, declined to appoint Whatcoat and Garretson to the office Mr. Wesley wished, and omitted Mr. Wesley's name from the Minutes. He had not given any authority for a General Conference in America. The two Superintendents were, under his guidance, to have such oversight of the work there and of the preachers as he himself had in England. Dr. Atkinson shows how Coke and Asbury exceeded their commission, and thus brought about the formation of a separate Methodist Church in America. He also says that Asbury declined to receive the appointment of Superintendent at Mr. Wesley's hands. This, Professor Tigert says, is an error. What Asbury hesitated to accept was the Episcopate; it is true that Wesley spoke of a "Superintendent," but that was simply another name for Bishop. The most severe criticism is reserved for Dr. Anderson's argument that Wesley did not intend the American Methodists to be independent of the Church of England. "This is puerile," the Professor answers. "If it were not for the discourtesy implied in it, idiotic would be the best descriptive epithet." He holds that under the guise of writing a Centennial History Dr. Atkinson is a special pleader, who undertakes to write the history of a critical period, so that it may afford some justification for the General Conference party who, in 1844, deposed Bishop Andrew without charge or trial.

MIND IN NATURE (June).—This useful Chicago journal contains some careful papers on psychical, medical, and scientific matters. The article of most general interest in the June number is on "A Remarkable Faith-Cure." A Louisville paper recently published an account of a child born totally deaf and dumb who became suddenly able both to hear and speak. A reporter called on the mother, and found her to be a bright German lady. Her home seemed to be the happiest in the whole place. One Wednesday her child was said to have been miraculously healed at the faith-cure meeting. The mother was a devout Roman Catholic. She had read her Bible carefully and prayed much. She explained that "at the very moment when she reached the point where she did absolutely believe that God would restore hearing and speech to her child, at that very moment it was done, and she wept for joy." *Mind in Nature* investigated this case. It was found that the child could really hear and pronounce a few words. The gentleman who makes the report says: "I think that the child could hear loud noises before she was taken to the faith-cure meetings, but the mother claims that she had never spoken a word, and in this she is corroborated by the neighbours and friends. At the present time the child can pronounce isolated words, and can hear when spoken to loudly. The hearing is better when she looks at the speaker, as she watches the lips move, and in this way gets the accent. The words she is able to pronounce are words that are produced by lip movement, and I am sure that since the mother has been trying to cure her children by faith she has given more attention to the child, and it has learned many words from observing the movements of the lips. The child has chronic catarrh of the middle ear, and hypertrophied tonsils. She could hear a watch about two inches from her ear. The mother says the tonsils were very large before she commenced the faith-cure, and that she has noticed that they are much smaller now. This may account for the slight improvement in hearing." Three other children of this family had become deaf through scarlet fever. They were not cured. The journal has done good service by its investigation. To say the least, this cure is halting enough.

(July).—J.H.B. sends from Boston a description of some "Remarkable Illusions" of which he was himself the subject last November. He was in his ordinary health except that he had a cold. At night a violent chill seized him, so that he took a little medicine and went to bed. He had a frightful dream, in which he fancied himself crossing a railway track, when his foot caught in a large and heavy crate that was standing near. He was thrown down on the line. An express train was coming up, and he was just able to release his foot by a desperate effort, and get off the track, when it dashed past him. Next night, as soon as he lay down, grotesque faces rose around. They disappeared at once if he opened his eyes. He began to wonder why only faces appeared, when two middle-aged men stood in his room, apparently in the Peruvian uniform. Then exquisite music filled his chamber. All his mental faculties were fully alert. He rose, looked out of the window, and lighted the gas, then tried

again to sleep. Other illusions appeared. First there was a large hall filled with low sensual-looking people, such as you might see occasionally in the worst parts of London and New York; then six intelligent-looking men stepped into his room, who seemed to answer all the questions about these phenomena. They told him that mind was dependent on matter for the manifestation of its functions, but not for their existence, and that this matter was an interstellar ether far more attenuated than that which causes the sensations of light and heat. The writer of this paper had believed in the existence of such an ether, so that his illusions were the expression of his own thoughts. The third night he seemed to hear an innumerable flock of birds singing in his room, but he had no more visions.

ONCE A MONTH (June 15).—This is a magazine for Australasia, with four serial stories and brief articles on general subjects. Some of the papers on medicine, gardening, science, and current literature are especially good. Many colonial families will be thankful for such pleasant and instructive reading. The number has four capital illustrations.

L'ART (August 1).—This splendid bi-monthly has some fine illustrations of great pictures and masterpieces of decorative art. It contains an interesting article on the famous "Portrait of a Family" in the museum at Munich, which was long attributed to Franz Hals. The question of its authorship is now much debated, but though the writer of this paper is compelled to say that his study of that point must close with a note of interrogation, he shows that the claims of Hals are at least as strong as those of any other candidate for the honour.—The closing part of a study on Ravenna and Byzantine Archaeology, by C. Diehl, is of great interest. Five excellent illustrations of the art-work of the time are given.—The *Courier de L'Art*, published weekly, is supplied gratuitously to all subscribers to *L'Art*. It contains the latest information about museums, libraries, studios, exhibitions, and public sales.

CENTURY (July, August, September).—The article on "Frank Hatton in North Borneo," written by his father has been eagerly expected. It is somewhat slight, but no one will read even this scanty record without warm admiration of the young naturalist who gave promise of such rare talent for exploration.—"Among the Red Roofs of Sussex," in the September number, is a delightful rural sketch with capital illustrations.—The war series contains General Grant's personal memoirs of "The Siege of Vicksburg," which now have a melancholy interest.—Mr. Cable writes a paragraph introducing "A Woman's Diary" of the same siege, written by a young lady of New Orleans. This diary is a striking war study.

HARPER (July, August, September).—"Social Democrats in the Reichstag" give a sketch of the party which has become a thorn in Prince Bismarck's side, with good portraits of its leading members.—Many articles deserve special notice for their general interest, and their capital illustrations.—The "Reminiscences of General Grant," by an officer of his staff, are excellent. Though Grant had no "small talk," and often sorely embarrassed strangers who were introduced to him by his reticence, yet in talking to a small circle of friends on general subjects "he was a charming conversationalist." On subjects with which he was familiar, his thoughtful, philosophical and original remarks fascinated all who heard him. Public-speaking always had terrors for him, and he was sometimes considerably at a loss for a word, but his thoughts flowed freely from his pen, and he seldom needed to make any corrections. He was a man of devout Christian spirit. In the last stage of his illness he refused to play a game of cribbage, which was proposed to him as a relief for his pain, because it was past twelve on Saturday night. He would not allow himself to break the Sabbath. This singularly interesting article will well repay perusal.

HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE (July, August, September).—This attractive magazine is crowded with pictures which will delight young readers, and many of its short articles are most instructive. Such subjects as "The Queen and her Grandchildren," "Pleasant Hours in the Garden," "Peril and Privation," "The Great Congo Valley," "Oysters," &c., will prove attractive to all intelligent young people.